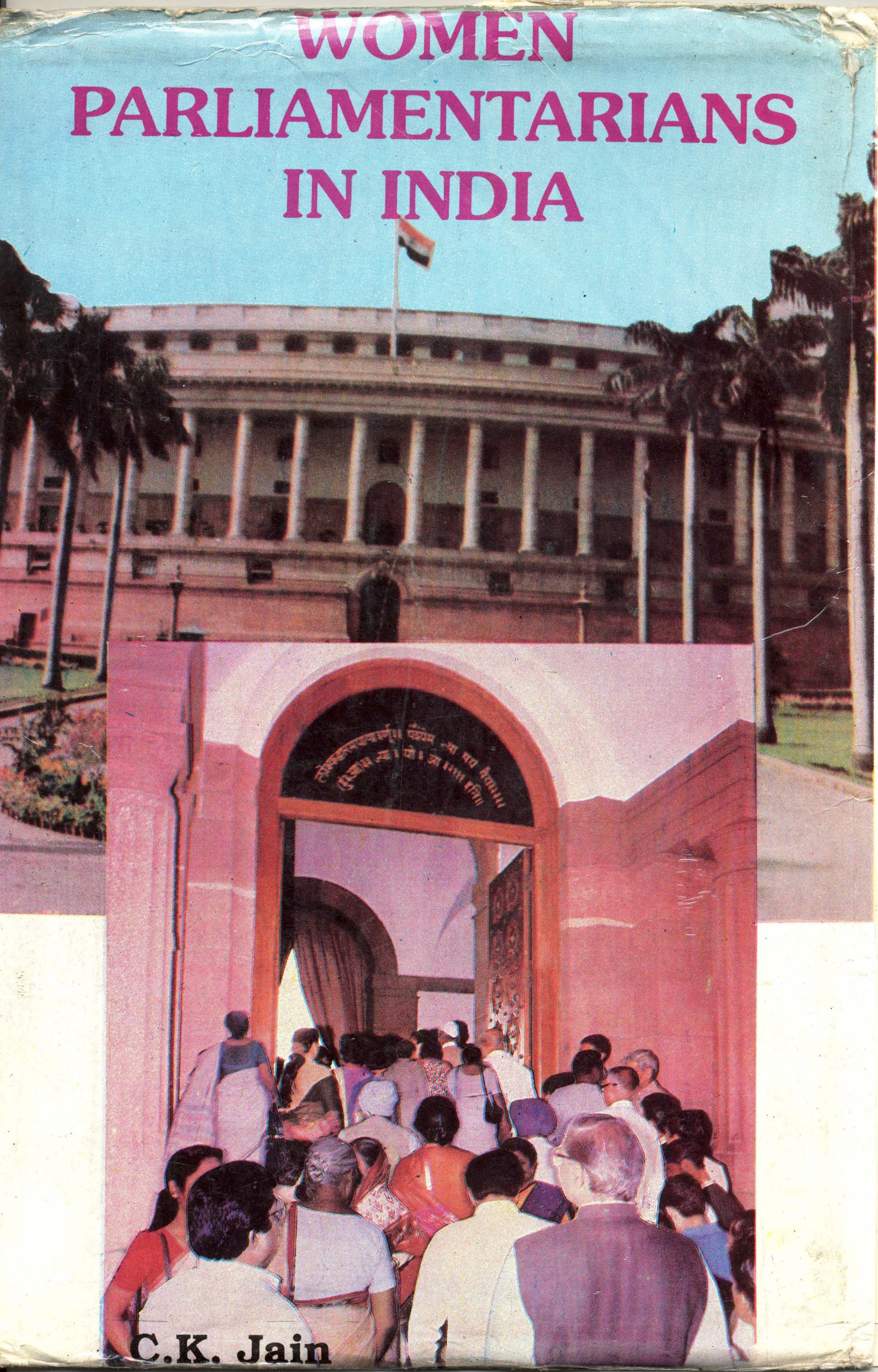
WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN INDIA



C.K. Jain

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Women enjoyed a status of equality and partnership with their men-folk during the ancient period of our history. Their participation in the creative and literary activities and in philosophical discussions helped the society to grow. The period is regarded as representing highly civilised, progressive and socially, culturally and spiritually developed society. Whenever distortion in their status crept in, society witnessed a decline and experienced disharmony, violence and suffering.

Reforms introduced in the last century contributed to a realization of the importance of Women's participation in the socio-political life of the country. A lot was done to restore their ancient status. The freedom movement gave impetus to the endeavours of social reforms leading to a genuine transformation in the attitude of the society towards women. Gandhiji's advocacy of larger involvement of women in the national movement provided opportunities of freedom and dignity.

This volume, divided into four parts, makes an attempt to portray the status of women in Indian society. Beginning with a brief account of their position in ancient, medieval and modern India, it assesses and analyses the contribution of women to the process of our nation-building. It also highlights the role and contributions of women parliamentarians in India right from the Central Legislative Assembly days. The book carries among other things, the views of eminent personalities from various fields on some of the distinguished women parliamentarians and on issues relating to women. These and the reminiscences of several women legislators in the Parliament and State Legislatures and their views on numerous problems faced by Women in Indian society make this a distinctive volume in the field of Women Studies.

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C. K. Jain
Secretary-General, Lok Sabha

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Woman is the companion of man, gifted with equal mental capacities. She has the right to participate in very minutest detail in the activities of man and she has an equal right of freedom and liberty with him. She is entitled to a supreme place in her own sphere of activity as man is in his. This ought to be the natural condition of things and not as a result only of learning to read and write. By sheer force of a vicious custom, even the most ignorant and worthless men have been enjoying a superiority over women which they do not deserve and ought not to have. Many of our movements stop half way because of the condition of our women.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

अध्यक्ष लोक सभा, भारत
SPEAKER LOK SABHA
INDIA
21 March, 1993

FOREWORD

Women have a very significant role in the all round progress and development of human society. Their participation in the process of decision-making in all spheres including political processes, is all the more crucial.

In India, women since time immemorial have played meaningful roles in various walks of life. Indian history is replete with instances of sacrifice, erudition and exemplary valour of women who have left behind indelible imprints. Legendary figures which instantly come to our mind are Gargi, Maitreyi Mallinath, Amrapali, Lilavati, Padmini, Raziya Sultana, Mira Bai, Chand Bibi, Ahalya Bai, Toru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Indira Gandhi. Among the living ones, Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali tops the list. These names are only illustrative.

In modern times the social consciousness of women's rights in India took place during the Indian renaissance. The fight against the practices of Sati, female infanticide and for women's literacy, education and widow-remarriage speaks eloquently of the care and concern of our society and leaders for the uplift of women. The invaluable contribution of women to the country's freedom struggle was yet another instance of their active role in Indian society and polity. India is proud of being one of the first few democracies in the world to have accorded universal adult suffrage to women simultaneously with men. In a democracy where legislation is like social engineering, various legislative enactments made by Indian Parliament have also given wide scope to women to rise in different spheres of society

अध्यक्ष : लोक सभा, भारत
SPEAKER LOK SABHA
INDIA

Mention may be made of the Constitution's Seventy-Second and Seventy-Third Amendment Bills, 1991 which provide for reservation of seats in every Gram Panchayat and Municipality to the extent of not less than one- third of the total number of seats. This will ensure representation of women at the grass-root of India's parliamentary democracy. The setting up of the National Commission for Women, a Statutory Body created by an Act of Parliament, is another significant development for the welfare of women. All these measures have paid dividends. As such, women in contemporary India are no more passive spectators. Their presence is now increasingly felt in fields as diverse as entrepreneurship, bureaucracy, judiciary, press, and most important in the portals of Parliament. The representation of women in legislatures and their active involvement in various businesses of the House including legislative initiatives indicate the activist role of women Parliamentarians. They have not only aired women's plights, problems and fought for their rights, but have also espoused pertinent social and political issues on the floor of the House and outside it.

The increasing role of women in our Parliamentary polity is bound to give substance to our vibrant democracy. This in turn will help a great deal in the uplift of women, besides strengthening our representative parliamentary democracy. Nevertheless a lot more is needed to be done to bring them to the status of an equal partner in our endeavours to have a better society.

I congratulate Lok Sabha Secretariat for bringing out the Volume Women Parliamentarians in India.

21 March, 1993
New Delhi

(Shivraj V. Patil)

PREFACE

This project was conceived about two years ago with the idea to focus light on the role and contribution of women parliamentarians in India during pre-as well as post-independence period. In course of time as the idea developed, temptation came to widen its scope as to give an analysis about status of women prevailing in ancient times, in the period of recorded history, in the times when the country suffered foreign rule and in the last four and a half decades or so after the country attained freedom. Another idea came to mind that views from different quarters especially parliamentarians who have a role in the decision-making process, in respect of the conditions prevailing in different parts of the country, the problems and challenges facing the society today and the efforts put in by the government and the non-official organisations as also the feminist movement in solving the problems and ameliorating the conditions, be ascertained by means of articles and interviews. Of course, this did not conform to the idea originally conceived; yet it was considered appropriate as being relevant with the need of the present time. We made a sincere effort in requesting, reminding and persuading valued and potential contributors and this exercise prolonged and delayed the publication. The result, while not very satisfying, is not very disappointing. We wish more cooperation could be forthcoming from women who are the focal theme of this publication.

Woman is the birth giver of the child; she nurses the child and gives training to grow and develop right from the moment the child comes to this world. She is a teacher as also the protector. Her contribution to the birth and subsequent growth and development of the child is unequalled, incomparable. The status of the mother is, therefore, equal to God. It is further acknowledged that no one can redeem the debt which a child owes to mother.

Other roles of woman are no less foundational for the very survival and development of civilization. Her natural urge to make sacrifice and show compassion to one and all, the attributes flowing as they do from her very anatomy, are essential to peace and harmony in society. At the same time her courage, determination and valour are considered

the strength to maintain discipline in society. In our ancient scriptures, woman is the symbol of three ingredients of the civilized society, namely *Saraswati*--symbol of knowledge, *Laxmi*–symbol of prosperity and *Durga* or *Shakti*–symbol of discipline. Instances of these three different roles of a woman are numerous not only in ancient scriptures but in recorded history. Aptly, therefore, womanhood is considered as essential half ingredient of the divinity, described in scriptures as Ardhanarishwar. Indian ethos has never entertained discrimination on the basis of gender. Even God or Parmatman is without gender.

There can be no more injustice to women and their cause than to describe them as weaker section, which seems to emanate out of ignorance, if not design by the vested interests to keep them under domination and to perpetuate exploitation. After all a psycho-neurotic propaganda calling the best fighting army as weak tends to demoralise them.

It can be stated without fear of any contradiction that all religions have recognised the status of woman equal to that of man and have maintained that for a full and happy family life both have to share alike ecstasies as well as agonies in life. Whenever this assigned role has been distorted, society has suffered. If we go deeper in the presently prevailing maladies in the modern society, we would find at the root of all the social tensions this distortion as the cause. Without going in detail into the various causes responsible for social tensions, the only corrective need is to restore the concept of equal partnership of woman with man.

With the tremendous change in the socio-economic fabric of the society in every country, it is now difficult to conceive of any particular role for women today. With their proven ability they are practically in every field of human activity. In politics and administration as also in many other fields, which were considered till recently prohibited fields, they have been and they are at the apex. In our country since ancient times, during the various phases of history of the freedom movement and after independence in the process of nation-building, they have rendered as important and significant role as men have played. In our present Parliament, each woman parliamentarian possesses some or the other outstanding quality and is performing her role in a manner which commends itself not only to the present generation but to the future generations too. In Parliament as well as outside, their activities are not limited to attending to the problems of women and for their upliftment but are for all round development and they have a dream of a bright and prosperous India ushering in the 21st century, the same as men have.

With the glorious record which women in India have had, the state of women who constitute almost half of the population today, poses a big question for social scientists and others. Apart from other measures, what is most necessary is the need to arouse consciousness among women themselves about their strength and ability. If they themselves have a resolve and determination, history should remind as well as inspire them, no power on earth can afford to do injustice, let alone atrocities, to them. They have to be friendly to themselves.

This volume is divided into four parts. Part I makes an attempt to portray the status of women in Indian society. Beginning with a brief account of their position in ancient, medieval and modern India, it assesses and analyses the contribution of women to the process of our nation-building. The story of emancipation of Indian women started perhaps with the suffrage movement in India. Although their participation, especially in political life increased considerably with the intensification of the freedom struggle, the position of women in Indian socio-political life needs to be strengthened. This part also highlights the role and contributions of women parliamentarians in India right from the Central Legislative Assembly days.

Part II puts together the views of eminent personalities, from various fields, on some of the distinguished women parliamentarians. It also carries reminiscences and memories of several women parliamentarians in the Parliament and State Legislatures and their thoughts on the numerous problems faced by women in Indian society. Among our honoured contributors, we have several present and former Union Ministers, Governors, distinguished Parliamentarians, former women members of Parliament, eminent freedom-fighters, eminent constitutional experts, jurists, noted academics, social scientists and journalists. I am grateful to each one of them for having responded to our request and helped us to open a debate on various women's issues.

In Part III, we have given articles prepared, in some cases, on the basis of the interviews given by women members expressing their views on various issues of today and, in other cases on the basis of the responses, we received to a detailed questionnaire distributed among women Parliamentarians. In all, 20 women parliamentarians responded to us. We had the honour of interviewing a woman Minister, ten sitting women members, two former members and incidentally a woman member of the British House of Lords.

Part IV of the book attempts to provide for the first time at one place, the biographical sketches of all women members of Central Legislative Assembly, Council of State, the Constituent Assembly, the Provisional Parliament, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The profiles included in this part are mainly based on the information published in the *Who's Who*

of each of the ten Lok Sabhas and biennial editions of the *Who's Who* of Rajya Sabha. In compiling this section, emphasis is laid on every woman parliamentarian's, parliamentary, legislative, literary and social activities, her academic attainments, honours and awards received by her, her role in the freedom struggle and other movements, her representation in the international fora and other accomplishments in her fields of interest.

In the concluding part, we have given some important statistical tables, graphs, etc., as 'Annexures'.

Our deep gratitude is due to Honourable Shri Shivraj V. Patil, Speaker of Lok Sabha for giving a Foreword to this Volume.

I wish to thank my colleague Shri G. C. Malhotra, Director, Library and Reference, Research, Documentation and Information Services and his team of officers, namely, Shri M. Rajagopalan Nair, Shri R.C. Ahuja, Smt. Kalpana Sharma and Shri Ajay Kumar Singh who have worked very hard for this project. I also thank the publishers M/s. Surjeet Publications for the excellent job they have done in so short a time.

We hope that this volume would serve as a catalyst to the endeavours being made in the direction of a cause which is so vital to the progress of the whole society and to bring about a new world order.

2 April, 1993
New Delhi.

C.K. JAIN
Secretary-General, Lok Sabha

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****LARRDIS Stands for Parliament Library and Referene, Research, Documentation and Information Service***

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Member of Parliament

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Member of Parliament

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Member of Parliament

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Member of Parliament

Smt. Renuka Chowdhury

Member of Parliament

Prof. (Smt.) Rita Verma

Member of Parliament

Smt. Saroj Dubey

Member of Parliament

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Member of Parliament

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Member of Parliament

Smt. Sumitra Mahajan

Member of Parliament

Smt. Sushma Swaraj

Member of Parliament

Smt. Vasundhara Raje

Member of Parliament

Smt. Jayanti Patnaik

Chairperson, National Commission for Women and Former Member of Parliament

Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai

Former Union Minister of State

Smt. Prabhawati Gupta

Former Member of Parliament

Smt. Pramila Dandavate

Former Member of Parliament

Baroness Flather

Member, House of Lords, British Parliament

Important Abbreviations

A.I.A.D.M.K.	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
A.I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee
A.I.D.W.A.	All India Democratic Writers Association
A.I.M.L.	All India Muslim League
A.I.N.E.C.	All India Newspapers Editors' Conference
A.I.R.	All India Radio
A.I.T.U.C.	All India Trade Union Congress
A.I.W.C.	All India Women's Conference
A.M.U.	Aligarh Muslim University
B.J.P.	Bharatiya Janata Party
B.J.S.	Bharatiya Jan Sangh
B.K.D.	Bharatiya Kranti Dal
B.S.P.	Bahujan Samaj Party
C.A.	Constituent Assembly
C.L.A.	Central Legislative Assembly
C.L.P.(I)	Congress Legislature Party (I)
C.O.S.	Council of State
C.P.	Central Provinces
C.P.A.	Common Wealth Parliamentary Association
C.P.I.	Communist Party of India
C.P.I.(M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)

C.P.P.	Congress Parliamentary Party
C.P.W.D.	Central Public Works Department
C.S.I.R.	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
C.W.C.	Congress Working Committee
Comm.	Communist Party of India
Comm. (M)	Communist Party (Marxist)
Cong. (I)	Congress (I)
Cong. (U)	Congress (U)
D.C.C.	District Congress Committee
D.D.A.	Delhi Development Authority
D.M.K.	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
Distt.	District
F.A.O.	Food and Agriculture Organisation
I.C.A.R,	Indian Council of Agricultural Research
I.C.F.T.U.	International Confederation of Free Trade Union
I.D.P.L.	Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Ltd.
I.L.O.	International Labour Organisation
I.N.C.	Indian National Congress
I.N.T.U.C.	Indian National Trade Union Congress
I.P.D.	Indian Parliamentary Delegation
I.P.U.	Inter Parliamentary Union
I.S.C.U.S.	Indo-Soviet Cultural Society
I.T.D.C.	India Tourism Development Corporation
I.Y.C.	Indian Youth Congress
Ind.	Independent
J.D.	Janata Dal

JD (S)	Janata Dal (S)
J.N.U.	Jawaharlal Nehru University
J.P.	Janata Party
J.S.	Jan Sangh
L.A.R.R.D.I.S.	Library and Reference Research Documentation and Information Service
L.S.	Lok Sábha
M.I.S.A.	Maintenance of Internal Security Act
M.L.	Muslim League
N.C.	National Conference
Ob.ref.	Obituary Reference
P.A.C.	Public Accounts Committee
P.C.C.	Pradesh Congress Committee
P.C.C.(I)	Pradesh Congress Committee (I)
P.E.P.S.U.	Patiala and East Punjab State Union
P.P.	Provisional Parliament
P.S.P.	Praja Socialist Party
R.S.	Rajya Sabha
Res.	Reserved
S.A.D.	Shiromani Akali Dal
S.C.	Scheduled Castes
S.S.P.	Samyukta Socialist Party
S.T.	Scheduled Tribes
T.D.	Telugu Desam
U.A.	Unattached
U.K.	United Kingdom

U.N.	United Nations
U.N.E.S.C.O.	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
U.N.I.C.E.F.	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
U.S.A.	United States of America
U.S.S.R.	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Vill.	Village
W.R.	Western Railways
W.H.O.	World Health Organisation
Y.W.C.A.	Young Women's Christian Association

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PART I

WOMEN AND WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS

1

Status Of Women In India

In Indian society, man and woman are considered to be the two wheels of the chariot of life. In every role, as a mother, as a sister and as a wife—woman has been inspiring man to contribute constructively in every sphere.

In earlier civilizations of the world and of the Indus Valley in particular, women were considered a source of life. They held in themselves the mystery and secret of birth. Women are described in the epic *Mahabharata* as, "light of the House, mothers of the Universe and supporters of the earth and all its forests."* It is perhaps this aspect of the earliest ethos which calls for the worship of the Mother Goddess. It is not surprising that the greatest of India's life-giving river should be worshipped as Mother Ganga. In our culture, woman has also been popularly known as *Lakshmi*—the Goddess of Wealth, *Usha*—the Goddess of dawn, *Shakti*—the incarnation of power and strength. There is a famous prayer in which God says, "Only when I am conjoined with *thee*, O *Shakti*, have I the power to be absolute Lord, otherwise God would not even be able to move."**

In our mythology, even God is regarded as half-man, half-woman, *Ardha-narishwara*. The significance of Ardha narishwara is re—inforced by such appellations as Sitarama and Umamaheswara, Lakshminarayana and Radhakrishna, in which the divine consorts are compounded inseparably into one entity. "Half of one's own self is

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* Tara Ali Baig : India's Woman Power. New Delhi, S. Chand & Co. Pvt. Ltd. 1976, p. 9.
** *Ibid.*, p. 257.

she, the wife," says the Satapatha Brahamana, a prose commentary on the *Yajurveda*.

Vedic Period

Women of Vedic era enjoyed a highly respectable position within the four walls of the house and also outside it. Man and woman were likened to a pair of horses yoked to a chariot.** The *Satapatha Brahamana* (SB)*** quoting Rigveda says, "The home has, verily its foundation in the wife" and same position is held by her in the later literature also as Panchatantra says, "The house one lives in is not the home, the mistress of the house is called the home." Even today,(in truly civilised homes) the lady of the house is referred to as *Grtha Lakshmi*, or the Goddess of wealth and well-being.

Further reference in the Vedic literature praises the birth of a scholarly daughter. The Goddess of learning is Saraswati. In the vedic period education of women was encouraged. They were eligible for *Upanayana* or initiation and brahmacharya or study of Brahma knowledge. The *Mahanirvana Tantra* says, "A girl also should be brought up and educated with great effort and care".**** The *Devi-mahatmya* declares : "All forms of knowledge are aspects of Thee; and all women throughout the world are Thy forms". There are references of women philosophers like Gargi, Maitreyi, Arundhati, Lilavati and others who attained regular Vedic studies like men.

Being well-trained and grown up at the time of their marriage, women were free to choose their husbands. The freedom of women is evident from the account of the popular festival called *samanas*, where men and women met and mixed freely. There is an interesting passage in the *Saptashati* where Durga, who is '*Kumari*', virgin, tells the Asuras who aspired to marry her, "He who conquers me in battle, he who humbles my pride, he who is my equal in this world, he shall be my husband." The term '*dampati*' frequently used in Indian society reflects that husband and wife were regarded as the joint head

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* Aruna Asaf Ali : *The Resurgence of Indian Women*, New Delhi, Radiant Publishers, 1991, pp. 12-13.

** *Rigveda*, v.v.28 *cited* in Dr. Bhim Sen Narang, *Concept of Stridhana in Ancient India*, Delhi, Parimal Publications, 1990, p.1.

*** SB, XIV. 3.1.11. *cited* in *Ibid.*, p.2.

**** Swami Madhavananda and Ramesh Chandra Majumdar: *Great Women of India*, Almora Advaita Ashrama, 1953, p.XV.

of the household.* Further reference to wife as *Sahadharmini*—a co-partner of man in all activities of life—indicates that women enjoyed equal status in society. Woman participated in all the religious rites and ceremonies with her husband.

It is worthwhile to mention here that the creativity of woman, by attaining motherhood, was well-respected by the famous law-giver. Manu, who says, "One *acharya* excels ten Upadhyayas in glory, a father excels a hundred acharya in glory; but mother excels even a thousand fathers in glory."** Sankara the renowned philosopher of Advaita or non-dualism, writes, "Who is the seen God"? One's mother."***

In the two great epics of India, the *Ramayana* and the Mahabharata, as in religious mythology, women occupy places of honour. In Ramayana although Ram is the main character who sets standards in every relationship of human activity, whether as son or brother or husband or father or as heir—apparent prince or as the king, his wife, Sita equally sets standards as daughter, as life-partner *i.e.* wife, as daughter-in-law, as princess and as the queen. The entire epic is full of episodes which testify the character of Sita as the symbol of highest virtues and the ideals which a human being as a woman can aspire for and as the embodiment of the most noble which can be expected of. Being the daughter of a king, Janak of Videh, who was famous not only for his royal position and possessions but also for his great learning and wisdom and above all for his detachment with the worldly possessions, its seems Sita inherited the outstanding virtues of sacrifice, detachment and learning and probably that was the reason she was called besides Sita as Janaki and Vaidehi. When Ram as the obedient son of his father prepared himself to leave Ayodhya, the capital town of his father's (King Dashrath) Kingdom, Sita pleaded and insisted—and by her logic and deep sense of partnership with her husband—finally prevailed upon Ram to allow her to accompany on his 14 years' exile. And how much she suffered during these 14 years of exile is a saga of deep and unshaken love and sacrifice for her husband. Another instance, which is mentioned in *Padmapurana*, the work of an eminent Jain Acharya Ravi Sen, is that when Sita came out unharmed of the test ordeal instructed by her husband Ram she refused to accept his offer of re-joining him as queen and expressed her desire to renounce the world telling her husband the

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* *Ibid.*, p. xvii.
** *Ibid.*
*** Aruna Asaf Ali, *op. cit.*, p.12.

futility of all kinds of worldly relationship. And she did renounce and after years of penance she achieved the supreme bliss of happiness and enlightenment. Because of her sacrifice and unquestionable fideiity to her husband, Sita continues to be the symbol of the most noble and the most ideal of Indian womanhood and she would continue to be so for all the time to come.

The leading characters in the *Mahabharata* include women of heroic mould such as Draupadi, Kunti and Gandhari. Draupadi, another legendary figure in *Mahabharata* is always observed as symbol of high virtues in a woman—courage, sacrifice and wisdom.

Post-Vedic Period

This tradition of Vedic period of providing opportunities for intellectual attainment and spiritual development to women can be seen in the post-vedic period also.

Not only Hinduism, Buddhism also recognizes the broad parity between man and woman in matters of religion; both the genders being charged alike with the duty of unfolding *Dharma*. Women were admitted to the order by Lord Buddha. They are allowed to become nuns. *Nirvana* is possible for both men and women. Evidences show that *bikhshunis* recited the texts and elucidated the deep problems of the Buddhist philosophy.

The Pali text which throws light on the spiritual achievements of women is the *Theri-gatha*, a small work containing only five hundred and twenty-two stanzas said to have been uttered by several nuns giving expression to their joy at the attainment of the highest goal, nirvana. There is another commentary Manorathapurani on the Anguttara Nikaya, in which appears a list of the foremost theris (nuns), *sharamaneris* (female novices) and *upasikas* (female lay devotees). The commentary offers a biographical sketch of each of these female notables, and the sketches are similar in nature to those in the *Paramattha-dipani*.* Among the women disciples of Buddha were Mahapajapati, Gotami, Kshema, Patachara, Ambapali, Vishakha, Khujjuttara, Samavati, who rose to the highest stage of spiritual culture during that period.

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* Swami Madhavananda and Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, op. cit. p.225.

In the Jain scriptures, there are references of many illustrious women. From very early times, the Jainas paid the highest possible veneration to the parents of the twenty-four *Tirthankaras*, especially to their mothers, so much so that stone plaques (*pattas*) showing the twenty-four mothers sitting with the infant Jinas on their laps were daily worshipped in many a Jaina shrine.*

Besides, sharing the religious rites and ceremonies with their husbands in ancient India, they also participated in State matters. Evidence shows that Kumardevi, wife of Chandragupta, the founder of the illustrious dynasty of the Guptas, was renamed Mahadevi—the great queen, coins were also minted in her name—a pride enjoyed by her which was accorded exclusively to ruling kings those days.**

Besides Sita, Urmila, Mandvi, Shrutikirti, Mandodari and several queen mothers like Kaushalya, Kaikai and Sumitra in *Ramayana* and Kunti, Gandhari, Draupadi, Subhadra and Rukmini in *Mahabharata* written by Jain Acharyas, there are several other eminent women who are adored and worshipped for purity, dedication and scholarly achievements in their lives. Mainasundari is a household name even today. She was an extraordinary beauty but more than that was gifted with erudition and was well-versed in different fields of knowledge like art, music and literature. She was a woman of right and firm conviction and was indeed a spiritual person. Once she along with her sister was in conversation with her father. The king asked both his daughters, Mainasundari and Sursundari as to whom they owed their comforts and possessions. Sursundari replied that everything which she had and enjoyed she owed to the King. The King was extremely pleased to hear the reply. However, Mainasundari replied that she was getting according to her destiny which was the fruit of her own actions. The king felt unhappy and thought that Mainasundari gave that reply out of her sheer arrogance and made up his mind to teach her a lesson. The king got Mainasundari married with a prince who unfortunately was afflicted by leprosy all over the body. Mainasundari respected her father's wish and also the social traditions prevailing then and married the leprosy-afflicted prince Shripal. As the legend goes, Mainasundari by her devoted care succeeded in having her husband completely cured and Shripal won back his kingdom from his uncle who had ousted him because of his

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* Brihet-kalpa-bhashya, Ed. Muni *Punyavijaya*, Bhavanagar 1933-8, Vol.IV. 4348 F. *cited* in *Ibid* p. 275

** Hansa Mehta : Political Status of Indian Women in Shyam Kumari Nehru (ed): 'Our Cause' Allahabad, Kitalsta, 1972, p.339

incurable illness and Mainasundari thus restored to her husband his glory and fame. This episode underlines the importance of one's own efforts and the truthfulness of the principle that none can give or take away anything to the other and all are masters of their own destiny. Other instances are of Sati Anjana, mother of Lord Hanuman, Sati Chandana, mother-sister of the king Shrenik Bimbasar and Sati Rajulwats to whom Tirthankar Neminath, cousin of Lord Krishna, was to marry. These instances are merely to illustrate the point that in ancient times women enjoyed equal rights with men and they shared the same responsibilities as a co-partner whether in the day-to-day family life, or in the administration or in the battle field.

The active part played in intellectual and social life by women in ancient India is beautifully described by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in the following words:

> "Brahmin girls were taught Vedic wisdom, girls of the Kshatriya community were taught the use of the bow and arrow. The Barhut sculptures represent skilful horse women in the army. Patanjali mentions the spear bearers (*Saktikis*). Meagasthenes speaks of Chandragupta's bodyguard of Amazonian women. Kautilya mentions women archers.... In the houses as well as in the forest universities of India, boys and girls were educated together. Atreyi studied under Valmiki along with Lava and Kusa, the sons of Rama."*

Medieval Period

This degree of liberty which Indian women enjoyed in ancient India was lost to some extent in medieval India though a few outstanding women administrators left their magnificent imprints on the pages of history. For instance, Rudramaba—the Kakateya queen, Razia Begum, Chand Bibi of Ahmadnagar, Tarabai—the Maharatta heroine and Ahalyabai Holkar of Indore are a few outstanding names among the great women of that period.

During this period, the Bhakti movement spread all over the nation. Describing the Bhakti movement, noted historian Romila Thapar writes :

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* Aruna Asaf Ali, op.cit. p.12

> The need of the Bhakti movement in the *Bhagavata* tradition was a liberalising concept of religion embedded in the idea of the individual's relationship with a personalised deity. This enfranchisement from both theology and ritual was extended early expression of *bhakti* in the teachings of the Alvars and *Nayanmars* not only stressed the personal devotion of the individual to the deity of his choice, expressed in the easily comprehensible hymns composed in the most widely used language of the region (rather than in the more erudite Sanskrit) and divested of much complicated ritual, but also emphazised the right of women to *bhakti*, to their joining in congregational worship and to a generally freer life for them. This is also reflected in the early teachings of the Lingayatas, in the preaching of the 'saints' of Maharashtra, to some degree in the teaching of Chaitanya in eastern India and to a considerable degree in the verses of the northern bhakti teachers, particularly Kabir and Nanak. Not surprisingly, it was the bhakti teaching which produced the women 'saints'—Andal, Mirabai and Lalla."

This movement placed God within the reach of all, irrespective of caste or gender. Nambudi women accepted the life of saint women. Mirabai, Muktabai, Janabai, Vishnupriya are well known names in Bhakti literature whose compositions are popular to this day. For widows and neglected women devotion provided an austere way of life and a certain justification for living.

During this period, Islam spread in India. In their relationship with the divine, men and women stand on a footing of equality in Islam. Woman, like man, is an individual who can pray to the Almighty, and can hope for redemption. Islam does not consider woman as an impediment in the path of religion nor does it consider her as the root cause of man's downfall. The Quran is replete with injunctions aimed at bettering the lot of women. There is no ban on widow re-marriage and divorce is allowed. Marriage is not religiously obligatory for a woman. Women's rights to inheritance, provided in Islam, are significant especially in view of the fact that they were meant for a patrilineal social structure. Islam introduced shares for wife, daughter, mother, sister and grand-mother, the general rule being that the female was to inherit half of what the corresponding male would

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• Romila Thapar : Looking Back In History In Devika Jain's Indian Women, New Delhi Publication Division, 1975, p.13

inherit.* Historical evidences sow that women like Jahanara, Begum Mumtaz enjoyed respectable positions in society.

During this time, She most sensitive minds among Hindu and Muslims reached out towards each other. A Sew religion Sikhism, based on the teachings of Guru Nanak emerged. Guru Nanak also wanted women to be treated by men as equals. "Within a women is a man conceived, from a woman he is born, he is married to a woman and with her goes through life.... Why call her bad, she gives birth to kings. None may exist without a woman. Only the one, true God is exterior to woman," says Guru Nanak.**

British Period

The advent of British rule brought 'Christianity' to India. In Christianity both men and women are believed to have been created by God in his own image. In matters pertaining to the spirit and the practice of religion, Christianity accepts equality between men and women. Everybody is baptised in the name of Christ. The Bible lays great emphasis on the image of woman as a strong and steady influence for the good. Christianity also forbids polygamy and it lays emphasis on the establishment of a mutual relationship between husband and wife and on their duty towards each other. This is powerfully expressed in the following pronouncement which forms a part of the marriage rites: "Man shall leave his father and mother and shall cleave to his wife; and they shall be one flesh."***

The impact of British rule, English education and Christianity propagated by missionaries resulted in a number of movements for social change and religious reform in the nineteenth century. Eminent leader, Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale, described this change in the following manner:

> "The first impact of western teaching on those who received it was to incline them strongly in favour of the Western way of looking at things and under this influence they bent their energies, in the first instance, to the re-examination of the whole of their ancient civilisation or their social usages and institutions, their religious

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* Government of India: Towards Equality— Report of the Committee on the Status of women in India, New Delhi, 19 pp. 43-44.

** Aruna Asaf Ali, op.cit., p. 28.

*** *Towards Equality*, op. cit. p. 45

> beliefs, their literature, their science, their art, in fact, their conception and realization of life."*

The gallant band of social reformers led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, created great awakening among women who gradually came forward to claim their legitimate rights. By establishing Brahmo Samaj in West Bengal, Raja Ram Mohan Roy propagated the ideal of eradicating the obnoxious Sati System. Later, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, serving in the same way, became the pioneer of widow remarriage. In Punjab Swami Dayanand Saraswati tried to revive the free and equal society of the Vedic period by establishing Arya Samaj. In South India, Mrs. Annie Besant attempted to press the need for a truly national education for both men and women through her Theosophical society.** At the same time, pioneer women social reformers like Pandit Ramabai, Ramabai Ranade, Smt. P.K. Ray, Lady Bose and Bhikaji Cama, dedicated themselves to open new opportunities for women.***

The transformation of the attitude towards women was actually precipitated by Gandhiji's view regarding women's role in social revolution and reconstruction. In his view,"Man and woman are of equal rank, but they are not identical." Under his guidance, the Civil Disobedience Movement and the Salt Satyagraha saw women in the front. The direct participation of women in the freedom struggle had a strong impact on their attitudes also. Gandhiji's tireless efforts and also the good work done by eminent social reformers and women's orgnizations ultimately helped Indian women in obtaining their legal—political rights with ease as compared to England and other western countries where women were required to put in hard fight and face the rigours of a militant campaign for acquiring the same. As they got the franchise in provinces in 1920s, they also began direct participation in politics when two women contested election to the Madras Assembly. In 1937, limited adult franchise was granted to Indian women.

Post-Independence Period Women And Constitution

The Constitution of Independent India, which came into force on 26 January, 1950, opened a new chapter in the matter of equality of

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* *Ibid.*, p. 50.

** Neera Desai: *Women in Modern India*, Bombay, Vora & Co Publishers Private Ltd., 1958, p. 113.

*** Padmini Sengupta: *The story of women of India*, New Delhi, Indian Book Company, 1974, p. 157.

women. The Preamble to the Constitution of India resolves to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, Social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation.

To attain these national objectives, the Constitution guarantees certain Fundamental Rights to all the citizens. Again the Directive Principles of State Policy enunciated in the Constitution embody the major policy goals of a Welfare Sate.

Indian women are the beneficiaries of these rights in the same manner as Indian men. Article 14 provides that the State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the law within the territory of India. Article 15 prohibits discrimination against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, or any of them. However, Article 15 (3) empowers the State to make any "special provision for women and children", even in violation of the fundamental obligation of non-discrimination among citizens, *inter-alia*, of sex. This provision has enabled the State to make special provisions for women, particularly in the field of labour legislation like the Factories Act, the Mines Act, etc. Reservation of seats for women in local or educational institutions has been held to be valued in view of the provisions of Article 15 (3). Article 16 (1) guarantees that, "There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the state." Again Article (16) (2) guarantees that, "No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under State." This obligation not to discriminate in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State has thus ensured a significant position and status for Indian women.

Coming to the Directive Principles of State Policy, some of the concern women indirectly or by necessary implication. There are a few others which are specific to women. The ones which concern women directly and have a special bearing on their status are.—

—Article 39 (a) which directs the State to frame its policy for ensuring that citizens, men and women equally have the rights to an adequate means of livelihood;

—Article 39 (d) which directs the State to ensure that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;

—Article 39 (e) which directs the State to ensure that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength; and

—Article 42 which directs the State to make provision for ensuring must and humane condition of work and maternity relief.

Thus, the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles are the instruments for attaining our national objective of Justice, Liberty and Equality. By adopting the principle of adult franchise, the Constitution seeks to establish a democratic republic by giving the adult population direct or indirect share in the Government. The special attention given to the needs of the women to enable them to enjoy and exercise their constitutional equality of status, along with the other special provisions aimed at their participative role in society make the Indian Constitution a 'social' document embodying the objectives of a social revolution.•

In consonance with the spirit of various constitutional provisions, the Parliament of India has enacted several important pieces of legislation to ameliorate the conditions of women. These laws include the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955; the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956; the Dowry Prohibition Act,1961 which was passed in the joint sitting of both the Houses of Parliament; the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971 and the Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987, etc.

However it has to be remembered that legislation by itself cannot change society. It has to be properly implemented, enforced and correctly interpreted in the spirit in which it is placed on the statute book. The Executive and the Judiciary have a major role to play in this. To translate woman's rights into reality, concerted efforts have to be made. Public opinion have also to be moulded to accept these rights.

• Government of India: *women in India– As Statistical Profile 1988*, New Delhi, 1988, pp. 341-343.

Development of Women Through Five-Year Plans

The Five-Year Plans have consistently placed special emphasis on providing minimum health facilities integrated with family welfare, nutrition for women and children, acceleration of women's education, their increase in the labour force and welfare services for women in need.

In the earlier phase of Indian Planning, women's development concerns had a low profile. There were, however, some significant beginnings. A major inititative was the establishment of the Central Social Welfare Board in 1953 to promote and assist voluntary organizations in the field of women welfare, child welfare and welfare of the handicapped. Under the community development programme, Mahila Mandals were promoted and supported since the Second Plan. Some legislative measure were also undertaken to protect the interests of women as, for instance, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956; the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 and the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961. The Third and Fourth Plans accorded a high priority to education of women. Measures to improve maternal and child health services, supplementary feeding for children and nursing for expectant mothers were introduced. The Fifth Plan supported economic development, employment and training for women as the principal focus for their socio-economic development. The main approach in these Plans was generally to view women as the beneficiaries of social services rather than as contributors to development.

The seventies brought women to the forefront of development concerns with the publication of the report of the Committee on Status of Women in India, the observance of the International Women's Year in 1975 and the preparation of a National Plan of Action for Women. This decade also saw the enactment of important specific legislations like the Equal Remuneration Act, 1976. The creation of a separate Bureau of Women's Development and the setting up of a national committee with the Prime Minister as President were intended to provide strong administrative support to women's development; and, for the first time, a co-ordinated picture was presented in the Plan. A separate Department of Women's Welfare was carved out at the Centre in 1985 from the then existing Ministry of Social and Women's Welfare to give a separate identity and to provide a nodal point on matters relating to women's development. Legislative measures were taken to provide protection to women against discrimination exploitation, atrocities and violence. Various labour legislations were amended to safeguard the interests of women and provide for their welfare during the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The Seventh Plan continued this strategy. The National Perspective Plan for Women (1988—2000) provides directions for all-round development of women. The National Commission on Self-Employed Women and Women in Informal Sector submitted a comprehensive report titled "*Shramshakti*", analysing the problems affecting large number of women in the informal sector and the steps needs to give them a better deal.

A significant step taken in the Seventh Plan towards improving women's status was the identification of a number of beneficiary-oriented programmes under various sectors or development.

Efforts were also made in the Seventh Plan to enhance women's skills in agricultural operation.

The Sports Authority of India conducted National Sports Festival for Women. Scholarships under sports talent search scheme were awarded to women.

For improving their health and nutrition status of woman, maternal and child health services were strengthened. Mass education and media activities were geared up to promote and create awareness against desirability of delayed motherhood and spacing of births was promoted vigorously. The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987 was passed to prevent the pernicious practice of commission of Sati and its glorification.

A number of schemes, supplemental to the general development programmes, were implement by the Department of Women and Child Development. The important role of voluntary organization in women's development was recognized. Grants were given to them to promote and support women's development and encourage them to participate in problem areas.

The strategy in the Eighth Plan will be to ensure that the benefits of development from different sectors do not bypass women and special programmes are implemented to complement the general development programmes.

A major thrust in the strategy for women's development will be on the formation and strengthening of grassroot level women's groups, which will articulate local women's needs and play an important role in decentralized planning and implementation of programmes. Services for women under the various programmes of employment, education, health care, family welfare, drinking water and nutrition would be made available at the grassroot level in the from of a package through convergence and integration.

In order to materialise these plans, the outlay on various developmental programmes for women and children has been increasing over the years; for the year 1991-92 the plan outlay for the Department of Women and Children was fixed at Rs. 400.00 crores as compared to Rs. 313.10 crores in 1990-91. In the year 1992-93, the total revised plan outlay for the Department was further raised to 550.99 crores. As per the latest Budget document, the amount has again increased to Rs. 606.08 crores (Budget—Estimates) for the year 1933-94.

In spite of tremendous developmental efforts undertaken by Government from time to time, women have to face hardships in certain fields. In order to meet the challenges of fighting the socio-economic injustice and atrocities inflicted on women, a National Commission for Women has been set up in January 1992. Speaking on the Bill, Smt. Usha Sinha, the then Deputy Minister in the Department of Women and Child Development in the Ministry of Welfare said in Lok Sabha on 30 May, 1990:

> "Discrimination in any form has been abolished under the Constitution and a number of other legislations were also made to safeguard the interests of women and special provisions have been made for women in labour laws. After independence, many laws were made and administrative steps were taken to ensure the rights of women. This Commission has been set up to look into the complaints of women. This is an important Commission. The successive Commissions on Women have also made recommendations in respect of condition of women. They have also noted the unequal status of women obtaining in different spheres of life and had suggested the setting up of an agency to fulfil the surveillance functions as well as redressal of their grievances. In deference to the persistent demands of several women activists to set up Commission for women, the Government decided to set up the national Commission for Women, consisting of six members and a Chairperson. The main task of the Commission shall be to study and monitor all matters relating to the constitutional and legal safeguards provided for women, to review the existing legislations and and suggest amendments, wherever necessary. It will also look into the complaints and take *suo moto* notice of the case involving deprivation of the rights of women in order provide to support legal or otherwise, to hapless women. The Commission shall monitor the proper implementation of all the legislations made to protect the rights of women so as to enable them to achieve equality in all sphere of life and equal participation in the development of nation."

This Bill was welcomed by the member of all the political parties and various voluntary organisations. The then Prime Minister, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh speaking on the Bill on 8 August, 1990 in Lok Sabha, said:

> "Keeping in view the problems being faced by the scheduled castes, backward classes, minorities and the poor, our approach is to give them some share in the governance of the county. Not that women lag behind in wisdom, spirit and ability but our system has been such that they have been repressed to be the most backward category of society. The Constitutions guarantees equal rights to women. But despite that the fact remains that 75 per cent women are uneducated, their dropout rate at the primary level of education is 55 per cent and 90 per cent of them are engaged in the unorganized sector, or which more than 80 per cent are in the Agriculture sector alone. These are the conditions which go contrary to the provision in the Constitution. We are of the view that there should be constitutional mechanism to oversee the welfare, rights and various problems of the women where issues concerning them could be raised forcefully and effective solutions found thereafter. This is why we have brought this Bill of Commission today."

During the discussion on the Bill, Smt. Malini Bhattacharya said on 9 August 1990 in Lok Sabha:

> "The real acid test of this Commission, when it starts to work, will of course, be, whether it remains a centralised bureaucratised body, and how far it would be able to spread its branches to the grass-roots to the women, needs the help of such a Commission most. I am thinking of the poorest sections of the women. There could be women from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, there could be other women also, the women who live behind the *purdahs* and whose voices are silent, who cannot reach out to the Commission. Will the Commission be able to reach out to them ? That is the question that we ask. What about the women in the unorganised sector about whom it can be said. 'A man does work from sun to sun. A woman's work is never done'? These women work so hard that they do not have the time of voice their grievances. Will the Commission be able to reach out to these women ? That is the questions and that can only be done provided this National Level Commission is able to reach out the State level and to the district level."

In Rajya Sabha, Smt. Jayanthi Natarajan, while speaking on the Bill, said:

> "I condemn all kinds of atrocities against women and it is not a political issue..... The attitude of men towards women and of boys towards girls even before their birth is one of total domination and I want to state before you a few instances of their condition right from the time of their birth until the time of their death, the cause of their death through *Sati*, the domination, the servility and the total suppression of women which is going on in this country. There is, it is no dearth of laws. The point I am going to make is it is not a question of implementation of the laws....
>
> Sir, I want to bring to the notice of this House the fact that there must be a political will to implement the laws which are made in favour of women, which are made to bring women forward in the national stream, which are made to bring women out of the servile existence on which they live in this country there has to be a political will on the part of the Government to implement them.
>
> I think it is very important that the Commission should have powers, not just functions. The question of attitude should be there because right from the time we are born till the time we die, only thing before us is the object to be used. That is why I say what you have written down as functions should rightly, include powers. Without saying what are the powers which they have to do it is difficult for the Commission to function. We need a sword arm. What is the sword arm? We need where? These people can go out and make sure that the rights of women are protected. If you only call them functions and we only make 2500 recommendations and none of them are implemented, then Commission has to go with a begging bowl to hundred different people asking them to implement them...."

At present, the Commission is functioning under Smt. Jayanti Patnaik, former M.P. as its Chairperson to review the existing laws which affect women, liaise with concerned Ministries, State Government and non-Government.

Accomplishments of Women in Various Fields: An Overview

A galaxy of distinguished and brilliant women has always been contributing significantly in various fields of our national life.

Literature

Some of the women who excelled in literature were Avvai of Madras, Anandamayee of Bengal, Nur Jehan, Jehanara and Mumtaz. In later times, many distinguished writers like Sarojini Naidu, Swaranakumari Devi, Ashapurna Devi, Ashalata Sinha, Bani Ray, Ismatchugtai, Labhaben Mehta, Lilawati Munshi, Mahadevi Verma, Nalini Bala Devi, Indira Goswami, Maitreyi Devi, Mahasweta Devi, Nayantara Seghal, Krishna Sobti, Amrita Pritam, Rajam Krishnan, Saraswati Devi, Quarrtulain Hyder, Anita Desai and Amita Malik, emerged on the scene of literature.

Dance

Women have through the centuries, contributed keeping alive the traditions of Indian creative and fine arts. In the field of dance, T. Balasarswati, Gauri Devi, Rukminidevi Arundale, Mrinalini Sarabhai, Sonal Mansingh, Yamini Krishnamurthy, Vyjayantimala, Kumudini and Shevati, Sitara Devi, Gitanjali, Kamla, Kanaka Srinivasan, Radha Reddy, Sanjukta Panigarahi, Indrani Rahman, Shovana Narayan and Swapna Sundri are some of the eminent dancers who have brought to the Indian dance a fresh impetus and popularity.

Painting

Coming to the field of painting, the name of the late Amrita Sher-Gil, who was one of the leading modern Indian women artists, comes to mind. She was the first to bring a new note to modern Indian painting. Other renowned women who excelled in this field are Veerbala Bhavsar, Arpana Caur, Damyanti Chowla, Naina Dalal and Arpita Singh. Li-Gotami mastered herself in portraiture. Sushila Yawalker—dancer, painter and sculptor, Sheroo Sidwa, Meera Mukherjee and Usha Rani Hooja—the others famous sculptress, Mary Roop Krishna, who specialised in etching, are some of the names that evoke admiration. Recently, among those awarded by the Lalit Kala Akademi, are Reba Hore in painting, Anila Jacob in sculptures and Zarina Hashmi in graphics.

Films

Among the long list of women artists who have done yeoman services in raising the creative art in Indian film industry, the names

of Devika Rani Roerich, Ruby Myers, Durga Khote, Nargis Dutt, Madhubala, Meena Kumari, Sharmila Tagore, Shabana Azmi, Smita Patil, Hema Malini, Padmini, Simi Garewal, Laxmi, Sharda, Arati Mukherjee, Mira Nair (Film Director) and Aparna Sen (Film Director) and many other are memorable.

Music

Music too has been maintained on a high plane owing to contributions of many women celebrities like M.S. Subbulakshmi, Hirabai Barodkar, Kesarbai Kerkar and D.K. Pattamall. There are several well-known singers who have specialised in light classical music. Begum Akhtar, Rasoolan Bai, Jutika Ray, Sandhya Mookerjee, Meera Chatterjee, Gangubai Hangal, Siddeshwari Devi, Sumati Mutatkar have added charming varieties to the light classical music. In motion pictures, Kanan Devi, Noorjehan, Surraya, Lata Mangeshkar and Asha Bhonsale made music reach the millions of people in India.

Sports

Indian women's remarkable contribution is not restricted to only literary, creative and artistic activities. There are sufficient instances in Indian mythology where women excelled at games of skill. It was the famous Indian heroine Shakuntla who taught archery to her son, the son of equally famous hero Dushyanta. In recent years, Mary Leela Rao, Dolly Nazir, Arati Saha, P.T. Usha, K. Shiny Abraham, Vandana Rao, Gita Zutshi, Madhumita Bisht, S. Omana Kumari Nair, Indu Puri, and Aarti Gupta have won laurels in sports.

Adventure

In adventure too, women have been participating enthusiastically. India is proud of Bachendari Pal who conquered the mighty Everest. Other MS Gira Vadilal Shah also made her name in mountaineering. Dr. Geeta Ghosh—the first woman who excelled in paratrooping and Ms. Prem Mathur, the first women professional pilot are among those many women who have opened up new areas for women folk.

Departure From Traditional Role

Today women have come to occupy positions in such professions which were once considered the domain of men. It is heartening to see

the regulation of road traffic by symartly uniformed police women, performing their role with confidence. The participation of women in law enforcement duties has added a new dimension to the personality of modern Indian women. We now have women judges and district magistrates. Women have risen to high ranks in a wide range of professions like law, banking, architecture, engineering, science, business management, civil administration and industrial entrepreneurship.

Some of the First women in such fields are: Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy—the first woman medical graduate, Ms. Mary Poonen Lokose—the first woman Vice-Chancellor Ms. Anna Chandy-the first woman judicial officer in Indian Army, Capt. (Ms.) Saudamini Deshmookh-first woman commander of a jet aircraft, Smt. Durgabai G. Deshmukh—the first woman member of Planning Commission, Smt. Vijaylaksmi Pandit—the first woman President of the United Nations General Assembly.

In the legal profession Shorabji Comelia, Fathema Beebi, Sunanda Bhandare, Mithan J. Lam Shyamla Pappu are some of the very well known women.

In medicines the name of many eminent personalities like Dr. Sushila Nayar, Sneh Bhargava, Vimla Virmani, Veena Bijlani, Lata Naresh Mehta, Radha Pant, Urmila Gupta, Vera Hingorani, Kamala Dhall, Sneh Gadhoke, who excelled in this field can be mentioned.

In academics, a number of women including Romila Thapar, Chitra Naik, Veena Majumdar, Krishna Bharadwaj, Shakuntala Devi, Suma Balwant Chitnis, Promilla Kapur, and Madhuri Shah (former Chairman, University Grants Commission) have distinguished themselves.

In the field of culture, Pupul Jayakar and Kapila Vatsyayan merit mention.

In Engineering, Usha Rani Sainani, Illa Majumdar are the pioneers who have opened up this field for women.

In Management, also many women like Shobhana Bhartia, Malathi Bolar, Kiran Majumdar, Neerja Rajkumar and Swatantra Kaur Sekhon have distinguished themselves.

Women have always been in the service of humanity. To name a few are Mother Teresa—missionary of Charity, Lakshmi Mazumdar and Rajmohini Devi.

Traditionally, women have been playing an important role in agricultural production, animal husbandry and other related ac-

tivities such as storage, food processing, etc. As reported in 1991 census, the work participation rate for females is higher in rural areas (27.20 per cent) than in urban areas (9.74 per cent). According to 1991 census, the distribution of rural female main workers shows that 38.58 per cent were cultivators, 48.83 per cent agricultural labourers and 12.59 per cent other workers. Over the years, a sectoral shift is taking place. Females are also moving away from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors, though in a smaller way. The number of women employed in the organised sector increased from 13.7 lakhs in 1962 to 35.7 lakhs in 1989. This represented an increase in women's share in employment in the organised sector from 11.3 per cent in 1962 to 13.7 per cent in 1989. This shift may, perhaps, be due to increase in female literacy level. The 1991 census data show that for the population aged 7 years, and above, the percentage of female literates rose from 29.75 per cent in 1981 to 39.42 per cent.

In the latest Eighth Five-Year Plan, special emphasis is laid on the promotion of employment for women. In order to improve the conditions of women work force in the unorganised sector, encouragement shall be given to formation of producers' groups and cooperatives. This may help them to improve their bargaining power and access to inputs. Special condensed, job-oriented courses will be organised for them.

In the administrative machinery also, there is an increased representation of women. The male monopoly in the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) was first broken in 1951. Since then, women have been joining every year in increasing numbers. Though Constitution of India gave equal rights to women with men in matters of employment in 1950, women were debarred from recruitment in Indian Police Service (IPS) till 1971.

In 1972, the discriminatory rule was removed and now at various levels, women are working as Deputy Superintendents, Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners of Police.

The percentage of women in the Indian Administrative Service has increased from 6.1 per cent in 1972 to 7.4 per cent in 1987; in the Indian Foreign Service from 4.9 per cent in 1972 to 9.9 per cent in 1987; and in the Indian Economic Service from 4.9 per cent in 1972 to 12.9 per cent in 1987.

In administration, Anna Malhotra, C.B. Muthamma, Sarla Grewal, V.S. Ramadevi, Usha Vohra and Kiran Bedi have excelled themselves in various capacities.

Politics and Decision-Making

India has advanced satisfactorily on the road towards economic independence for women. In this process the most welcome development is women's participation in political and decision-making process. The liberated atmosphere created for them by providing special constitutional provisions is basically to create more consciousness in them. This concept has been beautifully explained by the late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi in the following words:

"To be liberated, woman should feel free to be herself not in rivalry to man but in the context of her own capacity. Women should be more interested, more alive and more active in the affairs of society not because they are women but because they constitute half the human race."[•]

Ever since the first general elections in 1952, women voters' participation in various elections has increased from 38.77 per cent in 1957 to 51.36 per cent in 1991. But their representation in National Parliament has never crossed 10 per cent. In spite of this representation, there has been a rise in the number of women in key positions of power.

For nearly 16 years, a woman Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, remained at the helm of affairs. There have been many women Ministers in the Union Council of Ministers. In States also women have served as Governors, Chief Ministers and Ministers.

All political parties have shown their concern over the various issues relating to women. The Indian National Congress (I) in its 1991 election manifesto laid emphasis on reservation of 30 per cent membership for women in local government and other statutory bodies and committees. They also called for ban on the practice, propagation, celebration and glorification of *Sati*. Strict implementation of the legal provisions in respect of offences relating to dowry was also demanded. Another priority was given to the suppression of immoral traffic in women and their rehabilitation and the ban on the indecent representation of women in posters, advertisements, hoardings, etc.

The Indira Mahila Yojana, announced by the Congress in 1989 to be implemented as the focal point for Programmed Women's Development.

• Dr. Najma Heptulla : *The Unrepresented Electorate—Women in Indian Politics*, *The Parliamentarian*, July 1991.

The National Perspective Plan for Women was also to be vigorously implemented. Women's Development Corporations, established in different States to initiate and manage economic programmes for the upliftment of women, were to be strengthened. The improved Chulha Programme was proposed to be expanded to cover at least 5 lakh families each year. The Integrated Rural Energy Programme was to be expanded to at least 100 blocks each year to promote the use of alternative energy sources for cooking, heating and lighting. Vigorous implementation of the Equal Remuneration Act was to be carried out to ensure equal pay for equal work for women, schemes for distributing assets like land/house sites jointly or singly in the names of women were to be introduced. The office of the Commissioner for Women's Rights to defend women's rights and for taking timely action in case of atrocities on women was proposed to be established. The legal provisions in respect of offences relating to dowry were proposed to be strictly implemented.

The Bharatiya Janata Party looks upon womanhood as *Matri-Shakti*. Their agenda relating to women in the election manifesto of 1991 included various steps to improve their socio-economic status like making women equal shareholders in the husband's wealth and income; strengthening family courts presided over by women-judges to try all family-related cases; getting women equal pay for equal work and promoting Rs. 100 crore a year cottage industry to employ rural women; giving preference to women as primary school teachers; starting more and more hostels for single working women; providing smoke-less chulhas at concessional rates to village women; putting up public latrines for village women as well as for women living in slum areas; appointing a Commission to study problems of women, particularly women labourers and suggest suitable remedial measures.

The 1991 election manifesto of the National Front *inter alia* says that women shall be assured of equal rights in family property. National Commission on Women shall also be constituted. Review shall be made of all legislations which discriminate against women and all laws concerning marriage, divorce, maintenance, custody, adoption and inheritance. Special programmes shall be launched to ensure faster propagation of education for girl children, provision of employment through special training in the agrarian sector, homes for the shelterless and social security to destitute women. India shall be made a signatory to the U.N. Convention on Women's Rights. The party asked for thirty per cent reservation for women in elections to Panchayati Raj and municipal bodies as provided in the Panchayati Raj and Nagar Palika Bills. Larger representation shall be ensured for women in the Legislatture. Other programmes shall include, special

maternity fund for mother and child health, nutrition and child care; smokeless chulhas at subsidised rates; priority in allotment of housing sites and housing loans to households headed by women and to destitute women; and more women's hostels. Child care shall be included in the minimum needs programme. All forms of harassment and violence against women and violations of laws meant for protecting women's rights and dignity will be strictly punished.

In respect of government jobs, efforts will be made to ensure 30 per cent share for women.

Depiction of women in any form of obscenity and indignity shall be stopped with the cooperation of the women's organisations.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) in its election manifesto of 1991 expressed concern on unprecedented increase in the incidences of atrocities on women, gruesome dowry deaths, discrimination against working women and their sexual harassment.

There has been great concern over the low level of representation of women in various bodies. In this connection, an important step has recently been taken when Parliament of India voted the 72nd and the 73rd Constitution (Amendment) Bills, 1991 which seek reservation of seats for women (including those belonging to SC/ST) to the extent of not less than one-third of the total seats to be filled by direct elections in the Gram Panchayats and the Municipalities, respectively. The Bills were passed by Lok Sabha on 22 December, 1992 and by Rajya Sabha on 23 December, 1992. The Bills are now under ratification by the States and are yet to receive the President's assent.

A lot has been done in the past to raise the socio-economic and political status of women. However, much remains to be done. As the late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi once said, "If a handful of women go forward, become ministers or judges, you should not think that women's status has gone up."

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WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN INDIA : THEIR ROLE AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Historically women have played a very significant role in the growth and development of parliamentary democracy in India. They have held important positions both in the legislature and Government. Their contributions to the growth and development of parliamentary procedures and practices are in no sense less significant than those of their male counterparts. Their area of interest in the debates of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha covers not only the issues concerning women uplift but also other issues of national and international importance. Time and again, they have in various capacities mooted and introduced important bills inside the House, many of which have become laws. Even outside the House, women members have been socially and politically active. Social reforms, especially concerning women, and intended to impart political consciousness among women seem to be one of the important vocations of our women parliamentarians.

It was in the background of the national liberation movement and various social reform movements of the late ninteenth and early twentieth centuries that the women of India had been initiated into the political life of our country. During the freedom movement educated women provided leadership to the hitherto unmobilized women of India and organised them to fight for national independence. However, the basic concern of prominent women leaders of this period was to seek legislative enactments for women's uplift and gender equality in every field of human activity, besides demanding adult suffrage.

A beginning in this regard was made by Annie Besant who was also the first President of the Women's India Association. She urged women to join the Home Rule League. However, it was Margaret Cousins, a suffragette-*cum*-theosophist, who organized the first franchise delegation to meet E.S. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford on Constitutional Reforms in 1917. The prominent members of the delegation were Sarojini Naidu, a well known poetess and political activist, Annie Besant, Mrs. Cousins, Dr.(Miss) Joshi, Herabai Tata and Dorothy Jinarajadasa. The deletion demanded franchise of women.

The deputation further asked

(1) that the Government shall make a pronouncement in favour of compulsory and free primary education for Boys and Girls, and widely extended Secondary Education, and immediately set to bring this as is being done in several of the Indian States. (2) We ask that during the time elapsing before the completion of this reform, the Government shall immediately devote as much attention to the education of girls as is now given by them to boys and provide an equal number of school facilities for them, and thus remove the unwise differentiation which provides facilities for ten times as many boys as girls, a policy which defeats its own ends, as the uneducated wives of these boys later hold back their progress.

In order to supply teachers for this wide spread of education, we ask the Government to provide a largely increased number of Training Colleges for Indian Women Teachers and also to establish a number of widows' Home for this purpose, supplemented by the grant of scholarships to widows and those anxious to be trained as teachers. Several travelling scholarships should also be granted for specially promising teachers. We suggest that a system of grants should also be made to assist Association which are now so widely attempting to continue the education of married women outside of ordinary school hours and curricula.

As a better physical standard is also an essential of Indian progress, it is necessary to have educational means by which to cope with the disastrously high rate of infant mortality and high death-rate of young married women. We, therefore, press your Excellency, and you, Sir, to urge the Government to establish more Medical Colleges for women and to institute short Maternity Courses, giving certificates to duly qualified persons, in connec-

> tion with the local hospitals in the large towns throughout the country, and to encourage women to attend them by means of scholarship.*

Though "the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme suggested increasing the representation of Indians in the Legislative Council and widening the electorate, it did not mention women."** This neglect led to a sharp reaction from women. A Special Committee consisting of Sarojini Naidu, Annie Besant, Herabai Tata and Mithan Tata went to England in 1919 to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India, in support of the extension of the franchise to Indian women. There, they were able to enlist the support of British women activists, and as a result, the Joint Select Committee recommended that sex disqualification should be removed. However, interestingly, the lead in granting voting rights to women was provided first by the Madras Legislature in 1920. Bombay came next when it granted right to vote to women in 1921. From then onwards, one after another the Provincial Legislatures passed resolutions for granting enfranchisement to women. By 1929, this process was completed when all Legislative Councils extended the franchise to women on the same basis as to men.

After securing the right to vote, the next on the agenda was to obtain the right to sit in the Legislative Councils in order to secure complete political equality between men and women. In 1926, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy became the first woman to be nominated to the Madras Legislative Council. She was also the first woman to be elected the Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council. She lived up to the expectations of those who argued that women in politics would play a vital role in effecting social reform for women and children. "During the first session, she worked to improve the conditions of women and children: by introducing bills to abolish the *devadasi* system, and child marriage, making medical inspection compulsory in all schools and colleges, reducing secondary education fees for poor girls, establishing a children's hospital, and securing grants for institutions training destitute women."*** In 1927, the

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* Please see the copy of the Address Presented by the All India Women Deputation to Lord Chelmsford and E.S. Montagu, on 1st December, 1917, referred in Dr (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Mrs. Margaret Cousins and Her Work in India. Madras; Women's Indian Association, 1956, p. 7.

** Geraldine H. Forbes. "Votes for Women: The Demand for Women's Franchise in India, 1917—1937", in Vina Mazumdar ed. *Symbols of Power : Studies on the Political Status of Women in India*. Bombay, Allied, 1979, p.5.

*** Forbes, 1979, *op. cit.* p. 8.

Women's India Association (WIA) compiled a list of women in public life which included by then the five nominated members of the Legislative Councils and thirty-two Municipal Councillors. Most of these women successfully addressed themselves to the cause of women and in seeking equality with men.

In August 1932, the Communal Award introduced separate electorate on communal basis. This was vehemently opposed by Dr. Reddy, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Nallamuthu Ramamurthy, Taraben Premchand, Lakshmi Menon and others. They pleaded for adult franchise for men and women and direct election on a non-communal basis. Finally, it was in 1935 that the Principle of right to vote to woman was accepted.

In the 1932 elections to the Provinces, many women contested and many of them got elected. Anasuyabai Kale was elected Deputy Speaker in the Central Provinces and Berar. Rukmani Lakshmipathi was Deputy Speaker in 1937-39 in the Madras Legislative Assembly. Later on, she became a Minister of Health in the Ministry formed by Shri. T. Prakasham in 1946. The first woman to serve in any Cabinet was Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in U.P. with the portfolio of local self-government and public health.

The contributions of Smt. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to the cause of nation-building and social development are manifold. As a Minister for Local Self-Government in the United Provinces Assembly, she took special interest in safeguarding public health and sanitation, and maternity and child welfare. It was under her guidance that Anti-malaria Scheme was prepared and implemented in the United Provinces. She also made special effort "to convert night schools into real adult literacy centres. She strove to model evening institutions on Russian Principles of Education. She adopted them to suit Indian conditions."[*]. In the post-independent India, she held important diplomatic assignments either as Ambassador/High Commissioner in the USSR, USA, Spain, Mexico and the UK. Her mission to London culminated in the highly successful visit to India of Queen Elizabeth II and Duke of Edinburgh in 1960-61. Her diplomatic efforts helped India in improving bilateral relations with these countries.

Women have also played significant role in the freedom movement. Nationalist zeal and patriotic fervour of Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu and others caused a nationalist resurgence among the women of

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[*] Abdul Majid Khan, *Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: The Great Daughter of India*, New Delhi: SBW Publishers, 1991, p.149.

India. They responded vigorously each call of the protest and boycott movements organized by the Congress or other nationalist organizations. Many of them also guided and provided leadership to the national movement. Annie Besant, who initiated Home Rule League in 1916, was chosen, while under internment, to preside over the annual session of the Congress. Sarojini Naidu became in 1925 the first Indian woman to be elected President of the Congress. Other women of the freedom-fame were Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Perin Captain, Sucheta Kripalani, Saraladevi, Rameshwari Nehru, G. Durgabai and many others, who earned legendary fame.

National movement was also a period of the resurgence of left revolutionary ideology in India. Prominent women revolutionaries were, Madam Bhikaiji Cama who "organised the despatch of revolutionary literature and arms to India from Paris," Santi Das who along with Suniti shot dead Stevens, the district magistrate of Comilla in December in 1931.

Bina Das was sentenced seven years imprisonment for her attempted assassination of Stanley Jackson, the Governor of Bengal, in 1932. On the other hand, Kalpana Dutt took part in a raid on the Chittagoy Armoury in 1933. Similarly, Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali participated in every round of the freedom movement since Salt Satyagraha of 1930. She became a legend in 1942 when she went underground and organized country-wide resistance to colonial rule.

In 1930, Indira Gandhi in her teen formed the *Vanar Sena*, a children's brigade to help freedom-fighters.

The Constituent Assembly set up in October 1946 to draft a Constitution for independent India had among its members veterans like Sarojini Naidu, G. Durgabai, Renuka Ray and Hansa Mehta.

While speaking in the Constituent Assembly on 11 December, 1946, Sarojini Naidu underlined the future direction of Indian Society:

> "I see gaps on this House and my heart is sore because of the absence of those brothers of mine... under the leadership of my old friend Mohamad Ali Jinnah. . . I am hoping. . . that my friend Dr. Ambedkar. . . will soon be among the most emphatic supporters of this Constituent Assembly. . . and his adherents of many millions will realize that their interests are as safe as the interest of more privileged people. I hope that those who call themselves the original masters of the land, the tribal people, will realize there is no distinction of caste, creed, ancient and modern status, in this Constituent Assembly. I hope the smallest minority

> in this country. . . will realize that they have a zealous. stern. loving guardian of their interests who will not permit the most powerful in the land to infringe his birthright to equality and equal opportunity in this country."

In the perspective of time. her next sentence was of certain significance:

> "I hope also that the Princes of India among whom I count many my personal friends. who are so worried. so anxious. so uncertain. so afraid today. will realise that the Constitution of India is a Constitution for the freedom and emancipation of every human being in India. whether he be prince or peasant."

While concluding her speech. she observed:

> "I have the last word. no doubt. not because I am a woman. but because I am acting today as the hostess of the Indian National Congress who has gladly invited those not within her fold to come and participate with us in framing the Constitution. that shall be immortal charter of India's freedom."

For women her message was:

> "Every woman is a creator in the ideals of nationhood. I want the women of India to have consciousness of the great and dynamic nation whose energies have to be mobilized and harmonized for common purpose."

Besides. Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur. as a member of the Constituent Assembly's Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights. participated actively in the drafting of the clauses guaranteeing gender equality in the Indian Constitution. which seeks to establish a just and egalitarian society by prohibiting discriminations in any form and on any basis. Article 325 makes it clear that "there shall be one electoral roll for every territorial constituency for election to either House of Parliament or to the State Legislature and no person shall be excluded from such roll on grounds only of religion. race. caste. sex or any of them." And Article 326 provides that the election shall be on the basis of adult suffrage.

Similarly. Article 15 prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion. race. caste. sex. place of birth or any of them. However. clause (3) of this article enjoins upon the State to make special provisions for the protection and welfare of the women and children. Clause (2) of Article 16 says. "No citizens shall. on grounds only of religion. race. caste. sex. descent. place of birth. residence or any of

them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of any employment or office under the State."

Interest of woman is further protected by the certain provisions of the Directive Principles of State Policy such as Article 39, which says "The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing—

(*a*) that the citizens, men and women equally have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;....

(*b*) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women".

Such provisions of the Indian Constitution guaranteeing adult suffrage to the citizens of India without any gender discrimination and protection and the promotion of the welfare of women are, in fact, the culmination of the process and movement initiated by the illustrious women of yesteryears, notably such as Margaret Cousins, Sarojini Naidu and other pioneers of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s.

Ever since the first general elections in independent India, women have taken active interest in politics and a good number of them got entry into the corridors of legislature mostly by election but a few through nomination. As parliamentarians, they have played important roles in the growth and development of parliamentary institutions in India. Their role and contributions can best be appreciated from the following statistical analysis of different Lok Sabhas and Rajya Sabhas.

Women Member in Lok Sabha

In the First Lok Sabha out of 499 seats, 22 were won by women members making a 4.4 per cent of the total. Out of these, two were appointed the members of the Council of Ministers. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was the first Cabinet Minister with the Health portfolio and Maragatham Chandrasekhar was the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Health. Some of the important women parliamentarians during the First Lok Sabha were Smt. Uma Nehru, Km. Maniben Patel, Smt. Jayashri Raiji, Smt. Renu Chakravartty and Rajmata Kamlendu Mati Shah.

Also during the first Lok Sabha, Smt. G. Durgabai, Smt. Ammu Swaminadhan, Smt. Renu Chakravartty, Smt. B. Khongmen and Smt. Sushma Sen served on the panel of Chairmen.

So far the educational status of women members of the First Lok Sabha is concerned, 55 per cent had received the University/College level education and the remaining women members were either

privately educated or educated up to School level. In terms of their professions or occupations, 12 members had been political or social workers before joining the Lok Sabha. Four were from the teaching profession. And the remaining members were with agriculturists or journalists or from the former ruling families. Also out of 22 women members in the First Lok Sabha, four had been from Scheduled Castes and one from Scheduled Tribes.

Women members introduced a large number of private members bills on many important social issues. Notable among them was the Dowry Restraint Bill, 1952 introduced by Smt. Uma Nehru in the fourth session, which after general discussion was withdrawn on assurance by Government that they would bring a comprehensive bill on the subject which they did subsequently. Another important bill in her name was the Hindu Marriage (Amendment) Bill (Amendment of Section 10) which after general discussion and clause by clause consideration and after third reading was passed by the House. Similarly Manibehn Patel introduced two important Private Members' Bills–the first was the Suppression of Immoral Traffic and Brothels Bill and the second was the Women's and Children's Institutions (Licensing) Bill, which later on was passed by the House. Some of the other important Private Members Bills introduced by women members were: The Workmen's Compensation (Amendment) Bill, 1955, (Insertion of new Section 3-A): The Factories (Amendment) Bill (Substitution of Section 59) and the Indian Adoption of Children Bill. Women occupied other important positions as well. In 1952, G. Durgabai became the member of the Planning Commission in-charge of social welfare. And as a Chariman of the Central Social Welfare Board, she promoted the establishment of social welfare centres in the country on a wider scale and took special interest in the welfare of women and children.

On a random analysis of the matters on which the women members of the House spoke, it has been found that they spoke on almost every issue raised in the House. Renu Chakravartty spoke on as many as 109 subjects which in a sense was much higher than the score of many of her male counterparts in the First Lok Sabha. This shows the level of awareness which the women members had during the First Lok Sabha.

As mentioned earlier, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was Cabinet Minister from 13 May 1952 to 17 April 1957. As a Union Minister of Health, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was the guiding force behind the Central Council of Health. The establishment of this Council made possible the continued and uninterrupted consultation and effective co-operation and co-ordination between the Centre and States in the field of

Health Planning and the implementation of different health schemes. Besides, her other landmark contributions include (i) introduction of B.C.G. vaccination on a mass scale and (ii) making family planning a national measure. But her most outstanding contribution to the cause of medical education was the setting up of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences in New Delhi. As a Health Minister, she was also instrumental in introducing many important Government Bills like the Drug (Amendment) Bill, 1954; All India Institute of Medical Sciences Bill, 1954; Indian Red Cross Society (Amendment) Bill, 1965; Indian Nursing Council (Amendment) Bill, 1957, etc. To her, health and education were the *sine qua non* for the well-being of a Nation.

By the time of the Second General Elections in 1957, the political interest among women gained ground even in the remote countryside. Women began to assert their position in political matters and their participation in the electoral process increased considerably. As a result, the Second Lok Sabha had 27 women members out of the total seats of five hundreds. Compared to the First Lok Sabha, the percentage of women members increased by one per cent (5.4%). Also, though there was no woman with the rank of a Cabinet Minister or Minister of State. There were three women Deputy Ministers: Lakshmi N. Menon was Deputy Minister of External Affairs; Violet Alva was the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs and Tarkeshwari Sinha was the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance.

During the Second Lok Sabha, once again Renu Chakravartty served on the panel of Chairmen. Compared with First Lok Sabha, the percentage of college or university educated women in the Second Lok Sabha had slightly increased. Out of 27, 16 had received the college or university education. Four were educated up to school level and one member was educated privately. On the basis of their prior occupations, it has been found that 13 women members were political or social workers, constituting a 48 per cent of the membership. And seven were from the teaching profession; four were agriculturists; four were from the former ruling classes; two from the profession of medicine and one from civil and military service. On the other hand, representation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes went down a little in the Second Lok Sabha. Out of 27, three were from Scheduled Castes and one was from Scheduled Tribes. Ganga Devi, Minimata Agam Dass Guru and Sahodrabai Rai were from Scheduled Castes and Rani Kesarkumari Devi was from Scheduled Tribes.

Out of the 27 women members in the Second Lok Sabha, ten were members of the First Lok Sabha as well. Those re-elected were : Renu Chakravartty, Ganga Devi, Subhadra Joshi, Anasuyabai Kale,

Sucheta Kripalani, Minimata Agam Dass Guru, Uma Nehru, Ila Palchoudhary Manibehn Vallabhbhai Patel and Tarkeshwari Sinha. Parvathi Krishnan and Vijaya Raje Kunwarani were earlier the members of Rajya Sabha too. These women members along with some new entrants were once again most vocal in the House. For example, Ila Palchoudhary in marked contrast to her male colleagues in the House put as many as 1,320 questions (admitted starred, unstarred and short notice questions and Resolutions during the Second Lok Sabha covering a wide range of issues. They were also active in initiating half-an-hour discussions on many important public issues such as suppression of immoral traffic in women, education of girls and women, and other social and political issues. Under Rule 193 of the Lok Sabha's Rules of Procedure, Renu Chakravarty initiated short duration discussions on matters of urgent public importance, for example, on air crash in NEFA, food situation in West Bengal, etc.. Also under Rule 342, women parliamentarians of Second Lok Sabha moved motions on many subjects such as modification of the Representation of the People (Conduct of Elections and Election Petitions) Rules, 1956, etc. They were also associated with some adjournment motions moved in the House and had many Private Members Resolutions in their names.

Though in the Third Lok Sabha the percentage of women members increased only by 1.3 per cent as compared to the Second Lok Sabha, the number of women ministers in the Council of Ministers increased substantially. There were eight women ministers with one Parliamentary Secretary. Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who was initially Cabinet Minister for Information and Broadcasting also became the first woman Prime Minister on January 24, 1966 after the sudden demise of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. She was also in-charge of various important Ministries like Atomic Energy, Home Affairs, etc. In the category of State Ministers, Lakshmi N. Menon was looking after the Ministry of External Affairs. On the other hand, Dr. Sushila Nayar was the Minister of Health and Family Planning. As a Deputy Minister, Smt. Maragatham Chandrasekhar took care of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Department of Social Security and the Department of Social Welfare. Other Deputy Ministers were Smt. Jahanara Jaipal Singh, (Dr.) (Smt.) T.S. Soundaram Ramachandran and Smt. Nandini Satpathy, Smt. Tarkeshwari Sinha was once again the Deputy Minister of Finance. Smt. Renu Chakravartty and Dr. Sarojini Mahishi also served on the panel of Vice-Chairmen. One of the most important factors in determining the attitude and preferences of the women members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha is their educational status. In the Third Lok Sabha, the number of college/university educated women increased substantially and they were 22 out of the 34 women members elected to this House. Three were educated up to

school level and one was educated privately. Professionally. 18 were political or social workers; six were from former ruling families. three were from teaching; four were from agriculture; and one was from civil and military service. Out of 34 women members. Smt. M. Chandrasekhar. Smt. Gangadevi. Smt. Minimata Agam Dass Guru and Smt. Sahodrabai Rai were elected from the reserved seats for Scheduled Castes and Smt. Jamuna Devi was elected from one of the reserved Scheduled Tribes' Constituencies.

With a 1.3 per cent increase in the strength of women members in the Third Lok Sabha their actual number increased from 27 in the Second to 34 in the Third Lok Sabha. Once again these women parliamentarians actively participated in the different legislative business in the House and contributed their best talent in shaping and moulding policy formulations during this period.

The Third Lok Sabha was dissolved on March 3. 1967 and the first sitting of the Fourth Lok Sabha was held on March 16. 1967. During Fourth Lok Sabha (1967–70) the number of women members slightly declined by 0.8 per cent from the previous Lok Sabha. Compared to the 34 women members in the Third Lok Sbaha. the Fourth Lok Sabha had only 31 women members. Also during this period the number of women members in the Council of Ministers decreased from eight in the Third Lok Sabha to only five in the Fourth. Besides. Smt. Indira Gandhi. who was Prime Minister of India. there were one Minister of State and three Deputy Ministers. Dr. (Smt.) Phulrenu Guha was Minister of State for Social Welfare and Law. Smt. Nandini Satpathy became the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Smt. Jehanara Jaipal Singh was holding the portfolio of Tourism and Civil Aviation. Dr. (Smt.) Sarojini Mahishi. who was until then Parliamentary Secretary became a Deputy Minister. Inside the House. Smt. T. Lakshmi Kanthamma. Smt. Tarekeshwari. Smt. Sushila Rohtagi and Smt. Jayaben Shah were the members on the Panel of Chairmen.

Though the strength of women members in the Fourth Lok Sabha declined slightly. the number of college or university educated women members was as much as 22. It terms of professions. 15 women members recorded themselves as political and social workers and four as agriculturists; two were from the profession of medicine. four each from teaching and former ruling families and one was from civil and military service. Also there were three women members each from the category of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Smt. Ganga Devi. Km. Kamla Kumari and Smt. Minimata Agam Dass Guru won from reserved constituencies' for Scheduled Castes and Smt. Girija

Kumari, Smt. Rajni Devi and Smt. B. Radhabai Ananda Rao got elected from the reserved Scheduled Tribes constituencies.

Whatever the representation of women members in the Council of Ministers or their legislative positions, one of the interesting features of this period was the stabilization of leadership of a woman Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi both in the Congress Party and in the then political process of the country, which was marked by many political turmoils.

Also during this period women members enthusiastically participated in the various legislative and other business of the House. As many as six adjournment motions by women members were admitted and discussed. These motions covered subjects like food situation in the country, relations with China, supply of Soviet arms to Pakistan, etc. Besides as many as Half-An-Hour discussions were initiated by the women members on urgent issues of public importance. Also during this period, four Private Members' Resolutions were brought by the women members.

Interestingly, unlike the previous House, in Fourth Lok Sabha one could witness a shift in the role of women members. They were now no longer according priority only to women's problems. Their domain of interests covered the vexed political questions of parliamentary polity, planning and development, and the foreign policy of India. It was also during this period and under the leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi that many regions such as Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya were granted Statehood. But the most significant event of the period was abolition of privy purses and the nationalization of Banks.

The Fifth Lok Sabha (1971–77) had the distinction of being the longest Lok Sabha. However, the number of women members declined from 31 in the Fourth Lok Sabha to 22 only in the fifth. In terms of percentage, it was a substantial decline of 1.7 per cent when compared with the Fourth Lok Sabha.

One finds a consistent increase in the percentage of College or University educated women members in the subsequent five Lok Sabha. In the Fifth Lok Sabha, their percentage was 82. The rest of the women members either studied up to school level or were educated privately. In terms of professions, the majority of the women members were once again political and social workers. Among the rest of the women members; four were agriculturists, one was from journalism; one was from service; four were from teaching and three were from the former ruling families. Though the number of women members in the Fifth Lok Sabha declined sharply, the representation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes had improved substantially.

Now six women members were from the Scheduled Castes and one was from Scheduled Tribes. Those who won from the reserved Scheduled Castes' constituencies were Smt. Ganga Devi, Smt. Bibha Ghosh Goswami, K. Kamla Kumari, Smt. Minimata, Agam Dass Guru Smt. Sahodrabai Rai and Smt. Bhargavi Thankappan; on the other hand, Smt. B. Radhabai Ananda Rao got elected from one of the reserved Scheduled Tribes constituencies. Also there were only four women Ministers including the Prime Minister in the Council of Ministers. Smt. Sheila Kaul was nominated to the Panel of Chairmen. However, this fact did not inhibit the women members from performing their parliamentary role effectively as the people's representatives. It was during this period and under the leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi that a large number of legislative measures pertaining to administrative, financial, economic and social spheres were brought on the Statute Book. The Constitution was amended nineteen times, beginning with the Constitution (Twenty-fourth Amendment) Act, 1971 and ending with Constitution (Forty-Second Amendment) Act, 1971. In the social and welfare fields, mention may be made of certain important Acts such as the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971, the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976, the Marriage Laws (Amendment) Act, 1976, the Untouchability (Offences) Amendment And Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1976. Also it was under her stewardship that important legislations pertaining to the nationalization of coal mines were effected.

For the first time the Congress Party was voted out of power in the Centre in the Sixth General Elections held in 1977. A coalition of parties under the banner of Janata Party came to power. Interestingly, though the political atmosphere of the country was highly changed, the number of women members in the Sixth Lok Sabha (1977–1979) dropped sharply. Only 19 women were elected to the Sixth Lok Sabha. On an average, we find one per cent decline in the percentage of women members in each Lok Sabha since the Third Lok Sabha when the percentage of women members was 6.7. This trend almost uniformly continued till the Sixth Lok Sabha.

Out of 19 women, nine women were graduates; three were post-graduates; three were intermediates; one was matriculate and one member had studied up to school level and one woman member passed the first M.B.B.S. examination only. On the other hand, occupationally, 11 women were political and social workers; two were agriculturists; two from teaching and one each was from the fields of medicine, trade and business and from legal profession. However, only two women got elected from the reserved Constituencies for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Smt. Bibha Ghose Goswami was elected from the Nabadwip reserved Scheduled Castes Con-

stituency in W. Bengal and Smt. B. Radhabai Ananda Rao got elected from the Bhadrachalam reserved Scheduled Tribes' Constituency in Andhra Pradesh.

The Sixth Lok Sabha had one woman Cabinet Minister. Smt. Sathiavani Muthu in the Ministry of Social Welfare. The other woman Ministers were Smt. Renuka Devi Barakataki, Minister of State in the Ministry of Education, Social Welfare and Culture; Smt. Abha Maiti, Minister of State in the Ministry of Industry and Smt. Rashida Haque Choudhury, Minister of State in the Ministry of Education, Social Welfare and Culture. Also Ms. Abha Maiti, Dr. Sushila Nayar and Smt. Parvathi Krishnan were the members of the Panel of Chairmen. The Sixth Lok Sabha had also the distinction of having many eminent women parliamentarians such as Smt. Indira Gandhi, who became the member of the House by winning a by-election from Chikamagalur (Karnataka); Smt. Mohsina Kidwai, who won the Lok Sabha by-election from Azamgarh (U.P.) and Smt. Mrinal Gore, an eminent trade Unionist. As people's representatives, they were quite active in raising social, political and economic issues in the House. Two women members, Smt. Parvathi Krishnan and Smt. Mrinal Gore initiated half- an-hour discussions in the House on the 'Committee on Status of women' and 'Postal accounts in Haryana' respectively. Some resolutions moved by women members and discussed in the House included two raised by Smt. Ahilya P. Rangnekar on public distribution system to check rising prices and remunerative prices to the growers of commercial crops. Women members were also associated with debates raised in the House through different devices.

Another significant aspect of the Sixth Lok Sabha was that for the first time in her career, Smt. Indira Gandhi sat in the Opposition. Sitting in the Opposition, she played the role of a constructive and vigilant Leader of the Opposition.

During the seventh General Elections, held in January 1980, the Congress under the leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi was once again voted to power at the Centre after a brief break of two years, four months and 28 days. In the Seventh Lok Sabha (1980–84) there were 28 women members, 5.1 per cent of the total membership of 544 in the House. This was, however, a distinct improvement on the position obtained during the Sixth Lok Sabha when the strength of women members was only 3.4 per cent of the total membership. This was still way behind the highest level of representation secured during Third Lok Sabha. Though not impressive, this modest figure of 5.1 per cent was a much higher level of representation for women than in many of the foreign Parliaments during the same period. For

example, the representation of women in the House of Commons was only 2.9 per cent at that time.

The percentage of graduate women members was 32.1 in the Seventh Lok Sabha. The Post-graduate women members (including those with technical qualifications) constituted 25 per cent of the total women membership of the House. They were seven in numbers. Four women members were either matriculate or intermediate. The number of under-matriculate was seven. Only one member had a doctorate degree.

Occupationally, there were 11 agriculturists, 13 political and social workers; three were from teaching or educational profession and one was from the category of civil and military service. Also during the Seventh Lok Sabha Smt. Bibha Ghosh Goswami, Smt. Kailaspati, Kumari Kamla Kumari, and Smt. Sahodrabai Rai got elected from the reserved Scheduled Castes' Constituencies, and Km. Pushpa Devi Singh and Smt. Radhabai B. Ananda Rao were elected from the reserved seats for Scheduled Tribes.

Among the women members elected to the Seventh Lok Sabha were Smt. Indira Gandhi, who had earlier held the office of Prime Minister during the period 1966—77 and three former Cabinet Ministers in State Governments, and a former Chairman of a Parliamentary Committee, one President of a National Political Party and one President of its State Unit.

Besides the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, the other women Ministers during this period were : Smt. Mohsina Kidwai, Smt. Sheila Kaul, and Smt. Ram Dulari Sinha. In the category of Deputy Ministers belonged Miss Kumudben M. Joshi and Km. Kamla Kumari. Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai was a member of the Panel of Chairmen in the Seventh Lok Sabha.

The role of contributions of women parliamentarians in the arena of private members' business during the Seventh Lok Sabha cannot be overemphasized. An interesting pattern discernible during the Seventh Lok Sabha was that about 25 per cent of the 435 Bills introduced by the Private Members sought to amend the Constitution of India. Some of them were of far-reaching nature. Women members did not lag-behind in this respect. Smt. Geeta Mukherjee proposed a Constitutional Amendment Bill providing for elections to the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies by a system of proportional representation. Among the other Bills which evoked keen interest among the members and general public was the Dowry Prohibition (Amendment) Bill, 1980 (Amendment of Sections 2, 3, etc.) by Smt. Pramila Dandavate. While speaking on this Bill, she gave some useful sugges-

tions. Like the National Women's Commission, she suggested that there should be an Anti-Dowry Commission with statutory powers. She also advocated setting up of a separate family court and the promotion of community marriage, etc. The other important Private Members' Bills were (i) The Unemployment Relief (Age Bar Exemption and other Amenities) Bill, 1980 by Smt. Geeta Mukherjee; (ii) The *Devadasi* and *Murli* Practice (Abolition) Bill, 1982 by Smt. Usha Choudhari and (iii) The Promotion of a Casteless and Religionless Society Bill, 1982 by Smt. Vidya Chennupati.

Among the important resolutions moved by the women members, mention can be made of those on (i) the setting up of petrochemicals unit at Begusarai, Bihar by Smt. Krishna Sahi, (ii) on Centre-State relations by Smt. Suseela Gopalan and (iii) steps to promote secular outlook in the country by Smt. Vidya Chennupati. Women Members were also much active in raising urgent public issues in the House. However, the above mentioned bills, resolutions, etc., were either withdrawn or rejected by the House as is the case generally for the private members bills and resolutions. Nevertheless they are a pointer to the fact that women members were highly conscious and sensitive towards their role in nation-building.

On 31st October, 1984, Smt. Indira Gandhi was assassinated. Though her contributions to the development of India are innumerable which obviously cannot be summarized in a few paragraphs, it would be worthwhile to recall some of them. As a Prime Minister of India, she shaped the destiny of India for almost two decades. As the leader of the world's largest democracy, she made India a self-reliant nation, especially in the agro-economic field. She gave a strong welfare bias to Indian economy under the pledge of *Garibi Hatao*, Twenty-Points Programme, Minimum Needs Programme, etc. She can be credited with several socialist progressive measures like abolition of the special privileges of the former princes, nationalization of the major banks, enactment of the Monopolies Act to regulate the activities of about eight hundred big farms, extension of the facilities of green revolution to dry land, giving emphasis on land reforms and land ceilings, etc. She perfectly blended the balanced growth of agriculture with the industrial development of the country. For her, development in the agricultural, industrial and scientific and technological fields was a means for social change and structural growth of the Indian society. Only a day before her death she said:

> "Even if I die for the service of the Nation,
> I shall be proud of it

> Every drop of my blood, I am sure, will contribute to the growth of this nation and make it strong and dynamic."

In the arena of foreign policy, some of her remarkable achievements were: (i) liberation of Bangladesh; (ii) Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation of 1971; (iii) Simla Agreement with Pakistan in 1972. Above all, she provided content, cohesion and a dynamic leadership to the non-aligned movement. Throughout her life, she dedicated herself to the cause of world peace and development.

The Eighth Lok Sabha constituted on December 31, 1984 had the distinction of having the largest ever representation of women members. There were 44 women members in that House constituting 8.1 per cent of the total membership. Compared with the Seventh Lok Sabha, it was an increase by 3 per cent. Among the 44 women elected to this House, graduates alone accounted for 31.8 per cent and the matriculates, higher secondary or intermediate certificate-holders accounted the same percentage (31.8). On the other hand, 10 women had post-graduation degrees including technical qualifications. In terms of percentage, it constituted 22.7, which, in a way, is a pointer to the fact that even highly educated women of India get elected to this highest law-making body of India. Three women had the doctorate degrees or having other high academic qualifications. And only three were under-matriculates. Occupationally, the women members of the Eighth Lok Sabha came from various vocations and professions. 14 were agriculturists and 15 recorded themselves as political and social workers. Interestingly 11 artistes, including the noted film actress Smt. Vyjayanthimala Bali also became the member of this Lok Sabha. There were eight teachers, and educationist and one each was from the category of civil and military service, former rulers and medical practitioners, two were either traders or industrialists.

On the other hand, though the Eighth Lok Sabha had the largest ever representation of women, the percentage of women from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes declined considerably. Smt. Maragatham Chandrasekhar, Km. Kamla Kumari, Smt. Bibha Ghosh Goswami and Smt. Sunderwati Nawal Prabhakar got elected from the reserved Scheduled Castes' Constituencies, and Smt. Sumati Oraon and Km. Pushpa Devi Singh were elected from the reserved Scheduled Tribes' Constituencies.

Also during the life of Eighth Lok Sabha, there were 10 women Ministers. Smt. Mohsina Kidwai was a Cabinet Minister for Health and Family Welfare. Later on, she was given the portfolio of Transport and of Urban Development. Smt. Margatham

Chandrasekhar held independent charge in the Ministry of Women and Social Welfare. Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai held independnet charge of the Ministry of Welfare. Smt. Margaret Alva was the Minister of State in the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs and later on in the Ministry of Human Resource Development (Department of Welfare and Women and Child Development and Youth Affairs and Sports). Smt. Sheila Dikshit was Minister of State in the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs. Miss Saroj Khaparde was the Minister of State attached to Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (Department of Health) and later on she became the Minister of State in the Ministry of Textiles. Smt. Sumati Oraon, a tribal leader who was initially the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Welfare, became the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home, Environment and Forests. On the other hand, Smt. Sushila Rohatgi and Smt. Krishna Sahi were Ministers of State in the Ministry of Human Resource Development looking after the Department of Education and Culture at two different points of time during this Lok Sabha. They also had the brief stint with other important Ministries as well. Smt. Ram Dulari Sinha was the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs. She was also the Minister of State for Steel and Mines (Department of Mines) and Smt. Basva Rajeswari served on the Panel of Chairmen.

As mentioned elsewhere, Parliamentary rules and procedures in India provide enough room to private members to initiate bills, resolutions, motions, etc. By invoking these parliamentary devices our women members introduced some important Bills in the House during the tenure of the Eighth Lok Sabha. Smt. Geeta Mukherjee, true to her mettle, once again introduced the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 1985 (insertion of new article 326 A) for election to the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies by the system of proportional representation. Smt. Meira Kumar introduced the Prohibition of Test for Pre-birth Sex Determination Bill, 1987. And the Abolition of Begging Bill, 1988 was introduced by Smt. Basva Rajeswari. Though unfortunately none of the above Bills could gain high enough priority in the ballot to be taken up for consideration by the House, they had the impact in drawing the attention of Government towards them.

Even though a Private Member's Bill may not come up for discussion, it is published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary after introduction and attracts wide attention of the press and public at large. Some of the Bills, introduced by women members acted as catalysts and prompted the Government to bring in more comprehensive legislations. Such as the Prohibition of use of religions, communal, regional and sectorial nomenclatures for political parties and Prevention of Misuse of Religious Places Bill, 1987 by Smt. Basva Rajeswari.

Another one was also introduced by her on the Prohibition of Sati Bill, 1987.

On the other hand, Smt. Bibha Gosh Goswami introduced the Working Women Welfare Bill, 1985 providing for the welfare of the women employed in various industries and establishments. This bill came up for discussion in the House.

Asking of questions from the Ministers is an inherent and unfettered parliamentary right of the private members to elicit information on matters of public importance and ensure day-to day administrative acceptability to Parliament. During question hour in Eighth Lok Sabha, women members were very active in eliciting information on a wide range of issues. Five Women Members, namely, Smt. Basva Rajeswari, Smt. Dil Kumari Bhandari, Dr. (Smt.) Phulrenu Guha, Smt. Geeta Mukherjee and Smt. Jayanti Patnaik put more than five hundred questions (admitted) each, with Smt. Jayanti Patnaik alone accounting for as many as 1,686 questions. This is pointer to the fact that irrespective of their small number in the House, they are front-rankers in discharging their duties as people's representatives.

The first ever woman to become the Chairman of the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha was Smt. Chandra Tripathi. As chairperson of this Committee in the Eighth Lok Sabha during 1986–88, she conducted the deliberations of the committee with the utmost objectivity and impartiality and could win the confidence of all the other members of the Committee.

A young woman parliamentarian, Km. Mamata Banerjee, took the lead in raising half-an-hour discussions on a number of important public issues such as management of foodgrains by F.C.I., rehabilitation of persons displaced from Pakistan, closure of the Government of India Press at Calcutta, problems of unemployment and the import of books.

While the Eighth Lok Sabha had the distinction of having the largest ever representation of women members, in the Ninth Lok Sabha (1989—91) their number declined considerably to 28 (5.29 per cent of the total number of seats).

So far the educational background of women members of this Lok Sabha is concerned, on an analysis, it has been found that graduates, post-graduates and others with high academic qualification together constitute 70.37 per cent. And the matriculates and intermediates constitute 25.92 per cent. Only one Women member was undermatriculate. On the basis of members' previous occupations, it can be found that the women members of this Lok Sabha had varied

representations—11 were political and social workers; three were agriculturists; two were artistes, including the film actress, Smt. Vyjayanthi Mala Bali; one was trade unionist; one belonged to journalist and writers category and one was lawyer and one came from the trade and industry. Among the women members of this Lok Sabha, Smt. Bimal Kaur Khalsa, Smt. Maragatham Chandrasekhar and Km. Mayawati got elected from the reserved constituencies for Scheduled Castes and Smt. Kamala Kumari Karreddula and Smt. Sumati Oraon were elected from the reserved seats for Scheduled Tribes.

The Ninth Lok Sabha had two women Ministers, namely, Smt. Maneka Gandhi as Minister of State in the Ministry of Environment and Forests and Smt. Usha Singh as Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Welfare (Department of Women and Child Development). Smt. Maneka had taken special interest in the preservation and protection of wild life. She expoused this cause not only inside the House but also outside. Her efforts and contributions as an environmentalist have won her universal acclaim. Smt. Vijya Raje Scindia and Smt. Geeta Mukherjee were the members of Panel of Chairmen.

Coming to the role of women MPs in the Ninth Lok Sabha and given the fact that they were less in number, their contributions in the fight for women's rights were highly remarkable. In this regard specific mention may be made of the National Commission for Women's Bill, 1990 which *inter-alia* provided for the setting up a National Commission for women consisting of a Chairperson and six members, "to study and monitor all matters relating to the constitutional and legal safeguards provided for women, to review the existing legislations and suggest amendments, wherever necessary. It will also look into the complaints and take *Suo moto* notice of the cases involving deprivation of the rights of women in order to provide support, legal or otherwise, to helpless women. The Commission shall monitor the proper implementation of all the legislations made to protect the rights of women so as to enable them to achieve equality in all spheres of life and equal participation in the development of the nation." On this particular Bill and other Bills affecting women, women MPs, irrespective of their divergent political leanings, came together and constructively contributed and gave vent to their potentialities and intellect in shaping the final outcome of those Bills. Smt. Geeta Mukherjee and many other distinguished women parliamentarians were most active in extracting assurances from the Ministers concerned on many important issues and problems. They were very active in moving Private Members' Bills, especially those related to women.

A Bill seeking to protect the rights of married women — The Married Women (Protection of Rights) Bill, 1990 was moved by Smt. Basva Rajeswari. However, the Bill did not come up for discussion in the House. She, therefore, suggested that the Government should bring forward suitable legislation to recognize a married woman's right to her husband's property so as to make her feel economically secure after marriage.

Participation of women in the Tenth Lok Sabha has increased considerably from the previous Lok Sabha. It has now 39 women members. Out of the 39, as many as five are members of the Union Council of Ministers. While Smt. Sheila Kaul is Cabinet Minister for Urban Development, Ms. Selja is Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Human Resource Development (Department of Education and Culture). The three Ministers of State are : Smt. Krishna Sahi, Department of Industrial Development in the Ministry of Industry, Smt. Sukhbans Kaur, Department of Tourism in the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism and Smt. Basava Rajeswari, Department of Women and Child Development in the Ministry of Human Resource Development.

The representation of women member in various parliamentary/consultative committees is also equally impressive. At present, five members, namely, Dr. (Smt.) Malini Bhattacharya, Smt. Margaratham Chandrasekhar, Smt. Sheila Gautam, Smt. Sumitra Mahajan and Smt. Rita Verma are members of different parliamentary committees while Prof. Savitri Lakshmanan is a member of Central Advisory Board of Education. Of these 39 members, five belong to the scheduled castes and four belong to the scheduled tribes, representing the interests of the weaker section in the Parliament. While Smt. Margaratham Chandrasekhar, Smt. Santosh Chowdhary, Kumari Padmashree Kudumula, Dr. (Smt.) Padma and Ms. Selja belong to scheduled caste, the scheduled tribes community is represented by Smt. Bibhu Kumari Devi, Smt. Kamala Kumari Karredula, Ms. Pushpa Devi Singh and Ms. Frida Topno.

A look at the party affiliations of the women members reveals the fact that as many as 23 have won on the Congress-I ticket; 10 on the Bhartiya Janata Party ticket; two each as the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and Janata Dal candidates and one each as the Communist Party of India (CPI) and Sikkim Sangram Parishad candidates. On the basis of these statistical profiles, it can be said that the women of India have yet to receive wider representation a cross and from the various national and regional political parties.

However, an analysis of the educational background of the women members points out that, now-a-days more and more educated

women are becoming the members of the Lok Sabha (Rajya Sabha as well). In the Tenth Lok Sabha as many as 31 women are either graduates or post-graduates, some of them having higher degrees like Ph.D., D. Litt. and technical qualifications like M.B.B.S., etc. Among the remaining eight women members, two are under-graduates; there are matriculation senior cambridge; two have studied up to certain standards in the schools and one women member has been educated privately.

An analysis of the occupational background of the women members reveals the fact the majority of them are political and social workers (16); followed by agriculturists (10), teacher/eucationist/ writer (one), artistes (one), matron (one), lawyer (one), former ruler (one), medical doctor (one) and one has recorded her self as religious missionary. An interresting feature of their occupational background is that many of them have recorded themselves as belonging to multiple vocations and pursuits.

Smt. Basava Rajeshwari is one who has continued to maintain her interest in issues related to women and social welfare during the present Lok Sabha too. Till the end of fourth session she has moved the following Bills: (1) The Constitution (Amendment) Bill 1991 (Insertion of new articles 23A, 23B and 23C); (2) The Married Women (Protection of Rights, Bill, 1991; (3) The Banning of Sex Determination Tests Bill, 1991; (4) The Abolition of Begging Bill, 1991; (5) The Widows' Welfare Bill, 1991; (6) Providing Free Medical and Technical Education Bill, 1991; (7) The Family Planning Bill 1992; (8) The Working Children Welfare Bill, 1992; (9) The Prevention of Influx of Foreign Nationals in the Country Bill, 1992.

Another member Km. Uma Bharti has introduced among others: (1) The Working Women Welfare Bill, 1991 (2) The Mother's Lineage Bill, 1991; (3) The Medical Termination of Pregnancy (Amendment) Bill, 1991 and (4) The Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Worker Family Security Bill, 1991. Other important Bills introduced by the women members till the completion of fourth session of Lok Sabha are: (1) The High Court of Gujarat (Establishment of a permanent Bench at Rajkot) Bill, 1991 by Smt. Bhavnaben Devarajbhai Chikalia, (2) The Medical Termination of Preganancy (Amenment) Bill, 1991 by Smt. Sumitra Mahajan, (3) The Constitution (Amdndment) Bill, 1992 (Amendment of Eighth Schedule) by Smt. Dil Kumar Bhandari, (4) The National Population Policy Bill, 1992 by Smt. Pratibha Devisingh Patil and (5) The Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill, 1992 by Smt. Dil Kumari Bhandari. Like previous Lok Sabhas, during the Tenth Lok Sabha too, women MPs are very active by making use of different parliamentary devices in extracting information, raising ur-

gent public issues, and putting motions and resolutions. Smt. Malini Bhattacharya is on the Panel of Charimen and most effectively conduct the proceedings of the House.

Among the women members of the present Lok Sabha, Smt. Saroj Dubey is taking special interest in the welfare of women and children and in creating awareness among women about population control. She is also working hard to ensure Justice for the unorganised women labourers and Harijans. Dr. (Prof.) Girija Devi is a musician, teacher and eminent educationist. A leftist by vision and commitment Smt. Suseela Gopalan places ups issues in the interests of workers, labourers, women and children in the House. Smt. (Deepa) Krishnendra Kaur an agriculturist from Rajasthan, has vast legislative experiences behind her. As a member of Parliament she has been raising issues concerning the uplift of the poor women and children in general and her constituency development in particular. Smt. Kesharbai Kshirsagar has been a member of Parliamentary and Consultative Committtees and is dedicated to the welfare of the different depressed segments of Indian Society. Though born in a princely family, Smt. Mahendra Kumari is specially interested in serving the people of her constituency. Smt. Geeta Mukherjee is one of the most dedicated and distinguished women parliamentarians of India. She has held many important legislative positions like the membership of parliamentary Committees, panel of Chairmen, etc., Her area of interests, as a Parliamentarian, range from socio-economic problem to political issues of Indian nation-state. She is equally outspoken on international issues as well. Smt. Suryakanta Patil has a multi-faceted personality. She is a political and social worker, journalist and trade unionist. She has been the member of various parliamentary Committees and Consultative Committees of the different Ministries. She has evinced keen interest in the welfare and uplift of the downtroddens. Being a dedicated political worker, Smt. Vasundhara Raje has participated in the business of the House with great zeal and definite perspectives. Smt. Vijaya Raje Scindia, elected from Guna, Madhya Pradesh, is another well-known woman Parliamentarian of India. Being a political worker, she takes special interest in social service and the education of women and children.

In the chain of eminence Smt. D.K. Thara Devi Siddhartha is next to none. She has rich public experience. Both inside and outside the House, she has shown her commitment to the welfare of women, children, and tribals. Another area of her interest is the preservation and protection of environment. Dr. (Smt.) K.S. Soundaram, a highly educated woman, has the distinction of being the first woman Lok Sabha member from the A.I.A.D.M.K. Party. Smt. Chandraprabha Urs is another eminent woman Parliamentarian from Karnataka. She

has held many important party and governmental positions. Km. Vimla Verma, an agriculturist and a political and social worker, has vast legislative and executive experiences behind her. She has spoken on various issues raised in the present House. Until recently, Dr. Girija Vyas was the Union Deputy Minister of Information and Broadcasting. She has been prolific writer and author of several books and ariticles. She is a poet too. Similarly Mamata Banarjee, the most outspoken woman parliamentarian, was the Union Minister of State for Human Resource Development (Department of Youth Affairs and Sports) with additional charge of Department of Women and Child Development until very recently.

The Lok Sabhas have had the distinction of having great women of fame from the field of art and cinema. These women members have successfully combined their expertise and skills in these fields with the complexity of politics. Through their various parliamentary and other legislative activities, they have been able to dispell the apprehension that artistes, especially from the silver screen cannot do justice to the parliamentary vocation. Contrary to this, they all have excelled well in their political and parliamentary career also. They have served effectively as people's representatives. Here it is worth remembering the role and contributions of some of the women Parliamentarians from the field of art. Smt. Vyjyanthimala Bali a famous danseuse of Bharathanatyam and well-known film actress, was elected member of the Eighth and Ninth Lok Sabhas. As a member of Parliament, she espoused the cause of social reforms for women, children and other weaker sections of Indian Society and fought for the cause of performing artists. She highlighted the need to give due recognition to the 'Association of Bharatanatyam Artists, 'and' concessions to the artists in rail-fare and air fare'.

On various occasions she also initiated discussion on a number of subjects like health and family welfare, Cauvery water Dispute between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, Sri Lankan Tamil issue, etc. Similarly Smt. Dipika Topiwala another actress to be elected a member, has been very vocal in raising issues pertaining to Indian society and polity in the Tenth Lok Sabha.

Thus, in this Lok Sabha also, women members have shown their legislative excellence in accordance with their respective background, professions and occupations. As parliamentarians, they have proceed their excellence by successfully performing their role and duties as the spokeswomen of the people and by contributing their best in the growth and development of parliamentary democracy in India.

Women Members in Rajya Sabha

The Council of States, popularly known as the Rjya Sabha, is an important and integral limb of Indian Parliament. Being a federal chamber and the House of elders, it occupies a significant position of dignity and authority in the Indian Parliamentary System. Its members are either elected by the members of State Legislatures or are nominated by the President of India. The nominated members are eminent luminaries in their respective fields of vocations and activities. Many women have also either been elected or nominated to this august House. From 1952 till date, 126 women have become the members of Rajya Sabha.

During the 1950s and 1960s, most of the women members had been from the background of the freedom movement. They were not only freedom-fighters but also activists for women's uplift. Their associational activities included the formation of women' organisations and the mobilization of Indian women for the nationalist cause. Some of the eminent women members of this period were Violet Alva Rukmini Arundale, Lila Devi, Savitry Devi Nigam, Lilavati Munishi, Aizaz Rasul, Dr. Seeta Parmanand, and Uma Nehru. In the later period, women members came from different walks of life. They were and are political activists, social workers, feminists and professionals. Educationally, the women members of Rajya Sabha are highly qualified. In the present Rajya Sabha, out of 17, seven women members having the Post-graduation degrees and one is doctorate and six are graduates.

In Rajya Sabha also, the women members have had been very active in pioneering important legislative enactments not only for the welfare of Indian women but for the overall socio-economic evelopment of Indian society. It was in the Rajya Sabha that the following legislative enactments of a far-reaching nature were initiated and later placed on the Statute Book:

1. The Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill, 1952
2. The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Bill, 1953
3. The Hindu Succession Bill, 1956, and
4. The Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Bill, 1956.

These four enactments made a complete code on the Hindu Law. Women members either proposed or supported these bills.

Besides supporting measures of social importance brought forward by the Government, the women members of Rajya Sabha during

the initial period had also endeavoured to bring in social changes in Indian society by initiating Private Members' legislations. A specific mention in this regard can be made of Dr. Seeta Parmanand who moved the Hindu Marriage (Amendment) Bill, 1956, which ultimately became Act. She also brought before the House other important Private Members' Bills such as the Indian Suppression of Immoral Traffic and Brothels Bill, 1953 and the Women's and Children's Institutions (Licensing) Bill, 1954. These Bills were discussed in the House. On the other hand, Smt. Rukmini Devi Arundale initiated the Private Members' Bill on the Prevention and Cruelty to Animals. Though the Bill was withdrawn, later on as a follow up, a law was made on this subject. Smt. Shakuntala Paranjpye, well-known for pioneering work in family planning, introduced the sterilisation of the Unfit Bill in 1964. Though this bill was negativated by the House, it led to interesting debate in the House and also initiated a public debate on the issue. Continuing the trend, women members seem to have been very enthusiastic in moving important Private Members' Bills even during 1980s and 1990s. Some of them are listed below : (1) The Cinematograph (Amendment) Bill, 1989; (ii) The Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 1990; (iii) The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 1990 (insertion of new article 29 (A); (iv) The Banning of Pre-Birth Sex Determination Tests Bill, 1990; (v) The Employment Guarantee Bill, 1990; (vi) The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 1990 (insertion new article 38 A); (vii) The Home Based Workers (Protection) Bill, 1992, etc. This shows the level of awareness and the legislative consciousness of the women members.

Some of the important private members' resolutions moved by women members, which were accepted in an amended form by the Rajya Sabha are: (i) Prohibition by legislation and administrative action exhibition of undesirable films by Smt. Lilavati Munishi and (ii) introduction of compulsory training in N.C.C. or A.C.C for all students for one year each at the High School and the University stages of education by Dr. (Smt.) Seeta Parmanand.

The women members have moved resolutions on many significant subjects like women's development, tribal welfare, economic issues, constitutional aspects like fixing of some time-limit for granting of President's assent to the Bills sent to him by the State Legislatures, reorganisation of States, etc. Besides. Bills and Resolutions, they have also utilised other Parliamentary devices available to members to raise matters of urgent public importance.

A distinguished woman parliamentarian from Rajya Sabha who is presently in the Council of Ministers is Smt. Margaret Alva. She is Minister in the *Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances* and Pensions

with additional charge of the Minister of State in the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs.

Presently there are 17 women members in the Rajya Sabha belonging to varied occupations. Shrimati Vidya Beniwal, an agriculturist and social activist, is engaged in many social services like upliftment of women, scheduled castes/ tribes and the downtrodden. Shrimati Renuka Chowdhury has been a memmber of Parliamentary Committees and is a dedicated social worker. Smt. Mira Das is one who has been taking special interest in the welfare of women and children. She has been founder member of many women organisations apart from her having been a member of Parliamentary Committees. Smt. Chandrika Abhinandan Jain, an advocate by profession was the Minister of State for Education in Maharashtra for many years. She has also been a Member of Parliamentary Committees. Smt. Kailashpati is dedicated to the upliftment of women, Harijans and the poor. She has been member of Parliamentary and Consultative Committees. Ms. Saroj Khaparde has been a member of many Committees apart from having been a member of various Parliamentary Delegation abroad. She is associated with many social activities related to the welfare of woman, children and weaker sections of society. Smt. Sarala Maheshwari is actively associated with many literary congregations and is espousing the cause of social welfare and development. Smt. Jayanthi Natarajan, an advocate by profession, takes special interest in providing legal aid for the poor, and the protection of environment. She has been member of Parliamentary Committees. On the other hand, Smt. Ila Panda has been member of many women and child welfare boards and has taken keen interest in the promotion of Oriya literature, art and culture. Smt. Ratan Kumari an agriculturist by profession has taken keen interest in writing and has many publications to her credit. A teacher by profession Smt. Basanti Sarma has taken great interest in spreading literacy among the women folk.

Smt. Satya Bahin has been engaged in social work for the downtrodden, Harijans, children and women. She has been a member of Parliamentary and Consultative Committees and has also led many Parliamentary delegations abroad. Smt. Kamla Sinha has been an active social worker and trade unionist. She has also been associated with Parliamentary Committees. She has contributed many articles on youth and women's problems and trade union issues in various periodicals. Smt. Sushma Swaraj is an advocate. She has held many portfolies as a Cabinet Minister in Haryana, apart from having been member of Parliamentary and Consultative Committees. She has also taken special interest in poetry, classical music, drama and fine arts. Smt. Veena has been a recipient of Priyadarshini and Mahila

Rashtriya Awards. She has taken keen interest in modern Hindi Poetry, Women's Rights, and has fought against social evils like Sati and Dowry.

As in the Lok Sabha, there have also been famous women from the fields of art and films in the Rajya Sabha as well. They have contributed in no small measure to enrich the contents and contours of our debates in the Upper House. Rukmini Devi Arundale, Nargis Dutt and Jayalalitha deserve special mention.

A born artist Smt. Arundale had evinced keen interest in art, culture and theosophy. She was also a great lover of animals. A recipient of the Sangeet Natak Akademi award for Bharatnatyam in 1957, Smt. Arundale worked for India's cultural renaissance through art, culture and education. She gave concrete shape to her ideas when she started many art, dance and educational institutions, notably the *Kala Kshetra* at Adyar, Madras, which produced a number of accomplished artists and restored Bharatanatyam to its pristine glory and grace. As a choreographer *par excellence*, she had created a number of dances and dramas portraying the spirit of the great epics and stories of Indian tradition.

She was nominated to the Rajya Sabha first in 1952 and was renominated in 1956. As a Parliamentarian she actively participated in the business of the House. Her most important contribution to the cause of animal welfare was as already mentioned earlier, the introduction of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animal Bill, 1953. Her tireless efforts culminated in the Parliament enacting a law relating to the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 1960. Under this Act, the Animal Welfare Board was established in 1962 as an autonomous body under the Government of India to help fund and coordinate the work of animal welfare organizations all over the country. To protect animals from killings, she laid stress on vegetarianism.

Similarly, the accomplished actress of 'Mother India' fame, Smt. Narigis Dutt was nominated to Rajya Sabha in 1980. She was one of the most talented artists and a dedicated social worker of India. She was always noted for her dignified conduct in the House. She took keen interest in almost all the matters that came up in the House. Ms. Jayalalitha, an accomplished Bharatanatyam exponent proficient as well in Kathak, Kathakali, Kuchipudi, Manipuri dances, vocal Carnatic and classical music was also a member of the Rajya Sabha from 1984 to 1989. In the five years when she was a member of the Rajya Sabha, she spoke on many diverse subjects such as dowry prohibition, land aquisition, taxation laws, national Anthem, developments in Jammu and Kashmir and on the plight of handloom weavers in the country.

Women members of Rajya Sabha have also held important legislative positions like the Deputy Chairmanship of the Rajya Sbha. Until now, three women who have become the Deputy Chairmen are: (i) Smt. Violet Alva, (ii) Smt. Pratibha Devisingh Patil and (iii) Dr. (Smt.) Najma Heptulla.

Smt. Violet Alva was first elected as the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha on 19 April, 1962. While extending his sincere felicitations to Smt. Alva on her second election as the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, the Chiarman of the Rajya Sabha observed:

> "Shrimati Violet Alva is not unknown to us. She has been our Deputy Chairman for four years and has established a reputation for impartiality and fairness and for other qualities which any person sitting in the Chiarman's seat in this House has to have—ample understanding for different points of view, flexibility of approach, immense patience, great vigilance—because sometimes Members who seem to be in a state of reposeful philosophic contemplation, jump to their feet with very serious objections and one has to be ready for them. All these qualities which are essential for anyone presiding over this House have been amply displayed by Shrimati Violet Alva and I am sure that in the new term which she begins, these qualities would perhaps be enhanced and with the cooperation of this House she would be able to established and retain for this House the reputation of dignity and decorum and parliamentary practice which has been its characteristics. I again congratulate Shrimati Violet Alva.

While reciprocating, she underlined the nature of the job in the follwing words:

> ...this House has placed its confidence in one of its Members and I do hope that I shall prove worthy once again of that confidence they have placed in me. I must say that I will lay aside all that is personal, all that is of the Party and of course all that savours of political predilections. Democracy is going through its severest trials these days. The country is facing great problems, the solution of which we have to find on this forum. This House has got an outstanding record of having worked within the frame work of the well-established norms of parliamentary practices. I do admit that one who sits in the Chair must be impartial. I do also welcome the heat in the debate, for, without the heat in the debate, solutions are not easy but one must bear in mind that when tempers fly in the heat of the debate, one must know that we have given into ourselves a democratic set-up. Wheter it be the other side or this side that sits in the Opposition, both have jointly to

> work to solve the many ills that this country suffers from and so one who sits in the Chair needs a lost of understanding and co-operation. Hon. Members have assured me and I feel sure that they will continue to give me this co-operation and understanding. On my side, I shall give to the fullest measures this understanding and co-operation within the framework of the healthy conventions we have laid in this House and the Rules of Procedure that we have given unto ourselves. Maybe that this side, the Opposition, does get sometimes uneasy and feels a little more alert but democracy must go through these stages. We are young but this august House had set itself a good model of the type of legislature that we should have in the different parts of the country, right down to the village level in our Panchayats and, therefore, while there are many new Members who have joined this House and there are those who have returned, I have returned once again too, I urge that we build up a democracy which we shall be proud of. A little laxity here and there from the Chair must not be mistaken because unless we relax and allow the Members to say what they like, the Members too in all seriousness will not realise their own responsibilities and duties on this floor. Many battles will be fought outside in the lobby but when on this floor, we shall maintain the dignity and decorum that this House is known for.

Even during her second term, her objectivity and impartiality won laurel from the members of the House. Her observations and rulings from the Chair served well in the further growth of legislative rules and procedures in India.

Smt. Pratibha Devisingh Patil was elected as the Deputy Chairman of the Upper House on 18 November, 1986. Congratulating Smt. Patil on her election, the then Prime Minister of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi in his brief remarks said :

> . . .her experience in the political field, in the co-operative movement, in social work, in the field of women's rights, in the legislature both as the Leader of the Opposition and on the Government side, and the many portfolios, that she has held in the Government will, no doubt, help her in carrying the whole House with her when she is in the Chair.

Referring to the vast public experiences of Smt. Patil, Shri Aladi Aruna *alias* V. Arunachalam said :

> The party in power has proposed a right person to this respectable office. I am pleased to note that Shrimati Pratibha Devisingh Patil has vast experience as a Minister as well as the leader of the

> Opposition in Maharashtra. The administration of the House hardly requires much knowledge of rules and regulations. but it requires tolerance and patience which are the innate qualities of our newly elected Deputy Chiarman.

Sharing the sentiments expressed by the members the Chairman said:

> I join the Prime Minister and Leaders of various groups in offering my felicitations to Shrimati Pratibha Patil and I welcome her to this seat. She brings to ber in the discharge of her new responsibilities a very rich and vast experience. She has been a Member. She has been a Minister. She has sat in the Opposition and she has had the experience of representing India in some of the most important conferences relating to women's rights. She has been a representative in the Nairobi Conference. She has represented India in the conference on the Status of Women. in Austria. And she has visited a number of other countries. Therefore. her experience is vey vast and very rich. I am quite sure that she will be of very help and will be a sort of relief to me also. I offer my felicitations and wish her a very successful career.

While thanking the members, Smt. Patil Observed:

> This time. I have been given this opportunity to sit on the Chair. As a member of the party in Power. I know what is their right. their might. their fight and their plight. I have also known what fight the Opposition was to put up for their rights. I know what is their might and their plight too. Here afterwards. I will see all this happening in the House while sitting on the Chair.

Like her predecessors, she also proved herself to be a very successful Deputy Chairman.

Dr. (Smt.) Najma Heptulla was the second woman to become the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. Commenting on her election in January 1985, the then Prime Minister of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi said:

> "It is a pleasure to see Najmaji sitting across here and it makes a very pleasant change from the faces that we are used to seeing there. I hope her radiance will flow over on to the other people sitting around."

The leader of the House Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh recalled the contribution of Smt. Heptulla in the following words:

> "Starting as a budding scientist, ... she matured into a dedicated and selfless social worker. Her education found expression in the promotion of education and in championing the cause of women. Her dynamism took her across the borders to promote the friendship of our country with the Arab world. As soon as she entered this august House by her valuable contributions she carved out a place for herself. I do not know whether, because of joining politics, a scientist has been ruined. But certainly, it has been our gain....

While alluding her Ph. D. work on Cardiac anatomy, Shri Singh said:

> . . .I am sure she will not allow us, sitting either on this side or on the other side, to give each other a heart attack and I assure her that we on our side will not give her one.

Acknowledging the sentiments expressed by the member Dr. Heptulla said:

> I am a student of science, as the Leader of the House has mentioned, and I believe in the law of Nature that all progress takes place certainly with struggle but in a broader concept of co-operation. So I hope, all our Members specially those who are not here will also follow the same principle....
>
> And Mr. Prime Minister has said that I might spill-over my charm. So, If I have any charm or if I could develop some influence, I would definitely like to spill it over, not only to win over the hearts but also the heads of the people near whom you have brought me to sit.

Dr. (Smt.) Najma Heptulla was unanimously elected Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha for the second time on 18 November, 1988. While extending his warm felicitations, the leader of the House Shri P. Shiv Shanker said :

> It is with immense pleasure and with great satisfaction that I extend my hearty congratulations to Dr. (Smt.) Najma Heptulla for having been unanimously elected as the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. It is a strange coincidence, that her predecessor laid down the office for the purpose of party work and in 1986, similarly, Dr.(Smt.) Najma Heptulla, had also laid down the office for the purpose of party work. In a way, it is a home-coming for her because she has already occupied this position and even before that, she was on the panel of the Vice-Chairmen. To the office that she has been unanimously elected, she brings to bear

the very rich experience of having presided over the House in the capacity of a Vice-Chairman, as also in the capacity of the Deputy Chairman. Therefore, nothing much can be said about her. She has a multi-faceted personality. She has tremendous educational qualifications. She had been doing quite a bit of social service. She had been an author. Therefore, when she occupies this position she brings to bear her multi-faceted qualities on this office. In recent times, she was elected as the Vice-Chairman of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in 1987. She had been rendering yeoman service as the Chairman of the Indo-Arab Society and as the Editor-in-Chief of *'Hamari Gosht'*, she had been doing a tremendous service in the cultural field to establish better relations between the people of the Soviet Union and our own country.

I would heartily congratulate her once again and I am sure that in the office that she occupies she would acquit her duties with great erudition and capacity.

Similarly the Chairman of the House Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma observed:

I join the Leader of the House and Leaders of the various groups and others in offering my warm felicitations to Dr. Najma Heptulla on her election as the Deputy Chairman of this House.

Dr. Najma Heptulla has come back to this seat after nearly three years and is bringing with her rich experience. I have no doubt that she will be able to preside over the deliberations of this House as ably and competently as she did in her last stint. During the period she was not occupying the Chair, she has been an active Member of this House and has been taking keen interest in its functioning. There is, therefore, a sort of continuity. Since she has been in touch with the methods and moods of this House. I am quite sure that she will be able to soften the ruffled tempers by her tact and charm. I once again congratulate her and wish her success in the office of Deputy Chairman.

While thanking the Chairman and members for electing her a second time Dr. (Smt.) Najma Heptulla said:

I have had the privilege of having your guidance since I was in college while I was doing my Ph.D. degree and also when I started my career as a lecturer you were the Minister for Education, Madhya Pradesh. I hope I will have the same support and guidance from you in performing my duties.

Members once again paid rich encombium to Smt. Heptulla on her election as Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha for the thrid time on 10 July, 1992. While felicitating her, the leader of the House, Shri S.B. Chavan said:

> It is with immense pleasure and great happiness that I extend my hearty congratulations to Dr. (Smt.) Najma Heptulla for having been elected as the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. In a way she has performed a double hat-trick time. For the first time she was elected to the House in July, 1980. She became Deputy Chairman in January, 1985. It was, no doubt a short term of one year. In November, 1988, she was again elected to this high office which she adorned for nearly four years. She has been re-elected to this House for a third time in a row. She has been elevated to the Deputy Chairmanship also for a third time. These two hat-tricks only reflect her support in the Party and popularity in the House.
>
> The Rajya Sabha occupies a unique position in the parliamentary system of our country. The mantle of steering through the proceedings of the House falls on the presiding officer. In a House like ours which is a happy amalgam of the old and the young, the veterans and the freshers, the Chair requires qualities of heart and head, sweetness of temper, richness of experience, knowledge of parliamentary procedures and tactfulness in handling situations. These Dr. Heptulla amply possesses. She has sound academic background and experience of social service. I have no doubt that all these assets which she has at her disposal will be utilised by her to make Rajya Sabha function effectively and constructively. I once again congratulate her on her election as Deputy Chairman and I am sure that her continued occupation of the august Chair will be beneficial and fruitful to this House.

Similarly, in his observations the Chairman of the House remarked:

> Hon. Members, I would like to associate myself with the warm felicitations addressed to Dr. (Smt.) Najma Heptulla by the Leader of the House, the Leader of the Opposition and by the leaders of the various political parties and groups in the House.
>
> Dr. Heptulla brings to the office of Deputy Chairman a great and widely-acknowledged quality of a fine intellect, rich experience, warmth and goodness of heart, sensitive understanding of parliamentary procedure and practice, patience, persuasive ability and much else. I am sure she would further enhance the dignity and distinction of the high office she has been elected to. I extend

> to her my best wishes for every success in the months and years ahead.

Thanking the House for reporting its faith in her for the third time Smt. Heptulla said:

> This is the third time I have been elected. At times the House had been very, very peaceful, very enjoyably peaceful that I almost wanted to go to sleep. Sometimes it was not that peaceful and there had been a lot of agitated moods. I have always tried to run this House not with the help of the Rule Book, but with the help and cooperation of all the members and I assure them that there is not going to be any change in my attitude. Whatever has been the previous experience of theirs, it is going to be the same and I expect the same cooperation, the same pandemonium also in the House, the same Zero Hour, as they call it. But this is the way the Parliament works and we are proud of keeping the dignity, the high principles of this Parliament. We are very proud of our democracy, the largest in the world.
>
> I think all the members once again and I assure them, all of them, all the Members, front benches, back benches, middle benches, right, left, front, centre, that there is not going to be any change in my attitude or working. I hope that I will do my duty to the best of my ability and justice.

True to her qualities, she has won the heart and heads of the members of the Rajya Sabha. She has conducted the proceedings of the House with the utmost objectivity.

As many as 19 women members have also been nominated to the panel of Vice-Chairmen in the Rajya Sabha till December, 1992. They are Smt. Aizaz Rasul, Smt. Violet Alva, Smt. Parvathi Krishnan, Smt. Chandravati Lakhanpal, Smt. Sharda Bhargava, Smt. Savitri Devi, Smt. T. Nallamuthu Ramamurti, Smt. Jahanara Jaipal Singh, Smt. Tara R. Sathe, and Smt. Puravi Mukhopadhyay. Dr. (Smt.) Najma Heptullh, Smt. Margaret Alva, Dr. (Smt.) Sarojini Mahishi, Smt. Kanak Mukherjee, Smt. Jayanti Natrajan and Smt. Sushma Swaraj.

Different legislative bills and enactments passed by the Indian Parliament have considerably affected the structural aspects of Indian Social Organization. The equality of sexes in every respect of life and human activities has now become a starting point of political mobilisation of Indian women. This has important bearings on the political participation of Indian women in the national and State politics. Though, initially their percentage in the State Legislatures was low, gradually their numbers have increased, the only exceptions

being Mizoram and Nagaland where there have been no women members in the State Assemblies so far. Otherwise, women have held, besides berths in the Council of Ministers, important positions like Chief Ministership in the States. Smt. Sucheta Kripalani, Shashikala Kakodakar and Smt. Nandini Satpathy became the Chief Ministers of the Uttar Pradesh, Goa and Orrisa respectively. Presently, Ms. Jayalalitha is the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. Holding the Chief Ministership in the real terms of politics and administration is a tremendous task of responsibility and leadership. Even in this test of acumen, women have proved themselves to be most successful. A random analysis of their activities in certain States brings home the fact that women legislators in the State Assemblies despite many environmental constraints, brought before their respective Houses their constituencies' demands, welfare of the people, etc. In their informational and nation building roles, they are the legitimizers of constitutional ideals and the promoters of national unity and integrity. They are above all the social worker devoted to the cause of the modernization of Indian society.

Conclusion

In the ultimate analysis, the contributions of women parliamentarians are in no way less significant than those of their male counterparts in the Indian Parliament or State Legislature. As is evident, women parliamentarians have pioneered social legislations which have important bearing on the structural aspects of Indian society. They have succeeded in protecting the rights of Indian women and in promoting their interests and general welfare. Though their natural preferences are for women's uplift, children's welfare and social reforms, they have also evinced keen interest in politics and administration.

PART II

ARTICILES

WOMEN IN DECISION MAKING

3

INDIRA GANDHI—THE CRUSADER CONSTITUTIONALIST

Bal Ram Jakhar

The present century has witnessed a number of outstanding leaders who contributed significantly in their own way. But in terms of service to humanity, and sacrifice for the cause of social harmony, very few come near to Smt. Indira Gandhi, the former Prime Minister of India. The dedication and determination with which she led the country remains unparalled.

An apostle of communal amity, Smt. Gandhi devoted her entire life and, in fact, sacrificed her life in the defence of the unity and integrity of India. A staunch defender of secular ideals embodied in the Constitution, she worked tirelessly for the social and economic advancement of the minorities. Her concern for the welfare of the minority is reflected in the special measures taken by her for safeguarding their religious, culture and educational rights. Above all, she worked indefatigably for eradicating communal violence and personal hatred.

Smt. Indira Gandhi will be remembered for her vision of a modern, self-reliant India with a strong dynamic economy. Unlike many other leaders, she succeeded in translating her vision into reality. Her able leadership strove India into a new era. Her obsession with the welfare of farmers, was translated in a series of reforms to give land to the tiller and to improve the lot of agricultural labour. Smt. Gandhi was equally concerned about the working class people and saw to it that they were given their due. A believer of socialism she knew that industrialization holds key to India's economic progress. Under her leadership the public sector occupied commanding heights in the

Indian economy and the workers were the major beneficiaries of this progressive approach. When Smt. Gandhi came to lead India, the international economic environment was crisis-ridden as well as competitive and India was yet to make her presence felt. But her leadership, and guidance was enough to push India in the direction of stability and self-reliance. It was Smt. Gandhi who at such a difficult stage, gave substance in the direction of self-reliance and created a strong base for rapid development. Her contribution to the field of scientific development is no less. She carved a special place for India in the map of modern technological advancement. She was responsible for India's overall technological transformation, its progress and achievements in the field of nuclear science and space technology.

She was a multi-faceted personality and there was hardly any sphere of creative activity in which Smt. Gandhi did not take interest and which she did not enrich. In her, one finds a social reformer, a religious crusader, an honest politician, a statesman and above all a visionary. A staunch socialist, she wanted to restructure Indian society on the basis of egalitarian principles. As part of her social revolution, she instituted a series of programmes for the benefit of the blind and physically handicapped. She will be remembered for her numerous long-term programmes for the welfare of the underprivileged. A relentless fighter for social justice she strongly advocated for equal right of women and their social and economic emancipation.

Smt. Gandhi was a woman of unbelievable courage and determination. At the time of adversity, she never lost her cool and in difficult times she had exhibited indomitable courage and wisdom, and also provided moral strength to her countrymen. Her visit to Tezpur, at the height of Indo-China War despite the Defence and Home Ministries' advice not to go bears testimony to her strong indomitable character. She would never make any compromise where India's unity and integrity and national interest was at stake. Despite international pressure, she never abandoned the nuclear programme and guided India into the selected club of national possessing nuclear know-how. At the same time she was never dogmatic in her approach. She was always guided by pragmatic consideration and her decisions were in keeping with the best democratic traditions and in the best interest of the people of the country.

Smt. Gandhi was a negotiator *par excellence* whose motto was "never negotiate out of fear and never fear to negotiate". A lover of humanity, she always wanted peace and dedicated her life for it. So

was her love for peace that in spite of India's victory in the Indo-Pak War of 1971, she opened the way for negotiation to prevent war in the future between the two countries. Such a great negotiator she was that instead of imposing terms and conditions on the defeated party, she acted rationally with pragmatism which culminated in the Shimla Agreement which ushered a new era in Indo-Pak relations. Her ability to combine high moral ideals with national interest is aptly reflected in the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty of 1971, which protected India from external threat, and ultimately brought peace in the sub-continent.

Smt. Gandhi was an outstanding parliamentarian and orator *par excellence*, whose debating skills are well recognized even by her detractors. Her commitment to the development of parliamentary democracy has been well acclaimed and she was highly instrumental in strengthening the parliamentary institutions. Besides she exhibited rare wit and wisdom during the parliamentary debates.

An outstanding democrat, Smt. Gandhi recognized that, among the distinct streams of thought which combined to produce, the Indian approach to democracy, a pre-eminent position is held by the parliamentary system. The position that Parliament occupies in the Indian polity is better explained in her own words:

> "Parliament is the commanding centre of our political system, and Government's responsibility to the legislature at the Centre and in the States is beyond dispute."

Smt. Gandhi wanted the Constitution to become a dynamic instrument for solving the myriad problems the Indian society confronted with. Finding solutions to the problems of poverty, illiteracy and threats to national integration were her primary concern while framing the policy for the nation to march forward. She looked at the Constitution in terms of its concrete functionality to help in the solution of problems. In practice this meant both a partial revision of the Constitution under the stress of urgent and emergent problems and also maintaining and strengthening such provisions as were helpful in meeting the challenge of the situation. Her constitutional efforts, have thus constituted the real living force of Nehru's legacy of secularism and socialist pattern of society. Through her sensitive perception, the Constitution was, in fact, being "applied" to the problems of contemporary Indian society.

Like Nehru, Smt. Gandhi believed that the Constitution must provide solutions to all the problems facing the country whether inherited from the past, or inherent in the present and even those

likely to emerge in the future. And if a Constitution cannot be amended to meet the changing needs of a people, it is liable to be ended. This happened to rigid Constitutions, whenever they were confronted with unpremediated events. She made it clear that constitutional changes she proposed were intended to achieve true justice and equality for the common man. There was no change in basic philosophy, but socialism already put on the national agenda, and sought to be strengthened.

While calling for constitutional amendments, Smt. Gandhi emphatically ruled out the need for a new Constituent Assembly; she held that Parliament was empowered to bring about necessary constitutional amendments for ushering in an egalitarian social and economic order. After all, the Constitution was never intended to be a fetter to manacle the whole nation, but was to be unifying force in its rapid march to material progress, intellectual betterment and moral uplift. To worship the Constitution as an ideal was of no use, it is an instrument of progress and must be seen to be so by succeeding generations. Just as still waters become stagnant, a Constitution which is unresponsive to changing needs loses aura of sanctity and may prove a stumbling block in the way of progress. No doubt, the Constitution has a great sanctity and is one of the most sacrosanct institutional structures that we have given to ourselves as a nation. But our goal being the betterment of the nation, the Constitution must be geared to a cause and not become a cause in itself.

No wonder, Smt. Gandhi's bold and far-reaching measures on the social and economic front included the nationalization of banks and the abolition of privy purses. While nationalization of banks broke the monopoly of the big business houses over financial institutions, the abolition of privy purses wiped out the last vestiges of a feudal order. Of notable significance was the passing of the Constitution twenty-fourth amendment Bill which restored the supremacy of Parliament, which had been relegated to the background by the decision of the Supreme Court in the *Golak Nath* case. In the subsequent *Keshvananda Bharati* case, the Supreme Court held that the "Basic Structure" of the Constitution was beyond the purview of the Parliament to amend.

The Constitution (Twenty-fourth Amendment) Bill, reworded article 368 of the Constitution to provide that any law made under it would not attract the provisions of article 31 which, as per the Golak Nath judgment, barred Parliament's right to alter or abridge the Fundamental Rights. The marginal note in the Bill was also changed and in place of "procedure for amendment of the

Constitution", "power of Parliament to amend the Constitution.and procedure thereof" was substituted. Thus, the twenty-fourth amendment expressly empowered Parliament to amend any provision of the Constitution. Article 13 of the Constitution was made inapplicable to an amendment in the constitution under article 368. Yet this amendment did not minimize the importance of Fundamental Rights, rather it gave primacy to the Directive Principles over the Fundamental Rights, so as to guarantee equitable distribution of material resources for the common good. While replying to the debate on the bill, Smt. Gandhi assured the critics that "we are committed to upholding of fundamental freedoms—of assembly and worship—and our commitment to secular democracy is non-negotiable." When the Bill was duly passed by both Houses of Parliament in August, 1971, she called it "a milestone, in the march of Indian People towards democracy, secularism, socialism and a just and humane society."

However, the *Keshvananda Bharati* case once again brought back the non-amendability of the "basic structure" and this decision of the Supreme Court upset Smt. Gandhi's socio-economic programme and encouraged increasing resort to courts by those opposed to her politics. With single-mindedness of purpose to ameliorate the conditions of the people, Smt. Gandhi brought the Forty-Second Amendment in Parliament, which once for all, settled the constitutional controversy that impeded the progressive process of modernisation and development in India.

Smt. Gandhi was equally deft in imbibing a genuine democratic spirit in her conduct as a parliamentarian, even when the demands for political one-upmanship had come to be a self-evident phenomenon in a politically competitive Parliament. In her long and eventful parliamentary career characterised by enormous social and political convulsions and momentous decisions, parliamentary debates in which she participated very often invited fierce opposition and frequent interruptions.

But the spirit of decency and decorum always triumphed over the din and dust of even the most acrimonious of debates. Indeed, Smt. Gandhi was supremely conscious of the importance of this spirit of decorum in the adroit manner of a performing philosopher. Her views on the importance of decorum in the House are well expressed in her own words in Lok Sabha on 7th September, 1974:

> "...We know, in our democratic system, there will always be differences between Hon. Members on this side of the House and the Hon. Members of the Opposition. But what is important is how expression is given to these differences.

> As I said, I am not going into the question of merits. But I think that there can be no two opinions that Parliamentary business should be conducted with dignity and decorum and in accordance with the rules. And it is the duty of all of us to help you in this task.
>
> I would again like to repeat that, whatever be the differences on any issue, nothing should be done by anyone which would affect the dignity of the House."*

Indeed so totally was Smt. Gandhi identified with the fortunes of this country and such was the multi-dimensional nature of her contribution not only to the unity and development of this country but also to world peace and a new world order, that after her assassination on 31 October, 1984, leaders of all persuasions paid the richest tributes to her contribution their ideological differences with her notwithstanding. The following resolutions moved on the first day of the First Session of Eighth Lok Sabha was unanimously adopted by the Houses.

> "This House mourns the loss of one of the greatest Indians of the 20th Century. Future generations rising above the tumult of our times, will look with love and gratitude on the magnitude and splendour of Indira Gandhi's achievements. Her vision and tireless energy brought India into the era of self-reliance. She breathed new life into the concept of a united, modern India. Today we walk upright with pride and confidence, pride in what India is and confidence in what we shall do for ourselves and the world.
>
> Indira Gandhi did not belong to India alone, she belonged to the entire suffering humanity. Her voice was the voice of the hungry, the weak, the anguished, the maimed and disabled. She laboured so that bitterness and strife may cease and justice prevail among nations. She fought relentlessly against all forms of oppression. With characteristic devotion, she espoused the cause of disarmament and a just international economic order.
>
> The masses of India adored Indira Gandhi because in her and through her, their dreams and hopes of India's great future took concrete shape. In turn, she filled them with unconquerable strength of her vision of India. Indira Gandhi loved India and the

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* L.S. Deb. 7 September, 1974, cc. 29-30.

> Indian people with a passion so sublime that it will live among us for long ages. She was joined the rank of the immortals of History. We pay our humble tribute to her memory and pledge ourselves to complete her noble mission."•

The issues which Smt. Gandhi stood for, found eloquent expression in her speeches. Much of the articulation of her ideas and opinions and vociferous defence of her positions on various issues took place on the floor of the two Houses of Parliament where she spoken on no less than four hundred occasions. It is natural that a range of issues, varieties of opinions and diversities in viewpoints abound in the Parliamentary debates of the long period when she was in Parliament. She was always prepared to face critical situations with a rare ability and craftsmanship and intervened in the debates whenever she felt it necessary.

Many of her policies and actions while in power, will always be the subjects of political and academic debate. But like any other political leader, she justified them within the scope and constraints offered by her office. Political and ideological polarities in the Parliament notwithstanding, she deftly managed to carry the whole House with her. She did it as much by virtue of her political ability, as by her intimate personal rapport with the members. Indeed such was the importance of the personal rapport in her mind that it did not desert her even during the brief period of role reversal when she was out of power. An interesting recollection of such an instance by none other than Prof. Madhu Dandavate while paying tribute to her in Lok Sabha on 17 January, 1985 would illustrate this:

> "...Sir, there was another experience of mine with a personal slant, when I was occupying the treasury Bench in 1977 and I remember the day Smt. Gandhi was elected from Chikmagalur constituency to the House. Unfortunately, I was present in the Rajya Sabha answering questions about Railways. I was not present when she took the oath in this House. After the recess, if I remember aright, alongwith Mr. Vasant Sathe she was moving through the Library corridors, and I found her and just said, "Indiraji congratulations". She looked back and said something with deep affection: she said, "You have brought distinction to your Government." And then she said, "It was my misfortune that you were not in my cabinet." And I said, in my humorous vein,

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• *Journal of Parliamentary Information*, Vol. XXXI, March 1985, pp.3-4.

"Madam I was fortunate not to be there." And she laughed and laughed and smiled. Those smiles I still remember..."*

Smt. Gandhi symbolized our great national heritage, the hopes as well as aspirations of Indian people. She was indeed the symbol of India's self-respect and self-confidence. At the time of her death, she was at her best and was well acclaimed world over. Her death, thus, was a great loss not only to India, but also to the humanity. For the time to come, the world would remember with reverence Smt. Gandhi for her great service to mankind.

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* L.S. Deb., 17 January, 1985.

4

WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS FROM MEGHALAYA

P.R. Kyndiah

With the enactment of the Hindu Code Law by Parliament in 1956, anthropologists and research scholars were of the view that the Community of Kerala which followed the matrilineal system lost their distinctive status and thus the only matrilineal tribes remaining in India were the Khasis, Jaintias and Garos, inhabiting Meghalaya. In 1969, Parliament passed the Assam (Re-organization) Bill making Meghalaya an autonomous State within Assam and in 1971, the North East Area (Re-organization) Act raised the autonomous State of Meghalaya to the status of a full-fledged State, Meghalaya, thus is the only matrilineal State in the Union where this ancient system of matriliny not only still survives but flourishes.

Matriliny as a system is characterised by two basic features. Firstly, the line of descent is reckoned from the mother side and secondly, the youngest daughter is the custodian of the property and assets of the family. Scholars quote an observation by a colonial anthropologist that the indigenous Meghalayan tribal society presents, "The most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions carried out in a logical and through manner." Although anthropologists have noticed clear similarities as also substantial variations between the systems of the Garos and the Khasi-Jaintias, experts are of the view that these are due to their development in different directions caused by responses to the impact of modern life. Nevertheless, they are characterised by the basic structure of matriliny.

Sir James Frazer, an anthropologist, felt that while the transfer of all power—political, religious and economic—from the female to the male was affected long ago in most societies, this transfer was only

partially completed in matrilineal societies, so that while political and religious power was transferred to men, economic power remained with the women, because in Frazer's opinion, the main tribes of Meghalaya retained the "archaic" of mother-kin. In fact, Frazer, Gurdon and others believe that in the biggest of the Khasi States, named Shillong, political power was transferred to male "Syiems" (traditional rulers) only shortly before colonial annexation by the British. In the traditional Meghalayan society, therefore, there is a clear demarcation between men and women; authority and political power being a male prerogative while economic power is a female function with descent and transfer of property passing through the female line.

Before Independence, the areas now comprising Meghalaya were divided into two categories; the persent two Khasi hills districts were under the Khasi States while the two Garo hills districts, the Jaintia hills district, the administrative headquarters and colonial quarters of Shillong were classified as British Areas. In 1919, the Governor-General-in-Council declared the areas now in Meghalaya excluding the Khasi States, as backward tracts under the Government of India Act from 3 January, 1921. As such the Khasi States were not represented in the Provincial Assam Legislative Council. The same areas excluding the Khasi States became partially excluded areas within the meaning of the Government of India Act, 1935.

In the new Pre-Independence Assam Legislative Assembly, under the system of communal representation, a single seat was reserved for the women of the provincial capital Shillong so that a woman member was returned to the Provincial Assembly for two terms in the last decade of colonial rule. Miss Mavis Dune Lyngdoh, one of the first lady graduates in the Khasi tribal community, was the first woman returned to the Provincial Assembly. She had a very successful career as the first woman M.L.A. from among the indigenous tribes of the State. During the Second World War she also became the first woman minister in the Cabinet headed by Sir Syed Sadullah. In 1946, on the eve of Independence, Smt. Bonily. Khongmen who contested on a Congress ticket, was returned to the Provincial Legislature and became the first woman Deputy Speaker of the Assam Legislative Assembly, an office she occupied with distinction. In 1952, Smt. Khongmen, who contested the first General Election as a Congress candidate from the Shillong reserved constituency was elected to the First Lok Sabha and she became our first and only woman M.P. from the State. She had a very successful tenure as an M.P. and she tried to bring before the nation's Parliament the hopes and aspirations of the tribal people in the areas now comprising the State.

Smt. Khongmen had a good personal report with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his family members; particularly her relationship with Smt. Indira Gandhi was very intimate. Apart from the constructive role she played in Parliament in projecting the economic needs of the people, what stood out prominently was her ability to keep Jawaharlal Nehru informed of the special problems and ways of life of the tribal people. Smt. Khongmen played an active role in organising the conference of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in Delhi on, 7 June, 1952 and again on 14 December, 1954 when Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru delivered his now famous speech on dealing with the tribals. His speech clearly laid down the policies of the Union Government with respect to the approach towards tribals. It is true that Jawaharlal Nehru's mind was greatly influenced by Dr. Verrier Elwin, the famous anthropologist. The quiet and constant interaction of Smt. Khongmen and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also contributed to the policies—he enunciated in the Conference which in brief meant to allow the tribal people to grow according to their genius and not through forcible assimilation.

In spite of the pressure exerted by modernization, the tribal people of Meghalaya are very keen to retain their distinctive cultural structure which has been preserved from time immemorial. The traditional tribal society gave men the monopoly of sitting in the traditional Councils and running the traditionals administration since ages. The traditional durbars do not allow women to become the members and are primarily within the domain of the male representatives. It is because of this basic concept that the tribal society was unfavourable to the idea of woman contesting election to the State legislature as this appeared to contravene the basic feature of traditional society. In fact, no woman from Meghalaya's tribal community presented herself to the electorate as a candidate to the Legislative Assembly of Assam after Independence. In the one-and-a-half decades *i.e.*, 1955—1970, when the struggle for a separate Hill State was carried on, women played an important part towards the achievement of statehood and the political leadership in their wisdom sponsored two ladies *i.e.*, Km. Percylina Marak from Garo Hills and Smt. Maysalin War from the Khasi Hills who were elected by the members of the Autonomous District Councils—set up under the Sixth Schedule in the Constitution of India—to the Provisional Legislature of the Autonomous State which then consisted of 33 members.

In 1972, the Legislative Assembly of Meghalaya came into being. General Elections were held in 1972, 1978, 1983 and 1988. The number of women candidates and those elected are as follows:

Number of Women Candidates

	Contested	*Elected*
1972	4	1
1978	6	1
1983	8	Nil
1988	3	2

Smt. Percylina Marak was returned to the First House (1972—78). Smt. Miriam D. Shira, the second lady member of the House, was returned in a by-election from Songsak in Garo Hills in 1975 and again in the General Election of 1978 and she served as Deputy Speaker of the Third House (1979—1983). In 1988, both Smt. M.D. Shira and Smt. M. War were returned to the present *i.e.*, the Fourth House (1988—1993). Smt. War is the first woman M.L.A. from the Khasi Hills and she became a Minister in the United Meghalaya Progressive Forum Governments headed by Shri Purno A. Sangma in 1988 and by Shri D.D. Lapang in 1992. Smt. M.D. Shira was a Minister in the Meghalaya United Parliamentary Party Government headed by Shri B.B. Lyngdoh in 1990.

The indigenous tribal society in Meghalaya is now passing through the transitional stage : Many external influences such as the impact of modern civilization, westernisation and patriarchal cultures from within the national mainstream itself have all contributed towards change in the traditional tribal society. In the final analysis this has always been a problem in all traditional societies : how much to retain of the old traditional system which is the anchor of their lives and their hope of survival in the changing world as against the modern new ideas coming from outside without accepting which, prospects of futher development and progress are very dim. The signs of change and progress are evident everywhere. In the State capital, Shillong, women have now began to participate in the local durbars thereby breaking an old taboo that only men should take part. We live in a world of change and progress and it is up to the people and the leadership of the indigenous tribal societies to decide how much and in what way women can contribute to the political process and also on the role of the women in parliamentary institutions in a democratic set-up. This also leads to another question as to whether men play a more significant role in the economic affairs of the society. The last few decades show a definite trend in men entering business

and undertaking enterprises and also becoming the holder of economic assets of the society.

There has been a slow but progressive increase in the number of women candidates and elected women members to the State Legislature. Perhaps this trend will continue in the years to come when the transitional stage will gave way to a new tribal order in which the old and the new are balanced for the benefit of the community.

5

A Sense Of Purpose

Najma Heptulla

I had always been fascinated by the World of politics. However, I cannot say that the desire to become a member of Parliament was within me from the very beginning. Even though I had inherited a proud political legacy due to my family background and was greatly influenced by the likes of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, my close proximity to these two great personalities did not create an urge for political ambition. On the other hand, it created a political awareness and helped me to understand the complexities of the Indian polity.

I became an active worker for the Congress Party while I was still in college. It gave me great pleasure to work at the grass-root level and impart the philosophy and aims of the Congress amongst the students and the masses, try to understand their problems and do whatever I could in finding their solutions. I would like to mention here that doing Party work during those college days was not easy. As the readers would agree, a serious student of science would find little time for anything else but his/her studies. So it was for me also. After completing my post- graduation in Science (Zoology), I went on to get a Ph.D. in Cardiac Anatomy and entered the professional world as a Professor of Zoology. Despite the heavy load of academics, I utilised all available opportunities to do the party work. It was, perhaps, due to my unflinching loyalty to the Party and hard work put in by me that I was elected as the Joint Secretary of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee as far back as 1971.

My journey on the road towards becoming a member of Parliament was initiated by a strange yet important incident. A young man had come to our house in the process of collecting data for the

census. During the conversation, he happened to mention that he had done post-graduation in Chemistry with a first division. When I asked him as to the reason why he was collecting data for census as with his qualifications he could have got a better paying and satisfying job, he replied that he came from an economically poor background and had failed to get a decent employment.

I was deeply moved by this incident, and it became a turning point in my life. Unemployment and waste of national talent became the issues of my concern. I was driven by an urge to ameliorate the problems of the youth–as they were the real wealth of India. I strongly felt that some effort should be made to bring about a suitable change in the government's policy towards education and employment of the Indian youth, and went about discussing this matter with senior party colleagues. During such discussions, I was told that if I wanted to bring about a certain change in the government's policy then I should sell my idea to the member of Parliament–as they were capable and instrumental in bringing about such changes. It was then that I decided that I should myself become a member of Parliament and be an active promoter of a cause instead of just "selling" an idea to the M.Ps.

On becoming a member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha) in 1980, I entered the hallowed portals of the Parliament House with an idealist vision to do something, and had a lot of aspirations. I thought that by becoming a member of the highest body in the government I, along with others, would be able to bring about certain policy changes. I hoped that through our contributions and discussions in the Parliament we could bring about visible changes for progess and development, especially in fields of Science, Women Welfare, Environment and Education. My new experience as a Parliamentarian made me realize that though one could contribute his or her views on a particular subject, that itself was not sufficient enough to bring about the necessary policy changes. To achieve this goal, it was essential that besides speaking on the floor of the House, one should also lobby and create a consensus on the relevant issue among members.

Being a scientist, I became active in the Science Forum of the Parliament and attempted to generate an interest and awareness among honourable members on the subject. Our endeavours bore fruit and we were able to prevail upon the government on the importance of the Science of Ocean Development and, subsequently, the Department of Ocean Development was established. Similarly, our efforts in highlighting issues such as development of the electronics sector and environment protection bore fruit in the following years.

While all the issues discussed in the Parliament are important, I found the discussions on the Budget, Report of the Planning Commis-

sion, Report of the Finance Commission which is brought out from time to time, and the discussion on the functioning of various Ministries of particular importance and interest. Apart from the legislative business taken up regularly by the government, the Private Members Bill is found interesting by me as they take up important issues of public interest without any political overtone or bias. However, it is tragic that these resolutions put forward under the Private Members Bill are not passed by the government.

There is a kind of general attitude among the members that while all issues can be discussed alike, only Women Parliamentarians should speak up on issues relating to women. I, however, do not subscribe to this view. Why should women concentrate only on women issues? Is it not true that all the issues discussed on various subject somehow have their due effect on the women?

When I became a member of Parliament, I was eager to put forth my view, was impatient and prone to get agitated in discussions. It was only when I got elected as the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha that I got my experience as to how it feels to be on the other side of the Member's Benches. My long tenure as a Deputy Chairman developed in me the art of being patient, to be able to listen to all views–both from the Treasury benches and those from the opposition, views of all political colours. Never to be agitated myself, and yet try my level best to calm down agitated members. While in the Chair, I realized the essence of time. I came to the conclusion that one has to develop the art of being articulate and precise. If a Member cannot put across his views in 5 minutes or so, he just might not be able to do the same given all the time in the world. Here I would like to mention the speeches of our late Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi who used to speak briefly yet precisely. I still recall her reply to a No-confidence Motion in the Lok Sabha which, according to me, remains till yet a memorable reply. Time of the House should not be wasted in irrelevant arguments, we should realize that by doing so, not only time but a lot of public money is wasted.

During my tenure as a member of Parliament, I have had the opportunity to work with five Prime Ministers—from Smt. Indira Gandhi in 1980 to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao today. My tenure as the Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha was also witness to two non-Congress (I) Governments. This period was one of the most tumultuous one and saw greater pressure being brought on the Chair from time to time from the Treausry as well as the Opposition benches.

When I look back over the years I have spent at the Parliament, I take pride and satisfaction in the fact that despite all the problems and obstacles faced by us, we have succeeded in bringing about a lot

of positive reforms. Yet, I find that a lot still remains to be done and I shall continuously endavour to do so.

There is, however, a marked change between the members of Parliament of the yesteryears and those of today. When I became a member, the House had a large attendance. Even though lively discussions took place on the floor, there was always an underlying consciousness amongst all members towards maintaining the decorum and dignity of the House and the Chair. I feel that this very consciousness has been eroded over a period of time.

It was certainly a pleasure to interact with stalwarts from my Party as also from Opposition like Piloo Mody, Kalyan Roy, Bhupesh Gupta, Era Shazian, Malcolm Adisheshaiya and later on with the linkes of Atal Behari Vajpayee and L.K. Advani. One can never forget the power of their oratory, their wit and repartee and their conviction towards the issue they put forward with clarity. In the end it does not really matter whether one succeeds in achieving the goal or not. What really matters to the person, and people who look up for succour to the person, is that he or she tried hard and tried sincerely. Many of the personalities I have mentioned above are no more, but their memories shall always remain with us.

6

Indian Woman – Her Ascendancy In Politics

Margaret Alva

The birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885 provided a political platform to Indian women. In 1900, the first women delegates attended the Calcutta Session of the Congress and spoke from a political platform. This was the dawn of a new era, which saw Indian women take an increasingly active part in political activities. They emerged in their thousands in response to the call of the Mahatma, and Sarojini Naidu became the first Indian Woman President of the Indian National Congress, in 1925. Our women had become visible and their politicisation had begun. The Quit India movement of 1942 saw the leaders of the movement arrested and jailed, and women assume leadership roles. They came from all age groups and classes, castes and religions. Their sympathy and support to the nationalist movement, including its militant activities epitomised by youngsters like Aruna Asaf Ali, unnerved even the British.

The participation of women in the Indian nationalist movement was unique. For, at a time when women in the West were demanding suffrage, motivated by the interests of their own gender group, our women's primary concern was the freedom of their motherland. Motivated by a sense of nationalist commitment, the focus of their activity was, *not feminism, but nationalism*. This is why, equal rights for women were accepted without any hostility or resistance from the men. Adult franchise under a democratic Constitution brought women political equality. The major challenge to Indian democracy was, how the world's largest electorate, most of whom were illiterate, would function. But our people, both men and women in rural and urban areas, have demonstrated a remarkably high level of maturity, fully justifying the faith which our Constitution makers had reposed in them.

It is important, however, to note that over two-thirds of the nation's women live in rural areas, and it is the lives of women in their sector that truly represents the reality of our women. The majority of them are illiterate and unorganised. The aspirations of women in this sector, are different from those of women in our urban societies. The need is to balance the interests of urban and rural women, and do away with discrimination—a common basic factor affecting both sectors. Generalisations become superfluous, certralised plans prove inoperative and borrowed solutions turn catastrophic. Local leadership and effective participation at the grass-root level is the only way success can be ensured and the quality of their lives changed.

Democracy and development, in order to be successful, need maximum involvement of people at the ground level. Panchayati Raj (local self-government) is an important political instrument and a vital conduit for popular participation in democratic development. It serves as a forum for the promotion of local initiative, and a modality for enhancing people's political consciousness and awareness, as well as their direct participation in self rule. Women's participation in these institutions assumes vital significance in the context of their visibility in local decision-making processes. For the majority of women living in the rural areas and belonging to the weaker sections of society, participation, initiative and leadership in rural political institutions, can be of immense help not merely for their own empowerment but also in bringing to bear a feminine perspective to the processes of planning, policy formulation and execution of rural development programmes.

With this in mind, Legislation was passed for revitalising these grass-root representative bodies and providing for 30 per cent reservation of seats for women. By reserving seats and removing co-option, women would contest these elections, putting an end to the nomination of favoured persons by male political bosses. Even in elections the role of caste, class and local pressures often come in the way of putting up strong women candidates. Yet there are, examples of active women becoming *Sarpanchs* on the basis of their commitment and popularity.

While substantial gains have been made by women over the decades, this has not been adequately reflected in the representation of women in positions of power. The UN adopted the Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1952. The World Plan of Action adopted in Mexico City in 1975 put forward various suggestions for the recruitment, nomination and promotion of women in various branches of government, public bodies, trade unions and pressure

groups. The Nairobi Declaration (1985) stressed . . . "Women by virtue of their gender, experience discrimination in terms of denial of equal access to the power structure that controls society and determines development issues and peace initiatives" and noted "For true equality to become a reality for women, the sharing of power on equal terms with men must be a major strategy." It emphasizd the importance of governmental and non-governmental organizations in educating women to exercise their civil, political and social rights, and stated that in this process of consciousness raising, efforts would have to be made to fix definite time bound targets and even resort to a quota system. In spite of all this, women every where continue to be marginally represented in decision-making processes which have a direct impact on them (Annexure-I)

Where do we stand in Indian politics today? Women who form almost 50 per cent of the country's population are not even 10 per cent of the total members of the National Parliament. It was no better earlier. In spite of all the constitutional and legal guarantees and a galaxy of outstanding women leaders including a Prime Minister for 16 years, women have not been able to get adequate and proportionate representation in the Lok Sabha, the highest representative body in the country (Annexure-II). The Eighth Lok Sabha had the distinction of having the largest number of women representatives (44), with the Ninth and Tenth Lok Sabhas showing a decline to 28 and 36 respectively.

An analysis of women's participation in elections over the past four decades bring out the following facts:

(*i*) The extent, nature and level of Indian women's participation is much greater than in most other countries – developed or developing (Annexure-III).

(*ii*) This participation has been steadily expanding over the years – by way of voting, as candidates, and participation in campaigning, etc.

(*iii*) The gap in the turnout between men and women is getting narrowed: (Annexure-IV).

(*iv*) The percentage of women getting elected to representative bodies is increasing.

The politicisation of women is combined increasingly with a degree of political awareness that is getting expressed not merely in terms of their mobilisation at the time of voting, but also in the way they cast their votes. It is now an accepted fact that women do not vote blindly, or as ordered by their men. Recent elections have shown

that women have a mind of their own and exercise their vote independently, pointing to the decisive roles of women in electoral outcome.

Equally significant has been the delinking of female illiteracy from their voting behaviour. Literacy among women has been the lowest, particularly in the rural sectors, and among the poorer classes and Harijans. Yet most of the time they have demonstrated that they are politically sensitive and well aware of the various issues confronting them.

The effective mobilisation of women and their electoral behaviour, however, is diluted by other disquieting trends. These are:

(*i*) Despite the increase, women contesting the elections still constitute only 3.4 per cent of the total number of contestants. Of the contestants, women who get elected constitute a still smaller percentage.

(*ii*) Political parties are, by and large, reluctant to field women as candidates.

(*iii*) Most of the women who contest gain their candidature by their birth/close relationship with established party leaders.

(*iv*) There is no correlation between female population, their voting percentage and their numbers in elected assemblies.

(*v*) The participation cost in formal politics is too high for women, and therefore their participation is low and lower than that of men of even weaker sections.

Independent India has functioned on the basis of a multi-party system, with a spectrum of political parties that are ideologically ranged from the extreme right to the extreme left. Many of these parties were the off-shoot of the freedom struggle and continued its legacies with a reformist zeal. The increase in the number of women voters and eager participation by women in voting, has made almost all the political parties pay special attention to organising them, campaigning among them, and choosing them to contest elections. In the earlier years, campaigning among women was done rather casual. Today parties have Party organizations specially for women. These not only mobilize and campaign among them, seek their support and membership for the Party during and between elections, but also take up issues concerning women though within the Party's Policy framework. They organise rallies and demonstrations on women's issues, pass resolutions, and lobby with and pressurise the Government for specific policies. Women are participating in these activities

in great numbers and even court arrest on issues of popular interest. Parties are also giving increasing representation to women in Parliamentary and State Assembly elections, and in the Party Structure. It is, however, true that such induction is tokenism rather than real power sharing. There seems to be a general fear in all the political parties of women's groups emerging as self-reliant entities, independent of their parental controls. Apprehensive of women's potential for social action and assertion of their right, the parties keep tight vigil over their activities. This has caused many women's groups to renounce party affiliations and form autonomous groups of their own.

If this token presence of women in government as against their numbers as voters is to change, then it is of utmost importance that we formulate institutional mechanism and workout concrete measures to ensure and enhance women's involvement and representation in positions of power and decision-making. We have to reject traditional structures (social, economic, political and cultural) which work to the detriment of women and strive to make programmatic interventions where necessary. We must inspire women to enter legislative bodies at the National, State and grass-root levels in larger numbers. The more women we have in positions of decision-making, the more hope they will generate for the rest, because it is presumed that it is the fact of sufficient representation of women in various positions at present, that is responsible for their low status of share in development. It must, however, be realized that it is actually the reverse that is true. It is the exclusion of women from certain positions and levels of power, and their poor representation in the decision-making machineries, are themselves the outcome of their poor status.

A significant result of the international women's decade in-so-far as Indian women are concerned, is a visible shift from viewing women as targets of welfare policies to their emergence as a critical factor in development. The scattered, piecemeal or curative approach to the advancement of women, unrelated to policies and strategies for economic development, are now replaced by the integrated participatory approach, related to their needs, aspirations and choices.

India is far ahead of many developed economies in providing progressive legislation and positive intervention on behalf of women. The impact of these policies on the status of women has however been limited. The reasons for this are varied. Given the hierarchial structure of Indian society with its diverse and complex socio-economic institutions and cultural values, it has been difficult to evolve a uniform strategy which could be effective within different groups. Policies, though developmental in origin, turn welfare oriented in

delivery. Difficulty in effective implementation and monitoring of programmes due to the size and cultural diversity of the country and the intervening state level administrative machineries. have led to the uneven distribution of the gains of development to women. It was this realisation that led to the preparation of the National Perspective Plan for Women in 1989 with sector specific time bound measurable goals set for each sector, but emphasizing the holistic approach for bringing women into the mainstream of national development programmes.

Recognising the limitations in using law as an instrument of social change, policy makers have adopted positive discrimination in favour of women in certain areas. They have tried to identify the sources and factors for the economic dependence and social powerlessness of women and to remove or at least, to reduce them. Recognising the enormous burden which women carry within and outside the family, they have sought to reduce their oppression through a series of welfare and economic policy pronouncements. Participatory planning and decentralised administration is also being attempted at all levels. In fact, India is one of the few countries where women have been participating in administration in an impressive way. Even thought a majority of women ministers both at the Central and State Government levels are entrusted with social service portfolios, they have also been dealing with portfolios such as Labour, Housing, Power, Personnel & Industry. A similar trend is visible in the top levels of administration as well (Appendix-V).

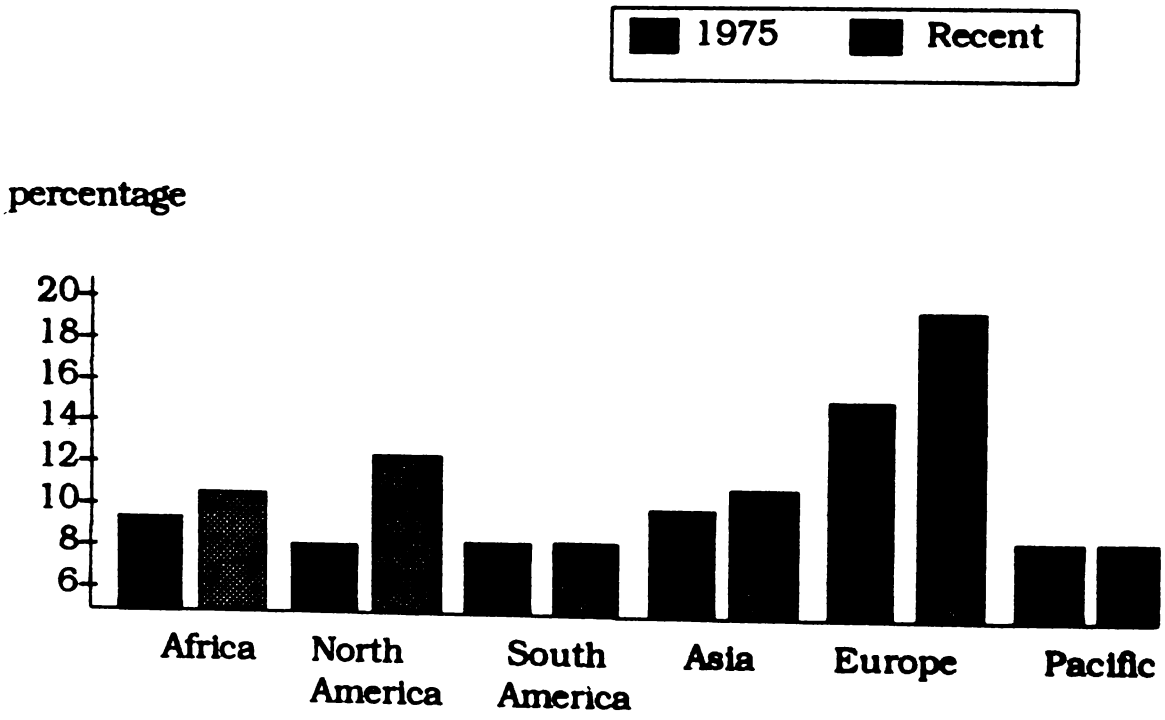
The Ministry of Human Resource Development created in 1985,is an umbrella Ministry which brings under its purview the departments of Women & Child Development, Youth Affairs & Sports, Education and Culture. Education and training, awareness generation, leadership building for the involvement of women in all stages of planning and implementation of schemes and programmes for them, with supportive structures toreduce the drudgery of their lives, and implemented asspecial programmes for women.

The big task before us today is to ensure justice, to reduce the disparities in the opportunities and facilities available to women and to make them equal partners in development. It will be too much to expect that this can be achieved by Governmental efforts alone. What is essential is the involvement of women themselves in changing society and ensuring for themselves a better future.

APPENDIX - I

A COMPARISON OF FIGURES IN 78 COUNTRIES IN 1975 WITH MOST RECENT INFORMATION AVAILABLE

Figure. Percentage of Women in Parliament by region, 1975 and most recent information



***Source* : Women's Indicators and Statistics data base, 1988.**

APPENDIX-II

WOMEN IN NATIONAL LEGISLATURES
INDIAN LOK SABHA

LS	*TOTAL NO OF SEATS*	*NO OF WOMEN MEMBERS*	*% OF THE TOTAL*
1	499	22	4.4
2	500	27	5.4
3	503	34	6.7
4	523	31	5.9
5	521	22	4.2
6	544	19	3.4
7	544	28	5.1
8	544	44	8.1
9	528	28	5.29
10	531	39	7.34

APPENDIX-III

PUBLIC LIFE AND LEADERSHIP

Region/ Country	*Parliamentary Seats Occupied by Women Percentages*		*Year of Women's Right to vote*	*Women Members*	*Decision Percentages 1987*
	1975	1987		Govt	Ministerial level
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
INDIA	4.3	8.3	1950	4.0	15.1*
I. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES					
Saarc Region					
1. Bangladesh	4.8	9.1	1947	1.4	2.8
2. Bhutan	NA	1.3	1953	7.4	28.6
3. Maldives	NA	NA	1932	10.1	0.0
4. Nepal	NA	5.8	1951	2.6	0.0
5. Pakistan	4.1	8.9	1947	2.9	0.0
6. Srilanka	—	4.8	1931	2.5	5.1
Other Regions					
AFRICA					
7. Egypt	1.9	3.9	1956	0.0	0.0
8. Tanzania	8.3	NA	1959	13.6	0.0
Latin America & Caribean					
9. Brazil	0.3	5.3	1934	3.8	3.4
10. Venezuela	2.7	3.9	1947	3.7	0.0
Asia & The Pacific					
11. China	22.6	21.2	1949	2.5	0.0
12. Phillippines	NA	NA	1939	11.1	10.0
II. DEVELOPED COUNTRIES					
13. Japan	1.4	1.4	1945	0.0	0.0
14. U.K.	4.3	6.3	1918	7.9	8.0
15. U.S.A.	3.7	5.3	1920	11.7	5.6
16. Australia	0.0	6.1	1901	1.7	3.3
17. U.S.S.R.	32.1	34.5	1917	1.0	0.0
18. Canada	3.1	9.6	1918	6.2	17.1

Source: The World's Women. Trends and Statistics 1970–90. UN. 1991.

* (As on 31st July, 1987 there were 8 Lady Ministers out of the total 53 Ministers.

APPENDIX-IV

VOTERS AND ELECTORS

Year	*Total Voting Percentage men Voters*	*Percentage Turn-out of Women Voters*	*Percentage turn-out of Women Voters*
1957	47.74	55.77	38.77
1962	54.76	62.05	46.63
1967	61.33	66.73	55.48
1971	55.35	61.00	49.15
1977	60.49	65.63	54.96
1980	56.92	62.15	51.22
1984	63.61	68.17	58.06
1989	61.95	66.13	57.32
1991	56.73	61.58	51.36

APPENDIX-V

WOMEN IN ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE

Year	*Service*	*Total Number*	*Women*	*%*
1975	Indian Administrative	2286	162	
1985	Service	4284	311	
1987	"	4548	339	
1992	"	4981	445	8.93
1975	Indian Foreign Service	338	30	
1985	"	535	50	
1987	"	533	53	
1992	"	523	59	11.28
1975	Indian Police Service	1437	—	
1985	"	2343	18	
1987	"	2439	21	
1992	"	2825	50	2

7

WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN INDIA

Kartar Devi

> "Woman is the builder and moulder of nation's destiny. Though delicate and soft as a lily, she has a heart, far stronger and bolder than of man.... She is the supreme inspiration for man's onward march.. . . she is, no doubt, her commanding personality, nevertheless is grimly solemn." said our great poet Rabindra Nath Tagore.

Ours is the largest democracy in the world where the women-folk constitute almost half of the population. But it is astonishing that though our Constitution guarantees her equality to man, yet only a few have been able to make a room for themselves in our legislative set up. Volumes of our history have numerous reasons to point out as to how woman, the "*Ardhanginf*" and "*Shaktf*" of man, lagged behind.

Women in Vedic India was considered to be a Goddess—something like the Greek conception of Athena, the supreme source of man's inspiration. In our early history, women had indeed been equal to men. They were well educated in science and arts and we had eminent mathematicians like Lilavati and persons well versed in the Vedic lore, like Maitreyi and Gargi who had contributed to the writing of the *Smritis*. But then there was a dark period for the women-folk when equal opportunities were denied to them.

The women again became active from the middle of the last century and marched side by side with man to free the country from the shackles of the foreign rule. She strived hard to reform the social laws framed by the British Government for feminine inferiority. With the dawn of freedom, our national leaders began to think seriously about the emancipation of women. They realized the fact that as long as the

women of India are not emancipated, their social status would not be raised. The Constitution guaranteed our women equality with men in all walks of life. Our Parliament passed several legislations for raising her social as well as economic standard. But even after 42 years of becoming a Sovereign Republic, India has not such number of women legislators and Parliamentarians as it should have. No country can progress if the women, who constitute half of its population, do not get adequate representation in decision-making machinery. Their participation in framing and implementing at least such laws which relate to women is indispensable and imperative. Also, the general feeling is that women have always suffered in a male-dominated society, always have to fight for their rights in all societies and continue to fight for their economic and social development.

We are proud of our women-folk. Smt. Vijayalaxmi Pandit, one of the ablest politicians of our country, created a record becoming President of the United Nations General Assembly. There are several other prominent women politicians and parliamnetarians who have made significant contributions in the task of nation building. They include Smt. Padmja Naidu, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Smt. Sucheta Kriplani. Who has not heard of Smt. Indira Gandhi, the most successful woman parliamentarian of our times, who guided the destiny of India through several turbulent years? She became an acknowledged world leader and a universally respected statesman of high calibre. She stood fast to the basic principles of preserving India's independence and non-alignment and promoting world peace as well as cooperation with Afro-Asian countries, especially the neighbourers. Her most outstanding contribution to the building of a modern India was to achieve full socio-economic freedom and a decent life for all—a cherished dream of Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Jwaharlal Nehru.

Today, we have only a few women parliamentarians who are contributing their mite in the gigantic task of nation building. The significant contributions being made by Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, Smt. Najma Heptullah and Smt. Vijaya Raje Scindia are inspiring other women also to join active politics and work hard for the upliftment of the women-folk. After all the change from the extreme backwardness, which continued for centuries, to a position of equality once again with men, cannot, however, be achieved in a short time.

India is described as a country of paradoxes. We manufacture air-crafts but people still travel in the bullock-carts. We produce atomic energy yet most of our people are still using oil lamps. We have some magnificent place with mud hovels only next to them. There are similar paradoxes in regard to the status of women. In fact, bulk of our women are illiterate, backward and unable to look after

themselves. Most of the problems are in rural areas. It is high time that we educate our rural women, make them conscious of their rights and get their active involvement in framing as well as implementing welfare programmes for them.

No doubt, women parliamentarians have been raising their voice in both the Houses for the Parliament against discrimination to women, but the solutions to the problems of the women will be possible, in true spirit of the term only if we have a considerable number of women in Parliament.

8

INDIAN WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS AND THEIR ROLE

Shanti Rathee

Since time immemorial, women have been enjoying a pride of place in Indian culture. In Indian society, women are honoured as Durga, Sita and Savitri who are regarded as the incarnations of strength, service and sacrifice respectively. Our scriptures sing the praises of women thus:

यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते, रमन्ते तत्र देवता

In the society where women are respected, live the gods. Women play an active role and make invaluable contribution in the building and development of home, society and nation.

This universe, in fact, owes its existence to women. Our *Vedas* and other religious books bear eloquent testimony to the fact that women have extended their whole-hearted cooperation to men in the discharge of their duties towards the society. The role played by them in India's freedom struggle brought about a new awakening in the society. Our history is replete with the immortal pages of penance, sacrifice and struggle on the part of women. The glorious grace and overwhelming influence of these noble ladies goaded mothers to sacrifice their sons, wives to sacrifice their husbands and sisters to sacrifice their brothers for the cause of freedom. In independent India, women have contributed their mite in every field of development and nation-building. Today, the active role being played by our sisters in economic, social, scientific and cultural spheres is very well known.

Women have been playing a remarkable role in the political field as well since the framing of our Constitution. As politicians and parliamentarians, they have done commendable work in eliminating social evils and conservatism as also in the development of the country. We all are familiar with great women scholars and parliamentarians like Smt. Padmaja Naidu, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Smt. Sucheta Kripalani, Smt. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit, Smt. Sarojini Naidu and Smt. Indira Gandhi.

Women are proud of the fact that Smt. Indira Gandhi held the reins of the country as its Prime Minister for quite a long time. Her period as Prime Minister spans almost two decades. Her efforts at ushering in social, economic and political reforms during this period are indeed worth emulating. Her special achievements include abolition of privy purses, nationalisation of banks, and atomic test in Pokhran which was a milestone in the field of science. In the International arena, she organised a convention of about 100 Non-Aligned Countries to give practical shape to the principles of *Panchsheel* propounded by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, as a result of which she became one of the great leaders of the world.

Smt. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit held an important post in the UNO, and did a commendable work for world peace and harmony and carved out a special place for India in the world. Thus, her inspiration and encouragement created special awareness among other women and they began to take keen interest in politics with a view to doing social service.

At present several eminent women parliamentarians like Smt. Najma Heptullah, Smt. Vijaya Raje Scindia and Km. Jayalalitha are raising their voice in Parliament and State Assemblies for protecting the interests of the women and also for creating social awareness among them. They resist with all the force at their command all attempts at the exploitation of women and atrocities being committed against them and demand all protection for them.

After independence, various provisions for the welfare of women have been made in the Constitution of India and for the same purpose several laws have also been enacted, but since women are generally not aware of them, these could not yield the desired results. The Hindu Marriage Act, the Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act, the Equal Remuneration Act, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, the Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act and such other laws will help womenfolk a great deal in protecting their person and pride. Today in India women are not getting adequate protection as they have limited knowledge of these laws. Atrocities are being committed against them everyday. They

are humiliated and even burnt for not bringing dowry in spite of the anti-dowry law.

If we, really want to ameliorate the lot of women, we have not only to enact laws for their welfare but have also to create social awareness and consciousness among them. Women Parliamentarians would also have to put in concerted efforts in this direction. More and more women in the country would have to be made literate. Exploitation of women would have to be opposed tooth and nail. Women Parliamentarians should do constructive work to enlighten the women about their rights and duties and also seek the help of welfare organisations and voluntary institutions in this respect. In that way, they will not only discharge their responsibilities as parliamentarians in real terms but will also be able to create awareness among women and thus the work for the upliftment of women will be carried on in the form of a movement.

In a country like India, women parliamentarians should visit villages and towns and impress upon womenfolk to work for their own welfare with missionary zeal. The task of women development will be incomplete without creating necessary consciousness among women in rural areas. Constructive cooperation of Women Parliamentarians in this direction will go a long way to sort out our national and social problems and to enlist the cooperation of women in the task of nation-building.

9

Performance Of Women M.Ps. In The Lok Sabha

Geeta Mukherjee

The number of women members of the Lok Sabha in terms of percentage of the total members of Lok Sabha never crossed the figure of 8.9. In spite of the fact that women constitute nearly 50% of the voters and their rate of voting is probably more than that of male voters, their number in Lok Sabha never crossed two digits.

It should be a matter of concern to all political parties, and they should search their minds to answer the question : Why is it so?

The following table will be the most eloquent witness for my case :

	Total Members	*No. of Women M.P.s*	*Percentage*
1st Lok Sabha	499	22	4.4
2nd "	500	27	5.4
3rd "	503	34	6.7
4th "	523	31	5.9
5th "	521	22	4.2
6th "	544	19	3.4
7th "	544	28	5.1
8th "	544	44	8.9
9th "	528	28	5.3
10th "	514	39	7.5

If this is the case numerically, qualitatively, *i.e.*, performance-wise, it is definitely superior compared to the number.

Before I come to the women M.P.s in Lok Sabha, I want to mention some of our great predecessors of the pre-independence days and of the Constituent Assembly, just after independence.

Late Smt. Radhabai Subbarayan was the first woman member elected to the Central Assembly in the pre-independence period (1938–45) and then in Council. This year is the centenary year of her birth. Her famous intervention against Maxwell, the then Viceroy, her fight to abolish night-labour for women and on umpteen other issues cannot be forgotten.

Similarly the role of Late Smt. Sarojini Naidu, Nightingale of India, in the Constituent Assembly must also be recalled. Her resonant voice, her sharp posture of the questions used to inspire her audience and instil courage in them to fight for the right causes.

I must also mention some other distinguished women members of the Constituent Assembly. One was late Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh, who was famous for her work with the Planning Commission as well as for the refugees. Similarly there was late Smt. Hansa Mehta who also made very important contribution.

I want to apologize to all my predecessors, whose names I might have left out due to my ignorance. This apology also applies for the other distinguished predecessors of mine in the Lok Sabha. If I could not gather all the names, it is due to my constraints of reference. I pay my respect to all those whose names might not appear in my writing, but whose contribution as such is not meant to be lessened.

As I entered the Lok Sabha in 1980, after my bouts in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, my direct knowledge is naturally limited.

At the outset, I shall try to cover some of the prominent MPs who became Ministers. Any discussion about the women Ministers obviously has to start with late Smt. Indira Gandhi—twice Prime Minister of India. Despite serious political differences with her, I must put on record her outstanding abilities and, of course, her supreme sacrifice for the country.

In the earlier Lok Sabhas (from the First to the Sixth) when I was not there, there were several very capable women Ministers, Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers from among the women MPs of the Lok Sabha. I am not in a position to include the Ministers from Rajya Sabha, for which I beg to be excused. The names that I must mention are : Late Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, Late Smt. Violet Alva, Smt.

Lakshmi N. Menon, Dr. Sushila Nayar, late Smt. Jayashri Raiji, Smt. Tarakeswari Sinha, Smt. Sushila Rohatgi, Dr. Phulrenu Guha, Dr. Maragatham Chandrashekar, etc. They held various portfolios from Health, Education and Social Welfare to Finance and External Affairs. Incidentally, many of them were also opposition MPs at different times, and in that capacity also they played their due role.

Some other Ministers who were there during my tenure, but are not in Lok Sabha now, are Smt. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, Smt. Mohsina Kidwai, Smt. Sheila Dixit, Smt. Ramdulari Sinha, Smt. Sumati Oraon and Smt. Usha Singh. Most of them were conscientious.

Among the present Ministers, there are Smt. Sheila Kaul and Smt. Margaret Alva, who were also Ministers earlier. The new entrants in the Ministry are Kumari Mamata Bannerjee, Dr. (Km.) Girija Vyas, Smt. D.K. Thara Devi Siddhartha, Smt. Kamala Kumari. Most of them have started their work with initiative and are giving account of themselves. This, of course, does not mean that the senior Ministers Smt. Sheila Kaul and Smt. Margaret Alva are not doing that.

To mention some of the most outstanding women members of earlier Lok Sabhas, who are not members of Lok Sabha now, and some of them are no more in this world, one must recall the names of late Smt. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (who later distinguished herself in the field of foreign affairs and joined the U.N.O., late Smt. Kumari Maniben Patel, late Smt. Sucheta Kriplani, late Smt. Yashoda Reddy, Smt. Renu Chakravarty, Smt. Parvati Krishnan, Smt. Renuka Ray, Smt. Subhadra Joshi, late Smt. Savitri Nigam, late Smt. Purabi Mukhopadhyay, late Dr. Seeta Paramananda, Begum Aizaz Rasul, late Smt. Malathi Chowdhury, late Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz, late Smt. Ila Pal Chowdhary, late Guru Agam Das Minomata, late B. Khongman, late Smt. Purnima Bannerjee, late Smt. Kamala Chowdhury and late Buragohain Bedavati. In the Lok Sabhas earlier to the 8th, but not very much earlier, some names are definitely worth-mentioning. Those are Smt. Bibha Ghose Goswami, late Smt. Mukul Bannerjee, Smt. Ahilya Rangnekar, Smt. Maya Roy, Smt. Mrinal Gore, etc.

There were a number of prominent M.Ps. during my tenure who are no more in the Lok Sabha now. Among them the names which need definite mention are Smt. Pramila Dandavate, Smt. Kishori Sinha, Smt. Jayanti Patnaik, Smt. Usha Prakash Chowdhury, Smt. Vidyawati Chaturvedi, Smt. Gurbinder Kaur Brar, Smt. Nirmala Kumari Shaktawat, Smt. Chandresh Kumari, Smt. Prabhavati Gupta, Smt. Sanyogita Rane, Smt. Vyjayantimala Bali, Dr. Kalpana Devi, Smt. Jhansi Lakshmi, Smt. Manorma Singh, Smt. Jayawanti Behn Mehta, Kumari Mayawati, etc. Elderly members like Begum Abida

Ahmed, Begum Akbar Jahan Abdullah, Smt. Premilabai D. Chavan were not very active in Lok Sabha, though they command considerable respect in their own States.

Among the women M.Ps. in the Tenth Lok Sabha, there are a number of members who were earlier members of Lok Sabha for more than two terms; for example, Smt. Susheela Gopalan—now Deputy leader of CPI (M) Group, Smt. Pratibha Devisingh Patil—former Deputy Chairperson of Rajya Sabha, Smt. Basavarajeswari (former Chairperson of Lok Sabha), Smt. Malini Bhattacharya (now Chairperson), Smt. Vidya Chennupati, Smt. Dil Kumari Bhandari, Smt. Vasundhra Raje, Smt. Sumitra Mahajan, Kumari Uma Bharti, etc. Smt. Vijaya Raje Scindia is not so active now-a-days inside Lok Sabha. There are a number of new comers who are working conscientiously. They are Smt. Saroj Dubey, Smt. Girja Devi, Dr. K.S. Soundaram, Dr. Padma, etc. I expect them to make a mark in future. It is most heartening to see Kumari Selja, our youngest M.P., to charm the Lok Sabha with her maiden speech.

Though I have mentioned many names of women M.Ps. of Lok Sabha at different times, I know that the list is incomplete. I beg to be excused by those sisters, whose names I could not mention due to want of space. This does not mean that they have no contribution.

It, perhaps, goes without saying that the performances of every woman Minister or of the woman M.P. are not of the same calibre. In some cases there are even vast degrees of difference. But one thing is true, that many of the women members are comparatively more conscientious (with apology to our male counterparts!).

Another thing, which is also true is that often it was or is seen that women members in the opposition were or are comparatively more prominent. Without taking away the glory of some of the most competent members of the ruling parties, I like to state, that my conclusion stated above has an objective reasoning. The opposition parties are often forced to put up such women candidates who must be good enough to win in their own right. This does not apply for all women M.P.s of the ruling party, though many of them are also winners in their own right.

It is impossible to enlist all important interventions of the women members of different Lok Sabhas. Therefore, I shall be forced to limit myself to some of the interventions.

Before I go in for specific cases, let it be made clear that prominent women M.P.s used to intervene in all spheres of life, be it political, social or economic. Often it was seen and is being seen that

they are proficient in various subjects, national and international. But one thing, probably, has been and is common to them. On women's causes, they often combined forces despite their political differences. This phenomenon led to the passage of many Acts, which are beneficial to women, if properly implemented this, of course, entails a very big united struggle outside the Parliament as well.

Let us now deal with some of the most important interventions.

In the First Lok Sabha, mention must be made of the Bill for the Right of divorce of Hindu women—popularly known as 'Rao Bill', named as the Hindu Code Bill. Right from pre-independence days, women's organizations had been seriously fighting for the Uniform Civil Code. (Let it be clearly stated that neither in the past, nor at persent, it was or is a monopoly of Hindu communalists—as is now being claimed by some of them. In reality, in the earlier days the predecessors of BJP as well as some very conservative leaders of the ruling party had opposed the 'Hindu Code Bill', and never pressed for a Uniform Civil Code). It is the combined struggle of women's organizations outside the Parliament and competent advocacy for the same by some of the most capable women MPs in Lok Sabha such as Smt. Renu Chakravarty, of C.P.I., Smt. Renuka Ray and late Smt. Uma Nehru of the Congress Party, which ultimately enabled late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to break the resistance of the communal and orthodox leaders. Thus, the Hindu Code Bill was ultimately passed by a joint session of both the Houses of the Parliament and made into an Act.

Though it is very difficult to deal with individual interventions, because of the simple reasons that those were very many, even then I shall try to indicate some of those coming from some of the prominent M.P.s.

Let me take the case of late Smt. Sucheta Kriplani. Though she was the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and discharged her duties efficiently, she was never a member of the Union Council of Ministers. Her performance in Lok Sabha covered a great range of subjects, beginning from foreign policy to failure of water supply in Delhi. While recalling her, an interesting side light should be pointed out. She and her illustrious husband late Acharya Kriplani belonged to two different parties—the former to the ruling party and the latter to the Opposition. Whatever may be their clashes inside the Parliament, those never disturbed their family peace !

Smt. Renu Chakravarty (1952-67), thrice member of Lok Sabha and also Deputy Leader of Communist Party of India (CPI) in Lok Sabha, had an outstanding contribution. Apart from all her important

intervention on women's cause and for the cause of all down-trodden, particularly the workers; she was specially interested in the rehabilitation of the refugees from the then East Pakistan. She consistently fought for their cause. Her intervention on the 'India-China Relationship' when it deteriorated very much, is worthy of recall. She was also a capable Chairperson.

Smt. Parvathi Krishnan, another very efficient spokesperson for the entire down-trodden population, particularly the workers (of the Railways and others) was consistent, clear and powerful. She was in successive Lok Sabhas and also in Rajya Sabha. She was also the Deputy leader of the CPI group. Apart from her very serious interventions, her capacity as a Chairperson should also be recalled. There were naturally many humorous moments also. One day while Parvathi was in the Chair, Shri George Fernandez addressed, 'Comrade Chairperson". Parvathi kept quiet and smiled. Afterwards when interruption started during the speech of Shri Fernandez, then Parvathi said : 'Comrade Members should not interrupt the Comrade Minister," there was loud laughter in the House.

Smt. Subhadra Joshi was always alert on issues having communal overtones. If there were any communal disturbances, she would always take those up in the Lok Sabha. Late Smt. Mukul Bannerjee also raised the question of communal disturbances.

Coming now to my own tenure in Lok Sabha that is from 1980 (Seventh Lok Sabha) onwards.

The Seventh Lok Sabha was very important from the point of view of women's role. In the field of defending women's cause, women M.P.s (and ultimately, of course, some male M.P.s) constantly played an active role. That apart, they took initiative in reflecting the demands of the women's organizations outside the Parliament in the most effective way. Using all the rules of the Lok Sabha and mobilizing various women M.Ps. belonging to different parties for the cause of women many of them made significant contributions not only for the cause of women but also for that of the entire country, particularly its down-trodden people. I must also thank Shri Balaram Jakhar the then Speaker. He helped us in various ways during the Seventh Lok Sabha.

My first act in the Parliament was to submit a petition in the Lok Sabha, signed by ten important women's organizations from Bombay. It dealt with the question of custodial rape. This petition and a debate on my Motion under Rule 193 on 'Alarming incidence of rape on women' initiated the process of changing the provisions of Indian Penal Code and also of Indian Evidence Act in favour of custodial rape

victims, irrespective of their character. In the Joint Select Committee on that Bill, it is not only me or my friend Susheela Gopalan of CPI (M) who fought together, but all Women Congress M.Ps. also fought along with us and they were backed up by the Chairman Shri Nyckar as well as a number of male colleagues, such as Shri R.S. Sparrow, Shri Bapu Saheb Parlekar, Shri D.S. Dave, etc. who belonged to the ruling as well as Opposition parties.

Similarly on the amending legislation of the previous Dowry Prohibition Act, Smt. Pramila Dandavate of Janata Dal took the initiative. Her experience in the Joint Select Committee was similar to ours.

The Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Act, 1983 (dealing with dowry deaths and cruelty to women in the family) was genuinely a combined product of all women M.Ps. and women's movement outside. There was not one case of dowry death that was not taken up by various women M.Ps. belonging to different political parties using all possible forms, such as Questions, Calling Attention (often by a group of five members—Pramila, Susheela, myself, and two other Congress members—sometimes Vidya Chennupati, sometimes Nirmala Kumari Shakhawat and sometimes Smt. Gurbinder Kaur Brar, Smt. Usha Choudhury, etc.). Discussions under Rule 193, raising in the Zero hour, etc., were also quite frequent. This was of course a reflection of the movement outside the Parliament, and this again helped to highlight the movement.

In the Eighth Lok Sabha I found that the earlier stance of the honourable Speaker changed somewhat—reasons best known to him. This created a problem with regard to the arranged all party calling attentions on behalf of us as described above. Even then, the raising of women's issues by women members were neither stopped nor objected to. What was difficult was the arranged co-sponsorship by different party MPs together. In the Eighth Lok Sabha also, quite important laws were passed concerning the interests of women, most of which were piloted by Smt. Margaret Alva, the then Minister of State in-charge of Women's Welfare.

From the point of view of women's collective interest, the most important Act was, of course, passed in the Ninth Lok Sabha *i.e.* the National Commission on Women Act, 1990. This was the Act which can rightly be called the product of the most protracted struggle of women's organizations. Following the report of the National Committee on the Status of Women set up by the then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, under the Chairpersonship of Smt. Phulrenu Guha, the then Minister for Social Welfare in the International Women's Year (1975), it was recommended that a Commission on Women be set up at the national level to oversee the implementation of the good laws

concerning women, as well as take up all the questions of equal rights for women, when and where those are violated.

During the Ninth Lok Sabha, Shri Ramvilas Paswan, Minister for Labour and Welfare and Smt. Usha Singh, Minister of State took the initiative and a Bill was circulated. The Bill was improved through combined discussion of all women's organizations, representatives of all the State Governments and the Central Government and ultimately was passed despite many problems.

In 1992, the National Commission for Women was constituted under the Chairperson, Smt. Jayanti Patnaik.

To go back to another measure regarding women during the Eighth Lok Sabha, late Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister, set up a National Committee under his own chairmanship for drawing up a plan for women's all round development. I was chosen as one of the members of the said committee. In the first meeting, I requested that there should be a national discussion on the draft by women's organizations from all over India. Such a meeting was convened by the Chairperson of the Central Social Welfare Board, where the representatives of the State Governments and the Non-Governmental Organizations spoke. These were also the product of the interaction between the women MPs and women's organizations.

During the Tenth Lok Sabha, some important discussions with women MPs were initiated by Kumari Mamata Bannerjee, Minister of State, Women's Welfare and Sports as well as by Smt. D.K. Tharadevi Siddhartha, the Minister of State for Health and Family Planning. In these meetings women M.Ps. of all parties freely expressed their opinions and gave their suggestions in the fields concerned. These type of meetings do help the Government and women M.Ps.—provided of course the resultant discussions are.

I have dealt with at length about some of the activities of women M.Ps. on women's questions in the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and the Tenth Lok Sabha. A lot more could be added. But I want to point out one thing clearly. In these Lok Sabhas too, women M.Ps. did not deal only with women's questions.

In their interventions through various Parliamentary tools—Questions, Calling Attentions, Half-an-Hour Discussions, Speeches on different subjects, Raising Issues in Zero Hour, etc., a number of women M.Ps. have taken umpteen initiatives. Being one among them, I also tried to play my part to the best of my abilities.

In this connection I will recall a few of my interesting experiences, not relating to my interventions in relation to women's problems, but

in relation to wider problems. One of such experiences was my amendments to the First Finance Bill in the Seventh Lok Sabha. At that time, Shri R. Venkataraman was the Finance Minister. After getting the Finance Bill I, along with a bright young boy of the CPI Parliamentary Office, sat down to formulate clause by clause amendments to the Finance Bill. After we drafted the amendments, I thought I better consult the Legislative Wing of the Lok Sabha to check up whether those were in order. The Legislative Department was quite surprised to see such detailed amendments to the Finance Bill. I came to understand that it is not very common. But in any case, I had to get those checked up. So ultimately, one officer of the Legislative Department called one of the senior officers of the Finance Ministry then present in gallery to get the amendments checked. He declared that all of them were in order. But from his face, I understood that he was somewhat surprised, though I could not understand why it was so. Later, at the clause by clause amendment stage, I went on moving amendments to almost every clause of the Finance Bill. Venkataramanji also looked surprised. But later he went on telling people that here was a lady who did her hometask thoroughly. Coming from such an able Finance Minister, it was a big compliment. But honestly speaking, I myself never understood what was there to compliment for drafting amendments. In any case I express my gratitude for his kindness.

Another incident is about motions under Rule 193. This was also in the Seventh Lok Sabha. I used to see that in most of the cases of discussion of a subject under Rule 193, it was Prof. Madhu Dandavate who used to get the distinction of being the mover. After seeing this for quite some time, I went to the officers in the Table Office and told them that they must teach me how to be the first in moving a motion under Rule 193. Incidently in those days Rule 193 was much more strict.

In the beginning, the officers did not accept my student status. But due to my great insistence, they understood that this woman really wanted to be a student. And then we had serious discussions, they first asked me what did I think to be the reason for Dandavateji always becoming the first. I told them what I understood. They were quite happy and told me that what I said was correct. They also taught me the rest.

One day, a delegation of an all Opposition party went to the Longowal village of Punjab to pay their last homage to the dear departed leader Shri Longowal, who was killed by the terrorists. We went by a Vayudoot plane. But unfortunately, the plane left without bringing us back to Delhi. So we were literally left high and "dry". On that very hot evening, many of us were coming out of the building to get

some fresh air. At one time Dandavateji came out. He suddenly asked me: "Geeta, whose name is first in tomorrow's 193?" (that was on black money and Shri V.P. Singh was the Finance Minister). Like a little school girl I answered smilingly "Dandavateji, for once it is not Professor Madhu Dandavate, but Geeta Mukherjee!" Dandavateji was quite happy and appreciated my student-like reaction !

Another incident is about my first performance as a member of the Public Undertakings Committee. At that time I had no idea about how to study the Undertakings. Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, a veteran parliamentarian of great repute was no more M.P. then, but he had been appointed by the Speaker to be the adviser to the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training of the Lok Sabha Secretariat. Prof. Mukerjee not only belongs to our party, he is a nephew of my late husband. So we used to address him as "Mamu" (*i.e.* Maternal uncle—as he was senior in age).

Therefore, I naturally approached Mamu for his advise. He told me that I should talk with the Secretary of the Committee, who was then quite a young man. I went and requested him to be my teacher. At the outset he was hesitating to be a "teacher" to an old parliamentarian. But I went on insisting. He ultimately accepted me as a student.

I shall never forget the then Secretary of the Committee taught me—with the greatest care and also with the exacting way as it should be by a teacher from a student. The end result was that once I was asked to conduct the principal cross-examination of the Managing Director of Copper Corporation of India. First, I told my teacher that I did not feel confident. But he insisted. Therefore, as an obedient student I had to take up the cross-examination. It should be remembered that it was my first term in the Lok Sabha at that time and moreover one without any "pedigree"! So the Managing Director, according to his own admission, thought it would be an easy matter. But when the cross-examination was over I said "so now, gentlemen, as the long march to the revels (the trouble was with the misuse of revels from which copper has to be extracted) are over, let us all go for tea." During the tea, the M.D. congratulated me, telling frankly that he never bargained for such a cross-examination. I told him immediately that the congratulation should be addressed to our Secretary of the Committee, and not to me, as he taught me the A to Z of the subject.

I want to relate another little episode. Once I was giving a notice on some incident in the Punjab. It was also in the Seventh Lok Sabha. I gave it to the Stenos' Pool of the Lok Sabha Secretariat for typing. Since I got the news through telephone, the name of a village was

wrongly written. My little sweet steno, an employee of Lok Sabha, who was typing it started searching for me all over the place and ultimately caught me in the Ladies Room through phone. I still remember her voice through phone: Auntie, what have you done? There is no such place in Punjab. Please check up probably the name is so and so." I was so happy, because that was the real name and she got it corrected.

Throughout my parliamentary career this was the most important type of thing. The great cooperation I received from various important officers to the junior employees made it possible for me to function properly.

I hope and wish that this would be my last term in the Lok Sabha. When I go back, I shall go back with the sweet memory of the immense love and concern that I received from all in the Lok Sabha. Beginning from honourable Speakers and Deputy Speakers in all these years down to the entire staff I got more than I deserved. The same should be said about most of my colleagues in the Lok Sabha, men and women, belonging to the various parties—and also many of the Ministers.

I believe that for the affective functions of a parliamentarian, particularly, of a woman parliamentarian, this aspect is very important.

10

Rajmata Vijaya Raje Scindia : The Mother-Figure Of Indian Politics

J. K. Jain

Rajmata Vijaya Raje Scindia is a political leader with roots deep in the hearts of the people of India, and this fact is more than evident in her almost continuous presence in the Parliament of this nation since her reluctant entry into electoral politics in 1956. The very embodiment of motherhood, Rajmataji (as she is known to all, across party lines) has achieved something that is a practical impossibility in the current atmosphere of vicious party rivalry—the love and respect of vast numbers of people, including many political leaders, many of whom do not share her ideology, her beliefs, or her Party's membership.

It is not unusual to see many senior political leaders, including Chief Ministers and members of Parliament, giving a demonstration of the high esteem they hold her in by touching her feet in public, even in the Central Hall of Parliament. And this they do, not out of fear or any selfish motives, but only out of sheer respect.

The secret of the universal respect that Rajmataji commands can be discovered in her unswerving commitment to her principles, her manifest sense of justice and fairplay, and her willingness to sacrifice everything, even her life and liberty, for the interests of the people and the nation.

I recall an example of the enormous trust Rajmataji inspires, even among people who do not share her Party or ideology. Before the 1987 Haryana elections, negotiations were being held between Choudhury Devi Lal's Lok Dal, and the Bharatiya Janata Party. At one point, there was a stalemate on seat adjustments, and it began to look as if

the Haryana Sangharsh Samiti—under whose banner the Lok Dal and BJP had built a mass movement against the Congress I's misrule—would be shattered even before the elections came about. At this juncture, Choudhury Devi Lal, well known in Indian politics for his uncompromising nature, amazed everyone by declaring to the press that both his Party and the BJP should submit their respective claims to Rajmataji, and that her verdict would be acceptable to him. In an atmosphere of heightened tensions, of an unrelenting struggle for party supremacy, of a direct and open conflict of interests between the Lok Dal and the Bharatiya Janata Party, the leader to the Lok Dal had placed his trust in a member of the BJP to arbitrate on the critical issue of seat adjustments! There can be no greater testimony to the people's trust in Rajmataji's unbending commitment to justice and fairplay.

The trust Rajmataji inspires becomes more comprehensible in the context of her political mission. The last Maharani of Gwalior is a politician with a difference; she has no lust for power, and has steadfastly repudiated all attempts to tempt her with high positions in government. The Congress government of Pt. D.P. Misra in Madhya Pradesh was toppled by Rajmataji as early as 1967, when Rajmataji, perturbed by the Congress High Commands inability to discipline Pt. Mishra, who was responsible for the murder of Maharaja Pravin Chandra of Bastar and by the police firing on his Adivasi followers, decided to intervene directly in the State's politics. It was only natural that Rajmataji was then invited to accept the mantle of chief ministership, but she staunchly refused. Throughout her long career, she has never aspired for government office, for her mission is service, her only desire is to secure a better quality of life for her people.

That is why, despite her vast personal resources which could allow her to live a life of unqualified luxury in the midst of hundreds of servants and retainers, one can see Rajmataji travelling through the burning deserts of Rajasthan, in the sweltering height of summer, even before the first reports of a drought begin appearing in the news. For decades now, she has sought to mobilize the administration, the people and the voluntary agencies in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and other parts of the country, to alleviate the suffering of people in times of crisis, and has never been ashamed even to beg for relief for the poor, whose lot she has constantly struggled to better.

It is in the worst of times that a person's worth is best tested. The purest steel must pass through the strongest flames. And thus it was at the worst time in the history of independent India that Rajmataji demonstrated her best qualities.

Few can recall Indira Gandhi's Emergency without an involuntary shudder. It was a time when some of the greatest stalwarts of India's political leadership humbly bowed before the dictatorial might of a lawless State; a time when the entire national Press, with a single exception, parroted the Government's messages, impervious to the truth; a time when terror reached out into the private recesses of each Indian home, to grip the hearts of every citizen.

At such a time, Rajmataji challenged the might of the State and offered *Satyagraha*. This noblewoman, used to the luxuries of palaces, was hunted down like a fugitive, a common criminal, and, eventually, incarcerated in Delhi's notorious Tihar Jail, among prostitutes, thieves and murderers. Misfortune, however, cannot decimate the brave. Instead of being overwhelmed by the squalor and filth of her surroundings, Rajmataji transformed it into a refuge, a little temple, where, for a moment, those who had been reviled and rejected by society could recover their humanity singing hymns to the Almighty.

I had gone to Tihar in those days, to meet Shri Nanaji Deshmukh, who has also been incarcerated there. I was requested to stay on by a Jail Official, to examine another 'prisoner'. To my amazement, Rajmataji was brought in. The Jail officials knew that she was not keeping well, but would not allow any but her won personal doctors [I and my wife, Dr. Rajini Jain] to examine her. I was deeply and visibly grieved at seeing Rajmataji in that dismal place, and, in a curious reversal of roles I found Rajmataji reassuring me. She told me that no price was too high for freedom, that she would willingly spend her life in that Jail for her country. "The purpose of my being here," she told me, "is a sacred mission, and the filth in this place cannot submerge the purity of that mission." There was another woman prisoner attending on her, and this woman told me how Rajmataji had transformed the women's section of the Jail into a temple, and how they all spent their evenings chanting *bhajans*. Evidently, a spirit such as Rajmataji's cannot be imprisoned even if her body is confined to a jail cell.

Imprisonment and its accompanying humiliations were not, however, the deepest wound that the Emergency inflicted on Rajmataji. Nor were they the greatest test her spirit encountered. For at this time, her son Madhavrao, showed signs of weakness and succumbed to the pressures of the time. Seeking favour with the lords of the Emergency, he also pressed upon Rajmataji to compromise with the Congress-I. Torn between her maternal sentiment and her principles, Rajmataji was, however, unrelenting. She chose to stand by the nation, even at the cost of losing her son's love. Mother and son parted ways, the

former faithful to her mission, the latter choosing the wayward path of expediency.

This wound, inflicted in the dying days of the Emergency, is yet to heal, and Madhavrao, her only son, continues to be estranged from his mother even today. Could we imagine a greater sacrifice in this age, when other distinguished leaders have willingly and easily sacrificed the national interest to promote dynasty and the interests of their progeny?

Examples without end could be multiplied of the sacrifices made by Rajmataji and of her courage; and yet, all these in combination would fail to create even an outline, a mere suggestion, of this towering figure, and her influence on those around her. Often when I find myself wondering about worth of the 10 years I spend in acquiring my medical education, about the reward I have received for these years of labour, I tell myself that, had I not been a doctor, I would never have had the opportunity to come into such close contact with a person of such manifest greatness in these decadent days. And this realization alone, this most fortuitous association with Rajmataji, is all the reward I could ever ask for in life.

11

Dr. Jayalalitha—The Intrepid, Charismatic Leader

K.S. Soundaram

Dr. Jayalalitha, the legendary figure in the entire State of Tamil Nadu is affectionately referred to by the younger generation as *Puratchi Thalaivi* (revolutionary leader) and by the older generation as *Amma*.

Born on 24 February, 1948, she has a distinguished lineage. Her grandfather, Dr. Rangachari, was the family physician of the late Maharaja of Mysore, Krishana Rajendra Wodeyar. She lost her father, Shri R. Jayaram, when she was a child. Her mother, Smt. Sandhya, not being deterred by the calamity that befell upon her, took up a job to maintain family with two children and subsequently joined the film industry as an actress.

She has her early education at Bishop Cotton Girls High School in Bangalore and later at the Presentation Convent at Church Park in Madras. She was a precocious genius. She stood first in the matriculation examination and the Government offered her a scholarship to pursue higher studies.

She is an eloquent speaker in English, Tamil, Telegu, Kannada and Hindi. She had written scores of articles in English and Tamil in various periodicals and had authored four full length novels and several short stories in Tamil. She is a voracious reader and has a big library containing books on diverse subjects.

She was trained in classical dance and also in Carnatic music from the age of four years. She is an accomplished *Bharata Natyam* exponent having given hundreds of performances. She is also proficient in *Kathak*, *Kathakali*, *Kuchipudi* and *Manipuri* dances as well as in

vocal, Carnatic and classical music. She has sung several songs in her own voice in her films.

At the age of 16 years, she entered the Tamil film industry and her first picture itself was a box office hit. She acted in about 135 films in Tamil, Telegu, Kannada, Hindi, Malayalam and English.

Nature destined her for a greater role in alleviating the misery and poverty of the teeming millions. On 4 June, 1982, she joined the All India Anna Dravida Munetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) as a primary member. After hearing her stirring speeches at public meetings, her mentor and guide, the former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, late Shri M.G. Ramachandran inducted her as the Propaganda Secretary of AIADMK. Her rise in the political firmament was meteoric. She was elected to Rajya Sabha on 23 April, 1984. It was a pleasant surprise that she was allotted the same seat number *i.e.* 185 which was previously occupied by the first Chief Minister from the Dravidian movement, Shri C.N. Annadurai as a Member of the Rajya Sabha in 1963.

In the midst of seasoned parliamentarian she established herself as a well-informed and an articulate and able parliamentarian. Her maiden speech in the Rajya Sabha of 9 August, on the Demands for Grant for Power and later on the 'Appropriation Bill, 1984' touching the closure of textile mills and the immediate necessity of reopening the textile mills in Tamil Nadu, the Cauvery Water dispute between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, the Telegu Ganga Project providing drinking water to Madras city, the second rail coach factory for Tamil Nadu and Tuticorin Thermal Power Project and her call to revert education to the State List from the Concurrent List, quoting from C. Northcote Parkinson; drew wide appreciation from all sections of the Rajya Sabha including the then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi.

In the five years when she was a member of Rajya Sabha, she spoke on diverse subjects such as dowry prohibition, and acquisition, taxation laws, National Anthem, developments in Jammu and Kashmir and on the plight of handloom weavers in the country.

The demise of Shri M.G. Ramachandran, the former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, created a void in the political horizon of the State. AIADMK, the then ruling party in Tamil Nadu, was split into two factions. In the elections to the Assembly, the faction of the AIADMK led by Ms. Jayalalitha, secured 27 seats and she became the first woman Opposition Leader in the Legislative Assembly of Tamil Nadu.

The two groups of the AIADMK realised that the Party could not have a future except under the unquestioned supreme leadership of Dr. Jayalalitha. In the protracted legal battle for the election symbol, she

won back the two leaves symbol and was recognised as the undisputed leader of the AIADMK.

In the 1989 General Elections to the Lok Sabha, she romped home with a historic victory winning for the AIADMK-Congress alliance all but one out of forty seats.

In the 1991 General Elections to the Lok Sabha and the elections to the Tamil Nadu Legislature, the AIADMK in alliance with the Congress, literally swept the polls. The alliance won all the 40 seats it contested for the Lok Sabha and her party won all the 165 seats it contested for the Assembly.

It is poetic justice that she made an entry as Chief Minister in 1991 into the same Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly where she had suffered the worst humiliation and indignity as Leader of the Opposition in 1989.

In Tamil Nadu, a State renowned for administrative calibre, where eminent men like the late C. Rajagopalachari, the late K. Kamaraj and the late C.N. Annadurai had served as Chief Ministers, this relatively young lady, who was in her early forties and had little previous administrative experience, was the unanimous choice of five-and-a-half crore people of the State. She is the first elected woman Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and remarkably, within a year she has mastered the intricacies and nuances of administration and has proved to be one of the toughest negotiators and a skilful debator with the needed punch and thrust.

The cruel assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, carried out by the Sri Lanka based Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) showed how successfully the LTTE had spread its tentacles far and wide in Tamil Nadu. This was the greatest challenge to the law and order situation in the State. When she assumed the Chief Ministership, she took a solemn vow to stamp out the menace of the Tigers and restore law and order within a year, she succeeded in fulfilling her vow.

Just after assuming office, she announced the closure of cheap liquor shops and thus rescued the families of poor agriculturists and wage earners which were being ruined because of their men being addicted to liquor. She has succeeded in curbing illicit distillation to a large extent.

She is a votary of the hoary Tamil culture. Equally she is a strong believer in a united and secular India. She believes in the adage that a thousand flowers may blossom in this land and yet they can survive without one harming the other.

In the National Integration Council when others were struggling even to accept 27 per cent reservation for the backward classes, she thundered that there should be 50 per cent reservation and expatiated on how the Tamil Nadu Government was successfully implementing 50 per cent reservation with no disharmony.

She has echoed and re-echoed the feelings of Indian women, exploited and subjugated for centuries. For the first time, she made it possible for twenty-five women to enter the Legislative Assembly from her Party.

She made it compulsory that the teachers recruited in schools for teaching up to the 5th standard should only be women. In the year 1990-91, 42.6 per cent of women teachers were on the rolls of elementary and middle schools.

Again she made it possible for girls whose parental income was less than Rs. 12000/- per annum to have free education up to graduation level. She opened more avenues for women to get training and employment in small-scale cottage industries.

Her persistent efforts to help Tamil Nadu regain its place as a fast industrialising State and her dialogues with the captains of industry on the one hand and the Central Government on the other have started yielding positive results.

In recognition of her histrionic talents Tamil Nadu Government conferred on her the title of "*Kalaimamani*" in the year 1972. In 1992, the prestigious Madras University conferred on her an honorary Doctorate in recognition of her varied talents and accomplishments.

From a film artist to the master of state-craft and administrator is a far cry. But the will, determination, tenacity of purpose, a missionary zeal to accomplish something great and be remembered by the generations to come, all these can bring about the necessary changes in the personality of an individual. Dr. Jayalalitha is one such phenomenon destined to make history. Posterity will ever remember her for her contribution in lifting our society from many of the ills it is afflicted with.

12

SMT. TARKESHWARI SINHA — THE HEART-THROB OF PARLIAMENT

Mohan Singh

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia had moved a privilege motion against three Union Ministers *viz.*, Smt. Indira Gandhi, Shri M.C. Chagla and Shri Dinesh Singh on 5 April, 1967 for giving a misleading statement in the Lok Sabha regarding the daughter of Stalin, Ms Svetlana. On being interrupted by Dr. Lohia, while participating in the debate on the subject Smt. Tarkeshwari Sinha retorted that, on the one hand, Dr. Lohia had shown boundless compassion, but on the other, he was not allowing a lady to speak. She further said that she would like to appeal to all those who felt concerned for others, to realise and respond to the sufferings of crores of Indians first, before feeling concerned about foreigners; she did exchange views with Dr. Lohia Thereupon Dr. Lohia remarked that he heard her heart-beats also. Tarkeshwari Sinha snubbed him saying that it might be from his side but there was no response from her side. Later Tarkeshwariji remarked that Dr. Lohia had wasted a lot of her time. Thereupon Dr. Lohia said that it was nothing as compared to what he was going to do in the days to come, Tarkershwariji shot back saying that Dr. Lohia being a bachelor, could not comprehened these things to which Dr. Lohia retorted that he was a bachelor as there was no offer from her. This part of the Lok Sabha proceedings compelled me to gather more information about that agile and dynamic lady. I thought that if a towering personality like Dr. Lohia could indulge in repartees and humour with a lady and try to listen to her heartbeats, she must be a great lady. On being elected as the President of the Allahabad University Students Union in 1968, I came to Delhi to fix up appointment with the national leaders for addressing our Union. Those days Tarkeshwariji lived on Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road. The cause of youth

was dear to her. She readily accepted my formal invitation and came to Allahabad and delivered a fiery speech in the Senate Hall of the University. Since then, I came very close to Tarkeshwariji and tried my best to peep into her personality. I could observe in her the strength of Indian woman as symbolised by Durga.

On 26th December, 1926, a famous Doctor of Patna, S.N. Prasad Sinha was blessed with a daughter. The doctor father imbibed in her a feeling from early childhood that a girl was in no way inferior to a boy. The discerning father had noticed manly qualities in girls passing out from the Anglo-Vedic School of Baroda. These were well reflected in their dress, performance in archery and physical exercises. That was why Doctor Sinha sent his daughter to D.A.V. School, Baroda for her early education. At the tender age of six, the little girl was deprived of the love and affection of her parents and sent to Bombay State to join a school there. As Tarkeshwariji also had a sister and a brother, her father cherished a desire to develop in his eldest daughter all the attributes of a son. When she was in her tenth class, she could hit a target with an arrow with a closed eye and recite Vedic hymns and had imbibed lofty ideals of Indian culture. She passed her Matriculation examination and returned to Patna in 1942. From her childhood, she was deeply impresed by the high ideals of Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu and Sister Nivedita. She found it hard to put up with caste system and practice of untouchability. She regarded idol worship as the root cause of all our miseries and 'Vedas' and 'Om' the greatest boon for the humanity. Imbued with the principles of monoism ('*Advaitvad*') and immortality of soul, young Tarkeshwari took admission in the Girls College at Patna in 1942 to pass her intermediate examination. The 1942 (August) was the decisive year for the independence of India. There was an upheaval in the entire North India after 9 August. In response to a call from Gandhiji the young people of Patna and the adjoining areas, came forward to spearhead the movement. According to Tarkeshwariji in those days Calcutta Presidency had its sway as far away as Patna. The History of Bengal was being taught in schools and colleges. They were being taught as to how the East India Company had brought under its control the whole of India after capturing the industries of Murshidabad. The process of enslavement begins with the enslavement of the soul and then it spreads its wings to means of livelihood and ultimately it leads to the subjugation of the country. The Arya Samaj had given the mantra of freedom of soul.

On 10 August, 1942, a group of youngmen gathered at the gate of the Girls' School and exhorted them to participate in the agitation and freedom struggle. But the police arrived there and resorted to brutal lathi charge on the students. Dozens of them were injured. Young

Tarkeshwari could not bear the sight and she joined them by jumping from the boundary wall of the school. Her father had cherished the desire of making her a barrister because all the leaders in the freedom struggle were lawyers and barristers. It is believed that lawyers are a free soul. That was why she was admitted to a school of Patna. But, she could not control her rebellious mind. She led the procession that marched up to the State Secretariat where police resorted to heavy firing, killing ten youths. Tarkeshwari managed to go underground and was arrested after four months in November, 1942 when the agitation had lost its steam. She was lodged in the Bankipur Camp Jail. An orthodox Bhumihar family of Bihar was not happy with this conduct of a 16 year old girl. The members of her family felt that agitations and imprisonment, etc., might ruin her career. Child marriage was very common in those days. Therefore, her father who was a Civil Surgeon wrote to the British Governor that the marriage of his daughter had been fixed for 7 March, 1943, and therefore, she should be released from jail. The British Governor also thought that perhaps this girl, who was proving to be a headache for the British Government, would get fully involved in household affairs and family obligations after marriage. So she was released in December 1942 itself. But it was not possible for her to pursue her intermediate studies in Patna as there was no question of getting admission in any college. Therefore, she had to hide the truth to clear the intermediate examination from the Bethun College, Calcutta. She then returned to Patna.

1946 witnessed many upheavals. The entire country was engulfed in communal riots. After completing the tour of Noakhali, Gandhiji returned to Patna and stayed at the residence of Dr. Syed Mahmood. Muslims were facing the fury of communal frenzy from Biharsharif to Patna. There was let up in it only after Mahatma Gandhi exerted his influence. Tarkeshwari then a student of B.A. attended all the prayer-meetings of Gandhiji. At that time the historic trial of Dhillon, Shah Nawaz and Seghal – the leaders of the Indian National Army – had just started. The reports of the trial appeared in the press which aroused a sense of pride in the youth. As a student activist, Tarkeshwari became a member of the Bihar Youth Congress Working Committee. Shri Ansar Harvani was the President of the All India Youth Congress, while Shri L.N. Mishra and Shri Bali Ram Bhagat were the President and the Vice-President of the Bihar Youth Federation; Tarkeshwariji became the General-Secretary of the State Youth Federation. Lord Mountbatten went to deliver the Convocation Address in Patna University The Students' Federation resolved to disrupt this function of the Viceroy who had failed to check communal riots throughout the country. Gandhiji had faced stones in Noakhali. Therefore, the Youth in Bihar were full of wrath against Lord

Mountbatten. They refused to receive degrees from him and staged violent agitations against the British Lord under the leadership of Shri L.N. Mishra, Bali Ram Bhagat and Tarkeshwari, resulting in cancellation of the function. When Tarkeshwariji was an M.A. student in 1947, she was also a member of the District Council. Studies and social service were going side-by-side. In the meantime, the country became independent and most of the people of her age-group felt that with independence their duty was over. She went to the London School of Economics for her M.Sc. in 1949 and when she was engaged in research there, the first Lok Sabha elections were to be held in December 1951. On her return to India, she was selected as a Congress candidate from Barh constituency at the young age of 24 years with the blessings of Bihar Kesri, Srikrishna Sinha. This constituency was being represented by Shri Sheel Bhadra Yaji in the Central Legislative Assembly. He was a close associate of Subhas Babu and was one of the great freedom-fighters and it was difficult for a Congress candidate to dislodge him. But at the age of only 25 years she defeated the great leader and entered Lok Sabha for the first time. She won elections in 1957, 1962 and 1967 and served the Lok Sabha for almost 20 years and made a mark in the House.

She has delivered many scholarly speeches in the House on external affairs, planning and industry. While speaking on the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of External Affairs on 17 March, 1953, she drew the attention of the Government to the injustice being done to Indians in Sri Lanka. She expressed grave concern on the attitude of Sri Lanka to treat Indians as second class citizens and also criticised Pakistan's stance on Kashmir. She said that if Pakistan thought that she could occupy Kashmir by force, then India should snap diplomatic ties. Some of her words about Pakistan were objected to by the Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and were expunged. She demanded the recovery of Rs. 18 crore debt from Pakistan when the discussion was going on in the Parliament on the Finance Bill presented by the Finance Minister, Shri C.D. Deshmukh in 1953. Tarkeshwariji impressed one and all with her maiden speech in Lok Sabha. The Press described her as the 'Glamour girl of Parliament' and 'Baby of the House' because of her mod dress and young age. Being rebellious right from childhood, she did not like such adjectives. She wanted to be projected as a full time Congress worker and a volunteer of the freedom movement. Therefore, by her devotion and perseverance she proved herself to be a good parliamentarian in the first Lok Sabha itself. She put questions to the Minister of Planning, Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda, in the Lok Sabha about the foodgrains. The reply given by Nandaji did not tally with the report of the Ministry. Tarkeshwariji criticised the Minister of Planning Shri Nanda in the House which was not liked by the Hon. Prime Minsiter,

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, who was present in the House during the Question Hour. Later, on receipt of the brief from the official gallery, the Hon. Prime Minister appreciated the home work done by her and regretted his annoyance. The newspapers praised her not just for her beauty but also for her erudition. The Hon. Prime Minister sent her as a member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations in 1957. Shri V.K. Krishna Menon was the leader of the delegation. The newspapers of New York showered praise on this woman delegate from India. The newspapers wrote about her, "She came, she held the stage and she conquered." Her increasing fame and beauty aroused jealousy among other top women leaders of the Congress. This proved to be a hurdle to her political future. As a Minister also, she made her mark. From 1958 to 1966 she held the office of the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance. When for the first time she was deputed to the Ministry of Finance by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Morarji Desai was already there in his capacity as the Minister-in-charge. Shri Desai and Smt. Sinha were already not on good terms. At the time of elections in 1957, Shri Morarji Desai was appointed observer by the Congress High Command for the distribution of tickets in Bihar. There, at the time of interview, Shri Morarji Desai took exception to Smt. Sinha wearing too many bangles, fashionable clothes and ornaments. She took it as an interference in her personal affairs and complained about it to the then Prime Minister in a letter. The then Prime Minister sent this letter to the Congress President, Shri U.N. Dhebar. Shri Morarji Desai came to know of it. Smt. Sinha was apprehensive as she was to work under Shri Desai in the Finance Ministry, who was known for his stern outlook and strict discipline. When she called on Shri Desai, the latter allayed all her apprehensions and said that it was the prerogative of the Prime Minister to allocate any portfolio to any Minister and that he had no objection to working with anyone. Despite this they could not work in tandem. Smt. Sinha was of the firm opinion that Shri Morarji Desai was incapable of speaking untruth and deceiving anybody, not even his opponents. Therefore, when the Congress Party split in 1968, Tarkeshwariji chose to be with Morarji Bhai and not with Indiraji for which, she later had to suffer politically. She lost the election in 1971 and this defeat was a great blow for her. She contested many elections for Lok Sabha and Legislative Assembly but success continued to elude her. At last, she decided not to contest any elections and to bend all her energies in constructive work like setting up hospitals and schools. I recall Tarkeshwari Sinha of 1968 who administered a stern rebuke to the unruly demonstrators against her at the gate of Parliament House. She had faced the anger of the youth of the country with fortitude. Her self-confidence was so tremendous that she could stand up to any power. Tarkeshwariji came to Parliament

at a very young age. She put across her views fearlessly in Parliament for as long as 20 years.

The great personalities like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Srikrishna Sinha, Loknayak Jayprakashji, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia and Morarji Bhai had a great influence on her life. Despite her being in the Congress, the revolutionary ideology of Dr. Lohia continued to inspire her, she had close personal relations with Dr. Saheb. But her defeat in the elections caused her a major set-back and demoralised her to a great extent. Had she jumped into the Bihar movement launched by J.P. in 1974 with the same spirit with which she had joined the 1942 movement, she would have emerged as one of the outstanding women leaders of the country. There is no denying the fact that Smt. Sinha is an epitome of all human virtues. No one, who goes to meet her, can but admire her. Parliament will always remember her as a seasoned and able Member of Parliament.

13

INDIRAJI AND THE PARLIAMENT

R.K. Dhawan

Indiraji was *Vibhuti* of the Indian womanhood. She was a vibrating emanation of Shakti which we adore as Bharat Mata. By her example and by her actions, she imparted to the women of India a new sense of dignity and power. She expanded the scope of Indian women and heights to which they can reach. It is she who gave to a large number of women positions and powers at various levels of our society. And, importantly, she took special care to see that increasing number of women came to represent people in the Parliament and in the State Assemblies.

And yet, Indiraji was not a feminist. She did not give importance to the distinction between the male and the female. She looked upon herself as a human being rather than as a woman. She often told me that what is important is that each one discovers his or her true being and true aim and function of life. She believed that it is not by imitating men that women can become themselves. She was deeply aware of the handicaps of the contemporary Indian woman and she wanted her to be empowered and to rise to higher and higher levels of consciousness and action. She wanted each woman to develop her special qualities so that each one becomes what she is herself in her true being.

In her own life, Indiraji gave an example of her gradual efflorescence. She grew from a frail and delicate child to a powerful and towering personality; she dreamt, prepared and actualised great visions for our country and the world. She retained till the last the charm and soft spontaneity, even when she rose from heights to greater heights and grew into a stable, firm and majestic personality. A great quality that she manifested and which I watched with great admiration, was

her aversion to artificiality and pretensions. She was always herself. And this quality was particularly evident not only in her personal life but also in her public life. When she began her career as a Parliamentarian, she was very diffident, and she did not hide her diffidence. Some people even thought that she was almost incompetent as a Parliamentarian. She herself was self-critical, and she laboured continuously to overcome her diffidence and her shortcomings. She began to prepare herself carefully and thoroughly. She began to master the art of initiating a debate, conducting a debate and replying to a debate. She did not spare herself, and what was amazing was her meticulous care even in choosing the right word for the right occasion and polishing it until it reached a certain level of refinement. When she became Finance Minister in 1967, I noticed that although she had little acquaintance with the working of the Finance Ministry, or with the financial issues of the country, she mastered the situation within a very short time. She used to prepare for the Question Hour very carefully and studiously. She used to go over every question in detail. In 1969, she presented a tough Budget, and even though there were all kinds of pressures from members of Parliament to effect changes in the Budget, she did not yield to any compromises; she remained firm and did not announce any concessions.

As she grew mature as a Parliamentarian, words and phrases came easily to her, and she began to speak on great subjects and that, too, greatly. When war broke out in June 1967 between Israel and the United Arab Republics (U.A.R.), Indiraji was very sad. She felt that that war could have larger repercussions. She said in the Lok Sabha :

> "The world faces a disastrous war in West Asia. The armed forces of Israel and those of U.A.R. and other Arab countries are locked in combat... if not stopped this war is likely to expand into a much wider one, drawing into its vertex other countries and developing perhaps into a world war. Our own national interests are bound up with peace and stability in West Asia."

Thereafter great occasions arose where she spoke of the larger issues of the entire human-kind. The most important event in her life and in the life of our country during her period of Prime Ministership was the conflict between India and Pakistan on the issue of Bangladesh. Her greatest qualities as a Parliamentarian can be seen best when we analyse the complex situation and the way in which she dealt with it both in the Parliament and outside the Parliament. Right from the beginning when the trouble started in the then East Pakistan, she had the perception that the recognition of Bangladesh was both im-

perative and urgent. And yet, she took her own time and she acted in her own chosen time. She knew that she had to consult the members of Parliament, not only those belonging to her own party but also, and especially, those of the Opposition. She wanted also the support of the people of India. And, above all, she needed the support of various nations of the world. She knew that there was a common line of connection between Pakistan, China and U.S.A. This was a formidable connection, and even the bravest would have shuddered at that combination, considering India's own geographical and political situation of those years. Besides, Indiraji was greatly pained as a human being at the cruel genocide which was unleashed by the Pakistani Government in East Pakistan. This pain was evident when she addressed a public rally at India Gate on the evening of 9th August, 1971. She had said: "We shall show the world that no power on earth can intimidate or subdue this country." Even at the critical moment during the first week of December, 1971, she consulted the Opposition leaders. Her worry and concern were manifest at this meeting. And she informed the Opposition that she had issued orders for the Indian Army to march into Bangladesh. This was not enough. She wanted to speak to the people directly, and after midnight she spoke to the nation on the All India Radio. In this speech, she warned of the great perils which confronted the nation. During these critical days, she was pulsating with a great wave of passion of the great *Shakti*. She had become identified herself with the masses of the people of our country. She was sharing the concerns of the people of Bangladesh and her thoughts were with Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman. She received support from all parties, all sections of people. She had incarnated in herself the tact, determination, skill and power of the greatest warriors that have left their mark in history as greatest Generals. She had verily become Durga.

The force of the personality of Indiraji became even more manifest when she learnt that the Seventh Fleet of USA was moving towards the Bay of Bengal. With unshakable determination, she declared in a public rally in Delhi: "We will not retreat. Not by a single step will we move back."

It was the golden hour when Indiraji spoke in the Lok Sabha at 5.30 p.m. on 16th December, 1971. She announced the surrender of Pakistani forces in Bangladesh. She declared: "Dhaka is the free capital of a free country." She continued: "This House and the entire nation rejoice at this historic event. We hail the people of Bangladesh in their hour of triumph. We hail the brave young men and boys of the Mukti Bahini for their valour and dedication. We are proud of our own Army, Navy, Air Force and the Border Security Force, who have so magnificently demonstrated their quality and capacity. Their

discipline and devotion to duty are well known. India will remember with gratitude the sacrifices of those who have laid down their lives and our thoughts are with their families."

All the members of the Lok Sabha gave a standing ovation. All joined in one voice to hail the victory. She was hailed as Durga, the Invincible.

As she was firm in matters that required protection of the oppressed, so was she flexible when it came to the question of peace between India and Pakistan. She had said to the Lok Sabha, after the conclusion of the Simla Agreement, 'I must fight for peace, and I must take those steps which will lead us to peace." She had a larger vision to guide her: she had in mind not only the concern of the Indian sub-continent, but for the whole of Asia. She declared: "The time has come when Asia must wake up to its destiny, must wake up to the real needs of its people, must stop fighting amongst ourselves, no matter what our previous quarrels, no matter what the previous hatred and bitterness. The time has come today when we must bury the past."

A most difficult time for Indiraji was in 1975. She took the decision, although painfully, to impose Emergency under the provisions of the Constitution. On 1st July, 1975, she announced her 20-point programme for the social and economic regeneration of India. A session of Parliament was convened on 21st July, 1975, and the Parliament approved the Proclamation of Emergency. Even the Opposition could see that Indiraji enjoyed enormous popularity among the men and women of the country, and the immediate result of the Emergency was that order descended in all parts of the country, prices were brought down, students and teachers performed their functions of learning and teaching peacefully, and officers worked with a sense of discipline and purpose. It is true that in the later period of the Emergency, excesses were committed, and Indiraji began to realize the need to lift the Emergency. That is the reason why after her defeat in the 1977 elections, when she resigned as Prime Minister on 22nd March, 1977, she acknowledged that mistakes were committed during the Emergency. When she was replying in the Lok Sabha on 8th December, 1978, to the charge of a breach of Privilege of the House, she categorically stated that she was deeply sorry for hardships caused during the Emergency. She said, "I have already expressed my regret in many public forums and do so again." At the same time, she declared fearlessly and with dignity in self-defence, "Never before in the history of any democratic country has a single individual, who leads the principal political party, been subjected to

so much calumny, character assassination and political vendetta of the ruling party."

On 19th December, 1978, Indiraji was declared guilty by the majority vote in the Lok Sabha of breach of Privilege. She was committed to jail till the prorogation of the House. And she was also expelled from the membership of the Lok Sabha. This was indeed historical, and Indiraji will be recognized always as one individual member, who embodied the spirit of the Opposition. Such was the dignity when she refused to move till the warrant was served on her.

After her release from the jail, Indiraji emerged all alive, fresh and energetic. She had become a new type of human being, which came to be reflected in a book that she wrote "*Eternal India*". She had achieved that equanimity of which we read in the *Gita*. She was no more working for success, she was working to oppose all that seemed to her evil and to uphold all that seemed to her to be good. Huge crowds began to pour from all over India, and by November, 1979, Indiraji had emerged as an unconquerable leader of the people of our great country. She won the elections held in December, 1979, and she was elected Leader of the victorious Congress(I) on 6th January, 1980. Once again, she was to lead the Parliament, people and the country. There was apprehension in some quarters that Indiraji would take revenge on the Opposition. But they were mistaken. Indiraji was great both in defeat and in victory, and she was democratic in her entire being. There was no streak of any vibration of revenge in her being. She did not imitate what the Opposition had done when it was in power by setting up the Shah Commission. She had spiritually grown so much above the worldly quarrels that she set herself to work, to build up India, to remove poverty.

From 1980 to 1984, Indiraji worked on higher and higher planes not only in material life but also in spiritual life. Circumstances also brought her into the focus of world events. She happened to be the Chairperson of the Non-aligned Movement, and in this capacity she travelled abroad and met leading personalities of the Non-aligned nations. She made it a point in particular to meet leaders of small countries in West Asia and Europe, and gave an impetus to democratic rights of people. She wanted everywhere the foundations of Parliamentary democracy to be stronger and stronger. In various fora, she spoke of the need to create a new International Order of humanity. She spoke of the need to change the human nature. She advocated that power should be tempered with compassion. She wanted knowledge and capability to be placed at the service of the entire humanity. She also played a major role in 1983 when CHOGM was held in New Delhi. Here also she underlined the special charac-

ter of the Commonwealth and pointed out that it represented a most important North-South forum. She laid particular emphasis on the fact that Commonwealth represented developing countries and some of the developed countries.

The role that she played in both NAM Conference and CHOGM will remain memorable. They placed India among the front ranking nations of the world. And on 15th August, 1984, when Indiraji addressed the nation from the ramparts of the Red Fort, it became evident that she was speaking as one united with the hearts of the people of our country. She also seemed to me to be speaking on behalf of the entire humanity. It was as if she was addressing a parliament of the world.

It is this image of Indiraji as a member and leader of the world Parliament that became engraved in my heart, and even though more than 8 years have passed since her tragic end, I feel that she will be remembered not only as a great leader of India, but also as a great leader of democracy, and as a pioneer of a future parliament of the world. It is to that great leader who moved among the people and inspired them to rise to greatness that I pay my humble tribute.

14

My Experience In The Parliament

Rita Verma

I agreed to contribute a piece for this publication with somewhat mixed feelings. That it provides an occasion to share my thoughts as a public person in capacity of a member of Parliament certainly enthuses me. But the fact that the publication is about that curious breed called 'Women Parliamentarians' is neither fair to parliamentarians nor even to women. It is indeed a dampner. A woman has a life in family and in society. She is also a personality in her own right. If she combines with her traditional attributes an added challenging dimensions of being a public person, that would obviously raise curiosity. But even a genuine curiosity around women parliamentarians, one should appreciate, amounts to taking a somewhat segmented or narrow view, if not conveying a message of surprise. Readers of these pages may therefore consider raising themselves above these prejudices in order to be able to appreciate my thoughts behind the building blocks of this current reality.

Let me confess that we sisters do constitute a livelier and a brighter part of the parliamentary crowd, should one choose to divide them on sex lines. Assuming that human chivalry extends over to parliamentary precincts, such an observation should get unanimous and quiet, if not vocal, approval. That some of us from the so-called weaker sex have graduated to a successful launching of our parliamentary career against all odds testifies to our toughness. Let it be realized that, unlike our counterparts, our toughness is punctuated with elegance, warmth and even appropriate intervention of smiles.

Several stimuli help in the evolution and fulfilment of one's destiny in life. And I am no exception. What I am today, is largely the unfolding of the potential which, I subsequently discovered, I had. Born and

brought up in a middle class urbane family, I grew up with the values of this class—to be a conformist and conventional and ready to take over the familiar role of a daughter, a wife, a mother—and not much beyond. Quite early, I stepped out of the rigid boundaries of the class. My love for education was not for light bearing alone; but it was also a preparation for a career which would have given me an opportunity and capability to contribute to society whom I owe so much. A career is also an identity-hinge, and two incomes always make a better domestic budget in this materialistic world of ours. Yet, another, but a more rigid boundary built on middle class values which I transgressed was when I decided to reject the institution of arranged marriage. I felt confident that I would find the man I like. And I did succeed. While I enjoyed the best of conjugal life, the world at large thought I was a rebel, a non-conformist and all that goes with negative social values emanating from in-laws in large measures, and from friends in not so small measure. A woman is not a commodity on slae, not to be handed over to an unknown person with a basket of dowry thrown in. This is not only an evidence of a sick society, but it is even demeaning for a self-respecting woman.

For women, public life has the reputation of being hazardous if not a forbidden land altogether. And before I took the plunge into politics, the knowns of hazardous life, based on conventional wisdom, and the unknowns of the challenges of public life, were to me, certainly awful deterrents. But what proved more pursuasive was the powerful urge to let my potential unfold further which is not only self-fulfilling, but socially purposive too.

A personal tragedy in life in having lost my beloved husband was sufficient to consign me to a condemned life of a person—to be pitied around as well as the target of condescending and patronising attitudes—had I compromised myself with that unfortunate reality which indeed is the fate of many sisters placed in such tragic situations. But there is always a light at the end of a tunnel. An evident groundswell of support and goodwill for me—an unfortunate wife of a respected and decorated public servant—transmitted a powerful message to do something to prove worthy of their love and affection.

In a competitive polity, all parties look for winnable candidates. They all thought of me and offered me to be their candidate in the election to Lok Sabha. But I decided to opt in favour of the Bharatiya Janata Party on careful considerations. I must however confess that I was not then fully conversant with the ideology of the party or its programmes. But I was certainly impressed by the missionary zeal and the discipline of its cadre and its impressive national leadership. Frankly, I personally share some of the basic values that they are trying to

articulate for making India a better nation. Whether I succeeded or failed in election was one thing, but the fact that I was exhorted to stand up to public expectations and throw my lot in favour of a national exercise in renaissance were sufficient to encourage me to take a plunge in the electoral arena.

In the light of my psyche, it will not be strange to mention that the two female characters of modern Indian history, Smt. Rukmini Devi Arundale and Smt. Sarojini Naidu, always provided me with the basic inspiration and have been a guiding factor in my life. They both embodied the courage to breakdown the shackles of the rotten orthodoxy of the Indian society and always tried to free women from the prevalent fundamentalism, thereby giving a new definition to womanhood in the modern world. Throughout their lives, they worked for the cause of the upliftment of women in India from a level of being a mere commodity and a pleasure thing—to that of an individual whose aspirations were no less thriving than any other being in this world. As a result, women were no longer chained to the suppressive and unjust values of social system, but were led out of their doorsteps on to the streets to claim their rights at par with their men counterparts.

It is easy to understand why I am fascinated by Rukmini Devi. She was every inch a rebel. She was an unfortunate child widow—but she never succumbed to that cruel fate. She was determined to receive formal education, and her non-conventional attitude led to her remarriage with Dr. George Arundale, an American theosophist, in total defiance of the social code of religion and caste prevalent in the society. Her sense of achievement led her to learn classical dance, which a girl from an orthodox Brahmin family in those days could not even think of. The credit of rescuing the classical dance from the pernicious system of '*Devdasis*' and raising it to a platform of pure art can rightly be attributed to Rukmini Devi. She was every inch an achiever and had firm social commitments as the route for personal fulfilment. She was instrumental in heralding the cultural renaissance of modern India of which the "*Kalakshetra*", established by her, became the centre.

No less enterprising was Smt. Sarojini Naidu, who promoted a realization to the Indian masses. She had said that, "India's freedom lies in the freedom of Indian women." What was most inspiring about her was that she was opposed to any misplaced sympathy for women and believed that the concept of reservation for women was in itself an impediment and contrary to the idea of equality between men and women. And even to my mind, the dubious privilege of reservation is an affront to one's self-respect.

Smt. Indira Gandhi was another character which interested and impressed me. People praise her for her clarity of purpose and toughness. It is said that in her cabinet, she was the only man. To my mind, she appeared to be a perfect woman. Though nature has made women a delicate soothing bunch in the human lot, they are basically tough little creatures. And because at times the world is not too kind to them, they learn various guiles and acquire articulation which comes handy in worldly ways—so also in politics and the power game. In my humble opinion, Smt. Gandhi used to manipulate her concerns just the way any intelligent woman in a large joint family does to safeguard her own interests. Smt. Gandhi was clever enough to imbibe the so-called "manly values" in our world, and yet managed to get the treatment due to a lady.

Having entered the precincts of Parliament, several thoughts occupied my mind. What is the sociology of Parliament—on the floor, in the Central Hall, in Committees and in the corridors. Do men look at women parliamentarians as women or as parliamentarians at par. The question remains unanswerable even today. Public life is, by and large, man's world. One has to reckon with it. How to carve out a visible space and a fair share of parliamentary agenda constitutes a challenge. Test books do not help in this nor are there standard tips like "ten steps to a successful political career". And then, what is a successful political career? Who are the ones one should try to emulate and how to prepare oneself in such endeavour? I guess each one has to find his or her answer and chart out his or her path. I am still in the early stages of this exploration and so also many others, I imagine, would be. Early influences on one's personality do tend to become relevant on such occasions as well.

One thing comes loud and clear—my first priority is my constituency. I owe it to them to protect and promote their interests—individual and collective. Whether I fail or succeed is not in my hands, but I would try, and try earnestly. The next in my priority is to give something concrete, positive and refreshing to my country. I hope I will have occasion to do so and my capabilities would not fail me in utilizing those opportunities. Notwithstanding my enthusiasm and sincerity, I know that I have to learn and acquire a lot and miles to go.

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One Year In Parliament

Sarala Maheshwari

A year ago, when I first entered this citadel of 'Democracy,' I felt very peculiar in this atmosphere. The huge round building, an unusual piece of architecture, seemed to me like the 'Bhullbhulaiya' of Lucknow where anyone could get lost. But nothing to worry, the earth is round, somewhere I shall meet my destination, I thought to myself.

On the first day, as I climbed the steps of Parliament, my mind was humming with thoughts of Lenin. I remembered Com. A.K. Gopalan who used to say: "Parliament is a machine which weakens the revolutionary mind." Dinkar's words also came alive before my eyes: "If there is any luxurious and idle position in this Democracy, it is the M.P.'s position. I was a fool that I left this position to become a Vice-Chancellor." While my mind was still busy with these thoughts, suddenly a senior M.P. walking along with me introduced me to Renuka Chowdhary, an M.P. of Telugu Desam Party. Renuka promptly greeted me by saying "Welcome to the Mayhem House."

Lenin's 'pig-farm', AK Gopalan's 'mind-weakening machine', Dinkar's 'luxury resort' and Renuka's 'Mayhem House'—all together made me numb for a while and frankly, my feet dragged on the red carpet sprawled on the inner and outer lobby of the House. It's nearly a year since I stepped in for the first time. At least on the basis of this one year experience, I cannot say that I have found a different or a better adjective for the House. However, certain incidents are worth mentioning.

From my very first day in the Parliament, my concern was how to make my voice heard. Around that time, an incident of atrocity on a woman had happened in Kanpur. It was 4th of May 1990. Some

women members raised it in their speeches. I became impatient to speak, I raised my hand and the Deputy Chairman Smt. Najma Heptullah permitted me to speak. My first sentence was: "The incident in Kanpur is an ugly blot on our society. It has exposed the real face of our democracy. Indian culture boasts of giving a high status to women (here I used a Sanskrit quotation—gods reside there, where women are worshipped)—but in reality it is the Duryodhanas and the Duhshasans who are ruling.... Democratic values are not inculcated by official decrees and orders. Today we need once again Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, who started the movements for social reforms."

After this short speech of mine, Shri Shankar Dayal Singh, Janata Dal M.P., sent me a note—"Well done, congratulations! Excellent Hindi, spiced with Sanskrit. . . It was a pleasure to listen to."

But my official maiden speech was on 7th May. I had to speak on yet another oppressed section, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I was equipped with lots of facts, figures and quotations. I was to initiate the discussion. On the basis of my first few days experience of debates in the House, I had assessed the depth of the information that members have. Therefore, I began with great confidence and after I finished my speech I thought that this so-called 'Elder House' is no more awesome to me. What I mean is that after having discussed politics with people and with experience of going to the roots of any issue as a journalist, I was soon able to overcome my initial hesitation. I got many more opportunities after that.

But one doubt which I always had, even before coming to this House, still persists in my mind. How far does the House reflect the real concerns of our society? Once I was reading something in the Parliament Library, suddenly I saw a Congress-I woman M.P. entering. She was out of breath. Next to me was Shri Gulam Nabi Azad browsing through some papers. The woman M.P. spotted Shri Azad and said, "I have been looking for some material on atrocities on women for the last two-three days, but I can't find it, and I have to speak today." I saw some other members also looking for the same material in a hurry. Similarly, on another mission I saw people looking desperately for material on atrocities on *'Dalits'*.

This was my third session after coming to the Rajya Sabha. When I saw people rushing to collect information about atrocities on woman and *'Dalits'* I suddenly realized that these subjects have been the major issues of debate in all the three sessions that I have attended. Struck by this fact, I tried to trace the past debates on these issues and found that it was not just in the past three sessions but, for the past ten years that almost every session of the House had debated on

atrocities on women and Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes. Price rise has also been a permanent issue of debate. This, indeed, was revealing. While it reflects how deep-rooted these problems are in our society, it also demonstrates—painfully—how futile these long debates in the Parliament are.

When I saw the M.P.s rushing to gather datas on the atrocities, I thought to myself, 'What would my colleagues speak on if no atrocities were committed ?' In this bourgeois democracy, even atrocities assume the form of a commodity which is sold ir the form of powerful speeches after which our esteemed M.P.s enjoy their moments of rest. It is very entertaining to watch an M.P. make an unnecessarily rousing speech. I have noticed that their attention is more on the press reporters sitting in the press gallery, rather than on their own subject. Our press also gives more prominence to these voice-raising M.P.s. If someone dares to ask them, the response is : "What to do, this is What sells."

It is a fact that in spite of much better oratory outside the Parliament, the journalistic world does not take note of you, but even the banal utterances on the floor of the Parliament are paid attention to. If nothing else, the M.P. earns some publicity. All this publicity can make anyone self-opinionated and that is why again and again one is reminded of Com. Gopalan. This machine which weakens the minds of the leaders of mass struggles, can prove extremely dangerous for revolutionaries.

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Contribution Of Women In Parliament

Veena Verma

Indian Parliament has its glorious history, but many changes have taken place since I joined it. Parliamentary conventions were changed and unparliamentary atmosphere was seen sometimes in the House. The supreme power and the voice of nation's conscience was many times drowned in the din. Parliamentary values and conventions were scrupulously upheld during the Nehru era. Although the treasury and the opposition benches were strong critics of one another, they praised them also on political issues. The situation has changed today.

So far as the contribution of women in Parliament is concerned, they have not been an exception to this. Changing atmosphere in Parliament has affected them also. Those lady members, who give precedence to matters of public interest over party-politics feel isolated. They have lost their importance in their party. In Parliament they get limited time to speak.

The internal politics of the Party becomes so overwhelming that they are unable to contact other lady members of Parliament. The principles and policies of their party always prevent them from establishing such interaction. I have had such experience time and again during my entire parliamentary career. Lady members are not free and frank with one another to the desired extent. The development of their personality is hampered due to their party affiliations which limit their interaction and discussions. Lady MPs of all the parties should come forward, after mutual discussions, and jointly voice their demands vigorously on national issues, irrespective of Party affiliations so that their voice may become the voice of the entire womanhood in the country.

Women Parliamentarians should realise their responsibilities and they should not remain aloof in Parliament. I have seen a number of occasions on which women Parliamentarians should have reacted but they kept quiet and instead male MPs reacted. My experience in several incidents has been that I got the support of men rather than women. Even in the case of my private member's Bill, seeking the rights of a wife in the property of her husband during his lifetime, men reacted more than women. During the discussion on this issue in the House, male Parliamentarians showed more interest though the matter was related to women. My intention was to elicit their views in their speeches, for or against the Bill. But I did not get the desired response.

Similarly, I do not get favourable reaction from lady MPs on many points related to literature and culture raised in the House. I want to mix and talk to them so that we may be able to understand each other. That is why I greet with zeal all new women MPs irrespective of their party affiliations and want to know their views and solve their problems.

Some of the women Parliamentarians of the Ninth and Tenth Lok Sabha have, due to the gifts of progressive thinking, active thoughts and oratory skills, made their presence felt in Parliament within a short time and have made the proceedings of Parliament lively and they have given precedence over party-politics to issues, raised in the House by any Party. Today Parliament needs active women who have the courage to raise their voice for any genuine cause. The history of Parliament would be written by the activities of such women and could save the falling standards among the public.

New members may not be aware of procedural niceties. For this they have to study the rules and parliamentary practices. At the same time guidance of senior members is also required. New members do not get the training they should have got for participating in the proceedings of Parliament. In the absence of encouragement and guidance from seniors, they may gradually lose interest in proceedings.

The image of Parliament may be affected if there is lack of interest also. On several occasions, bills could not be passed in the House because of lack of quorum and government drew flak outside Parliament. There is a need to create awareness towards parliamentary functioning. Impartiality is also essential in the entire process. It has generally been observed that some members take advantage of their stronger vocal cords and interrupt the debates. Therefore, in order to establish healthy parliamentry conventions, a code of conduct for members is required to be formulated.

I have seen that some lady MPs have shown a craving for a change and a strong will to put forward their point of view effectively at the proper time; and they have shown acute anxiety to follow healthy traditions of the Parliament. This has generated a hope for a better future. But this requires some magnanimity towards lady MPs among those who are concerned with parliamentary processes. Undoubtedly, the increasing representation of women in Parliament underlines their contribution. In order to keep it up, the responsibility of women members of Parliament becomes vital and they are required to be always active in this regard.

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The Making Of An Ideal Parliamentarian

Phulrenu Guha

Parliament is a legislative body. It is also a place for deliberations. I feel that only through healthy deliberations, perfection in any sphere can be reached. Legislation and deliberation should work together in present society. Although, Parliamentarians belong to various parties, yet they should not be partisan. They must remember that it is the people who are the ultimate source of sovereignty in a democratic polity. But the honour to become parliamentarians is the contribution of their respective parties also. They should abhor meddlesome method and rise above regional bias. The word 'parliamentarian' has different connotation for different men. The Athenian Government tried Socrates for discussion. He was told that he could be pardoned if he gave up his discussion with people. Otherwise he stood condemned to death. But Socrates, thanks to him, preferred death than to say good-bye to discussion.

Socrates did not see modern Parliament. But the present Parliament where discussions and deliberations take place, endorses Socrates. For me, Parliament is a meeting place of various castes, creeds, cultures and schools of thought. It is a forum where men and women, no matter what their political affiliations are, can meet and exchange ideas. It is a link between the people at the grassroot level and the Government of the country. It is a place of worship—a place for the fulfilment of the hopes and aspirations of the common people, through the framework of good legislation.

In Parliament, we legislate and pass laws after a great deal of debate and discussion. In a vast country like ours, we have lot to learn from each other—tolerance, love, mutual help, respect for others, and so on. We must learn to honour the thoughts and feelings of others.

Parliament is an embodiment of collective responsibility and commitment for a cause. It is through individual as well as collective efforts and endeavours that we can iron out the differences that are dividing and injuring the very fabric of our country's unity. There is no dearth of forces of unity and integrity. Unfortunately, on most of the occasions united efforts aimed at countering the forces of disunity are lacking. If we, the parliamentarians, chalk out programmes, actions and strategies against divisive forces unitedly, it may work wonders. There has to be a prolonged and sustained struggle like our freedom struggle, when in spite of many ups and downs, we were able to maintain continuity.

In Parliament, we learn patience, the art of listening, wait for one's turn, sharpness, alertness, quick repartees and above all cultivate the fine art of speaking and oratorial skill. Through exchange of ideas we not only enrich our knowledge but also learn to rise above petty differences, selfish considerations and narrow party interests.

Parliamentarians can best subserve the people if they have thorough and specialised knowledge of different disciplines and subjects that often come up before the House. So, I am of the opinion that a member of Parliament must select at least two or three major subjects and two or three subsidiary subjects and make himself or herself fully conversant in that field. It is imperative to study well to have a clear idea of law-making process of our country.

The Question Hour is of vital importance. One has to understand the ideology of different parties, study questions and answers—verbal or written—and should have tremendous patience. Oratory or skill of speech-making is also of vital importance. Speech helps convey not only your inner feelings but it also helps in developing intrinsic capability of the individual. Hence, society can develop well only if the development of each individual attain's a certain height.

Unless we expand the horizon of our thinking process and are articulate in our approach, it would be very difficult to render proper justice to the cause that we propose to highlight and propagate. While participating in discussions—whether in Consultative Committees, Parliamentary Committees or during Question Hour or discussion on a Bill—one is required to have the knowledge of the systems prevalent in other countries and similar affairs elsewhere. Along with activities like leading deputations, processions, highlighting the demands, and engaging in other political work, intellectual aspect should also simultaneously be sharpened. Mental power of parliamentarians cannot grow in an air-tight compartment. This would involve going to the people interacting with them, helping those poor and the needy and finding out ways and means for redressal of their grievances.

Fighting for a cause should be the guiding principle of every parliamentarian. Opposing or supporting a particular piece of legislation should be judged on the touchstone of welfare that it will ultimately bring to the community as a whole. Opposition for the sake of opposition should never be the aim of a good parliamentarian. Opposition backed by constructive suggestions, and sound proposals is certainly encouraging and enriches our social and political life. For effective participation in Parliamentary Committees, what is eminently required is a wide vision and deep knowledge and understanding of the subject under review.

Inside the Chambers of the Parliament and Committee rooms, different parties may argue and fight on issues of grave concern to the community but as soon as they come out and meet in the lobbies or Central Hall, they meet and greet each other like bosom friends. This is a great tradition which should continue to be upheld and promoted. Obviously we fight not with the individuals but for a cause.

Although Parliament is not only a symbolic fighting ground of varying viewpoints, it also symbolises unity within diversity. India is a vast country inhabiting people of different castes, religions and faiths—each having customs, traditions, history and culture of their own. In Parliament, we intimately get to know all this when we meet, interact and make friends, fellow parliamentarians from other regions and also come to appreciate the problems they are confronting. All these help to develop the concept of oneness of the country.

As members of the great institution that Parliament is, they have one commonality—all are sons or daughters of Mother India, believing in democratic norms, championing the cause of national integration and sharing the common goal of making the Indian democracy strong and vibrant. Thus, Parliament is a great uniting force and a place of learning. The action and interaction leads to newer horizons of learning. All this inspires a concept of an all round development of the country, of collective responsibility of commitment to a common cause of building a better India for the citizens of tomorrow.

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My Experience Of Lok Sabha

Sushila Nayar

I entered Lok Sabha in the year 1957. It may be recalled that 1957 was the hundredth anniversary of what is called 'Sepoy Mutiny' by the Britishers and 'the first war of independence' by the Indians. Maharani Laxmibai of Jhansi had played an important role in the 1857 uprising and was killed fighting the British superior forces. The British general who opposed her wrote in his diary "She was the bravest and the best of them all." In order to honour the memory of Rani of Jhansi, people of Jhansi decided that they would have a woman to represent them in Lok Sabha. I was asked by the Congress High Command to contest the election from Jhansi Parliamentary Constituency.

I had actually applied for a ticket from Gurgaon Constituency where my brothers had some land. Gurgaon was also not too far from Delhi—the place where we lived after losing our home in Pakistan. But Maulana Azad wished to stand from Gurgaon. It was convenient in every way to send me to Jhansi. I had however never set foot on the soil of Jhansi and wrote to Dhebar Bhai, the Congress President, that I wanted his permission not to contest election at all than to do it from Jhansi where I knew no one. He and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri who was in-charge of elections in Uttar Pradesh, were both out of Delhi. After four or five days I was called by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri to the All India Congress Committee Office at Jantar Mantar Road. He said he had read my letter and handed over to me a bunch of telegrams from Jhansi welcoming my candidature. "All groups have welcomed your nomination", he said. "Now stop worrying, go and fight the election from Jhansi." "But I know no one there", I pleaded. "You may not know them", he said. "But they know you, now go to Jhansi and start working, he said.

I came back. Smt. Surajmukhi Sharma, who had come to Delhi as she had been an applicant for the Jhansi seat herself, took me to Jhansi that night. She reassured me and made me feel welcome. *Rashtra Kavi* late Shri Maithili Sharan Gupta, who was a member of Rajya Sabha then, had earlier written to me welcoming my candidature and offering me his hospitality at Jhansi. He had a bungalow in the Civil Lines area and therefore suggested that I might stay there and contest the election from there. I was too glad to accept the offer.

At Jhansi, I was given three rooms on one side of a bungalow in Civil Lines. The last one was the smallest, but had an attached bath room. I chose that as my room. In the next room stayed three or four women companions and workers who had come with me from Delhi and in the third room stayed a couple of men workers who had come with me. This room also served as the election office. Rashtra Kavi's son and nephew who were then college students, looked after us, served us meals and helped us in various ways.

I was taken to meet *Upanyas Samrat* Vrindavanlal Verma whose book *Jhansi Ki Rani* had won the President's Award along with my book *'Bapu Ki Karavas Ki Kahani'*, in 1951 or 1952. These awards were later taken over by the Sahitya Academy. I was also taken to meet Shri Bodhraj Sahni, a leading lawyer of Jhansi who had taken voluntary retirement and was devoting all his time to Arya Samaj work. Shri Dhulekar, who had been my predecessor having won the election from Jhansi in 1952, was most gracious and made me feel good when he said that he was very happy to find a worthy successor to hand over responsibility as Motilal Nehru has done when he handed over the presidency of the Congress to Jawaharlal in 1929. Dhulekar Kaka took me all over the constituency. He became a father-figure and instructed me in the art of canvassing for votes. In one place, on the very first day out in the country-side, when I politely declined the offer of lunch, as I was not hungry, he scolded me and made me eat. "Never refuse hospitality", he said. "Those who offer you food will surely give you their votes. If you decline it, they may feel offended and you may lose votes. Eat as little as you like, but never say no." Another ordeal for me was *Pan*, which was offered every where. I just could not chew so many *Pans*. My driver was very fond of *Pan*, and I started passing it on to him. Within a week or so he too had had enough of it. I then started taking a small bit of it and it was alright.

The whole district, including Lalitpur and Mehroni Tehsil, except Garotha, was my constituency. Two of the Assembly constituencies, Mauranipur and Lalitpur, were reserved for Scheduled Castes. The Garotha Assembly constituency was taken out of Jhansi Parliamentary constituency. One had to travel about 180 kms. in one direction

and over 100 kms. in the other direction to cover the entire constituency.

The roads were bad. There was only one *pacca* road between Jhansi and Lalitpur at that time. There was the Betwa river which came on the way to Lalitpur and Mauranipur. There was not much water on Lalitpur side and the vehicles could go across through sand and stones and a trickle of water in winter. But on Mauranipur-Jhansi Road, one could only cross the river in a ferry boat as there was a dam down stream. One had to wait for hours when the wind was not favourable. One night I had to spend in the forest because we lost the way while searching for the Ramnagar *Ripta* where one could cross without the ferry which did not cross the river at night. Another day I had to wait for favourable wind for over two hours to cross the river and on the third occasion, I had to come back without going to the scheduled meeting across the river as there was strong wind and we could not cross for so long that the time for the scheduled meeting was long over. I felt very unhappy. I said to myself that if I felt so frustrated in a few days, what about those who have to suffer this inconvenience throughout their lives? There must be a bridge on the Betwa.

After winning the election I took up the matter and had to run to Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh Governments on the one side and the Government of India on the other to get the Project cleared. During subsequent years, it was a joy to cross the river in few minutes over the bridge. A modest tax was imposed by the government on vehicles for crossing the bridge. Some people started an agitation to have it abolished. I pleaded with them and reminded them that it was a fraction of what they used to pay to the ferry with all the added inconvenience. I told them how in the U.S.A., I was told as a student that the George Washington bridge had already paid its cost more than fifty or sixty times and people were still paying the tax to cross it. The money was used for constructing more bridges. The leaders of agitation saw the point and the agitation was called off.

Having been elected to Lok Sabha, I found that there were several women members though the number was very small when one remembers that women are 50% of India's population. There was Smt. Uma Nehru who had been with my mother in Lahore jail during the freedom struggle. There were other women older than me as well as one or two who were younger. In those days, there were no medical facilities for the members of Parliament. Several of these women colleagues became my patients. I particularly remember two—Smt. Shakuntala Devi of Uttar Pradesh who was extremely anaemic and Smt. Minimata who represent the Adivasis of Madhya Pradesh and who was later killed in an unfortunate air crash near Delhi.

Smt. Uma Nehru was a mother figure. She would often tell me about her jail days in Lahore jail with Smt. Sarojini Naidu and my mother. We all talked and read newspapers and often sipped coffee in the ladies room.

Smt. Tarkeshwari Sinha was also with us in the Lok Sabha and so were Parvathi Krishnan, daughter of Shri Kumarmangalam and Smt. Renu Chakrovarty, a niece of Dr. B.C. Roy, who were both in the Communist party. Then there was Smt. Ammu Swaminathan whose daughter Dr. Lakshmi Sehgal had been in Netaji's Indian National Army (I.N.A.) and had married Shri Sehgal, a Punjabi. There was also Sarojini Mahishi from Karnataka, a Hindi Scholar and author of several Hindi books and an artist. Smt. Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur had been elected to Lok Sabha from Simla in 1952 and had been Minister of Health in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Cabinet from 1946 to 1957. In 1957, while she was away at the World Health Organization's (W.H.O.) meeting in Geneva, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru constituted his Cabinet and appointed Shri D.P. Karmarkar as the Union Minister of Health. Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur was at that time a member of Rajya Sabha. She continued to be the Chairman of Indian Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance Corps, President of Tuberculosis Association of India and President of the Governing body of the All India Institute of Medical Siences besides engaged in other activities for the welfare of women. She was the founder Pesident of Indian Council of Child Welfare Association and was active in the All India Women's Conference (A.I.W.C.) and Young Women's Christians Assoiation (Y.W.C.A.). All these responsibilities she discharged with distinction till her death in 1964 as a result of a coronary heart attack. She seldom came to the ladies room, though she could be seen in the Central Hall of Parliament from time to time.

Smt. Sucheta Kriplani was also a member of Lok Sabha. Her husband Acharya Kriplani had left the Congress and stood for election opposing the Congress candidate in a by-election. Suchetaji helped in looking after him and his camp, but she never canvassed for her husband. Shri C.B. Gupta, who was to be the Chief Minister lost the election to the Uttar Pradesh State legislature. He persuaded Suchetaji to go to Uttar Pradesh as the Chief Minister. She then resigned from the Lok Sabha.

Question hour was the most lively period and was invariably well attended. In the debates later in the day many members left the Chamber to gossip and have coffee in the Central Hall unless there was some discussion of great interest in the House. The Speaker presided during the Question Hour. There was no lunch break in those days.

The Zero hour was not stormy in those days as it is now. Lunch break was later introduced to end the excitement of Zero hour. The House I think was much more disciplined.

Shri N. Ananthashayanam Ayyanger was the Speaker and Sardar Hukam Singh was the Deputy Speaker. I was put on the Panel of Chairmen as I had been Speaker of Delhi Vidhan Sabha in 1955 and 1956. Dadasaheb Mavalankar had laid down very good traditions and the Parliament Secretariat was very efficient and cooperative. The Speaker generally did not come back after lunch unless there was something very important and pressing.

Speaker, it is generally said, does not speak. But Ananthasayanam Ayyanger missed no opportunity of speaking. His remarks showed his learning and command of Sanskrit scriptures. He was referred to jokingly as *'Anant Vachnam'*. Sardar Hukam Singh was a gentle soul, a learned retired judge and a gentleman. The Deputy Speaker and Panel of Chairpersons used to occupy the chair in the afternoon.

Panditji was always present in the House before lunch and often in the afternoon also. He always came to the help of his Ministers during the Question hour or otherwise. I remember how one afternoon when I was in the Chair, there was an important discussion going on. Panditji was in his seat. Humayun Kabir, a member of Rajya Sabha and a Minister, was also present. He got up and said: "If I could speak in my personal capacity". An Hon'ble Member of the Communist Party opposite stood up and interrupted him by raising a Point of Order. "Could the Minister speak in the House in his personal capacity?" he asked. I had noticed them whispering earlier and had understood that they wanted to create difficulty for me, a new comer, as well as the Minister. I replied that he could not. He could only speak as a Minister. Pandit Nehru stood up, "Why cannot he speak in his personal capacity", he asked. "Because he is not a member of the Lok Sabha" I replied. "He can enter Lok Sabha Chamber only in his capacity as a Minister." Panditji was satisfied and sat down and so was the Opposition.

Estimates Committee and Public Accounts Committee were most important Parliamentary Committees which enabled the Speaker and the members to keep a watch over the government spending. No one could dream of giving incorrect information in those days. The tours of the Committees were most educative. We went on Tour in Rajasthan. We stayed in the train which was placed at our disposal and took us everywhere. We slept in the train and had bath and our meals in the train itself. We went out and came back to it after the day's work. It was a great fun.

Later, more Committees of the House were added on. With the growth of Public Sector it was not possible for the two Financial Committees to keep a watch over everything.

We could meet Panditji and walk with him to his Chamber after the Question Hour. He always had the time to meet the members. Later on, after the 1962 elections, I had the honour to serve as a member of his Cabinet. One could always take a problem to him, especially Parliamentary Questions at any time. He would always stand by his Ministers.

The Press people were also very friendly. Some of them had worked with us during the freedom struggle. We all met in the Central Hall over a cup of coffee. The values of the freedom era had not become dim and distant at that time and there was still idealism and honesty of purpose and there was affection and respect for one another whether in one's own party or in the opposition.

I remember how one day Shri Nath Pai criticised officers of the External Affairs Ministry for publishing a book of Pandit Nehru for circulation. When my turn came to speak, I took objection to Nath Pai's criticism and said that while Panditji was a great leader of the Government of India and a great freedom-fighter, he was also a greater literary figure and there was no reason to object to the publication of his book as had been done.

Panditji replied to the debate after me. He was all graciousness and humility. It was wrong on the part of his ministry to have published his book, he said.

Such were the standards of public conduct and the standard of Lok Sabha debates was very high as a general rule.

19

WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

Tarkeshwari Sinha

"Here's to men, women and parliamentarians" — was the favourite toast of British people, when Jennylee (Mrs. Bevan) was elected to the House of Commons. She was young, talented, gorgeous as well as glamorous. Something like this happened in Indian Parliament's First Election in 1952, when some young women entered Parliament for the first time. They were not only young but also educated and talented, though not seasoned yet. There were no Sarojini Naidus or Annie Besants with us. But there was something that was very special. We had started realizing a great truth that there is something about a new member of the Lok Sabha, which not only sets him or her apart from the rest of human faces in Parliament but also from the other members of various State Assemblies and Municipal Corporations. There was a growing invisible feeling of confidence and strength in all of us. Notwithstanding the fact that we were new members—elected to Parliament for the first time—and knowing pretty well that everyone of importance had perhaps been elected to Parliament, the day, we women members entered the sacred precincts of the House, we were greeted with robust thumping of desks all around. There were no doubt some whispering cynical remarks too with which we were greeted. The male dominated Chamber, probably could not reconcile to the fact that we, young women, had entered the 'Sanctum Sanctorum'. I still remember somebody remarking:

> **"Look at the baby of the House who has just been elected. We might have to request the Speaker that milk feeding bottles be kept in the House."**

Among my contemporaries were Smt. Lakshmi N. Menon elected to the Rajya Sabha from Bihar and Smt. Violet Alva from Karnataka.

Then there were two great social workers from Tamil Nadu and Gujarat—Smt. Ammu Swaminathan and Smt. Hansa Mehta. Some outstanding women members like Smt. Renu Chakrovartty and Smt. Gopalan were also elected and they represented opposition parties. I don't know but they appeared to be more confident than us—the Congress members.

I was named as the "Glamour Girl of Parliament" by some of the elderly M.P.s and romantic journalists. When told, I simply laughed and joked at it, so that I was not called a prude. However, that made me more determined to make my presence felt—not by my looks but by my worth. Smt. Lakshmi Menon and myself, started working hard to be recognised as effective parliamentarians. She had a little advantage over me.

She was a well known teacher in one of the prestigious colleges in the country while I was an absolute fresher. Women members of today get very agitated by Shri Sunil Dutt's remark that he has been an admirer of women. They also get very hassled at rigging in colleges. In fact, the situation was different in 1950s. Women members found their male counterparts no less cruel in the First Parliament. After spending the first few months in the First Lok Sabha, many of us had started feeling that we were being judged on two pedestals—one on the sociology of feelings and the other, on the sociology of gender gratification.

Surprisingly, I found that some elderly women members had assimilated themselves into the sub-culture of the aged and had disassociated themselves from us—the younger generation of their own flock. Once they told me that I decorated myself like an Air-hostess. However, we of the younger generation, slowly asserted our worth and gradually established our credibility in the eyes of parliamentarians—men and women alike.

We were elected in the 1950's and since then many young, talented and smart women have been elected to Parliament from time to time. When I compare my contemporaries with those of today's women members, I notice a lot of similarities as also dissimilarities. One similarity is that there has been a commonality of approach on the part of the earlier movement and modern feminism to win a position for women. In the first phase, it was the case of, to vote, to get to the Legislature and to carve out a place in politics. Today, women members, however, are more aware of their rights to be treated as equals in all spheres of activities, including their family and social life. The present Parliament reflects the changed psychological and cultural relations between men and women. For instance, one women member of a previous Lok Sabha who unfortunately failed to get elected to

the Tenth Lok Sabha, divorced her husband to marry her long time friend and film personality and nobody lifted an eyelid and her position, both in the party organization as well as with her voters, remained the same. In the fifties, when I entered Parliament, it was accepted by all, including the elderly women members, that men would talk, women would listen, men would monopolise the Zero Hour, women would be demure; men would be free to have a coffee break in the Central Hall, but not their women colleagues.

But now all this is being questioned by women parliamentarians, young and old. Moreover, today women's participation in Parliament as well as outside has become more open and mass based. It has also gained more respect. It is no longer easy for the present male members of Parliament to marginalise or trivialise the issues raised by women members—be it Smt. Alva, the Rajmata of Gwalior, Kumari Uma Bharti, Smt. Gopalan or Smt. Jayanthi Natarajan, or anyone else. When women members raise serious issues such as that today's woman is earning only 60 paise as against one rupee by the man for similar work, no member of Parliament including Cabinet Ministers can dare to sideline their observations.

We in the 1950s, 60s and 70s were involved more in social and educational aspects of woman's life. After the advent of Indira Gandhi's leadership, however, a great change in the perception of men about women took place. And today, with the advent of persons like Uma Bharti and others, it seems that women's representation in Parliament is better organized. The reason perhaps is that the present women members reflect the ferment within their communities and social groups. Perhaps, women are changing faster than men—as they have taken the responsibilities of 'second-shift' which means that women in public life have taken more responsibilities of their family. And if they don't want to burden themselves with family, they boldly decide to remain single. However, in spite of all confidence that women parliamentarians have come to acquire all these years and in spite of the bolder references to their plight by the women members in Parliament, the overall picture of women's status in society, is rather dismal and discouraging.

The mechanism adopted by some of the prominent women in public life including Parliament appears to me to be more egoistic rather than positive and effective. Kumari Uma Bharti, for instance, talks ironically of Lord 'Rama' but fails to utter a word even once as to why 'Sita' who was on the family way, was banished from Ayodhya and pushed into the forests by her brother-in-law 'Lakshmana' and her husband—the King and Lord Rama? Why 'Sita' was punished and why many many Sitas are being punished every day in Indian life?

Today's women M.P.s have somehow failed to evolve a collective and forceful voice to meet this challenge. This obviously shows a moral courage drain. During my time, women members were forced to be less independent by even elderly women members themselves, forcing an attitude of 'shoo' and 'keep quiet' towards them. This attitude, happily, no longer prevails today. Can anyone dare to say 'shoo' or 'keep quiet' to today's Uma Bharti?

But what women members of past and present would do well is to take a stock as to what they have ultimately achieved for women in various spheres such as law, civil liberties and for according them their due place in the society. In spite of nearly 40 years of parliamentary performance, even today the law does not give women the right of legal guardianship over their own children. Law envisages only father as the legal-guardian, not the mother. In Hindu Law—the *Karta* can only be a man. A woman, even if she buys a property through her own resources and creates a Hindu undivided family, she cannot be the *Karta* of that property. Why we parliamentarians have failed to change the Guardianship Act? Why everywhere it should be man only? Why not a woman? Political sensitivity was and is intense in us, no doubt. But in those years, when I was a member, we had, I must admit, less courage. Today's crop of lady members have certainly more courage but sensitivity is somewhat marginal. They have more flame outside—less inside; we had more flame inside and less outside. However, they and we—the present and the past—are and were, honest, concerned, ebullient. These adjectives come to my mind when Renuka Choudhury or Jayanthi Natarajan speak in the Rajya Sabha, or Shiela Kaul and Uma Bharti speak in the Lok Sabha. One feels that they share an equal relationship with their male counterparts. They are certainly more daring than us—their predecessors. Therefore, in my view, the present set of lady members, is fully aware of the fact that politics is not the only vehicle for social change, but it is a supplement to the larger vehicle for the women at large—articulate, cynical and confident.

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Role Of Women In Parliament

Jayawanti Mehta

In a country of eighty-five crore people, the woefully meagre representation of over half the population, is a sad commentary on the far-from-satisfactory state of our democracy. It is a sad fact that although we pride ourselves on being the world's largest democracy, the participation of our women in the democratic process at the parliamentary level is far from adequate. A glance at the strength of women in our Parliament ever since independence is enough to show that their proportion to the total number of MPs has been consistently poor.

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT

LOK SABHA

		Number	*Total strength*	*Percentage*
Lowest	VI	19	544	3.49
Highest	VIII	44	544	8.9
Current	X	39	514	7.6

RAJYA SABHA

Lowest	1970	14	240	5.80
Highest	1980	29	244	11.80
Current	1990	24	245	9.70

These figures should convince us that during more than four decades of a democratic form of government, half the country's population has remained virtually unrepresented.

This is not to say that this situation prevails because our women are or would prove less competent as people's elected representatives. In fact, however, small the number of women MPs, they have always contributed substantially to parliamentary business. Names like Smt. Hansa Mehta and Smt. Violet Alva readily come to mind for their sterling contribution to the democratic process.

Smt. Hansa Mehta was a feminist in the most catholic sense of the term. Her contribution to the welfare of women both inside and outside Parliament is truly inspiring for all women parliamentarians. President of *Bhagini Samaj*, a women's organization, as far back as 1926, she took keen interest in women's education and was Fellow of the Bombay University as well as Fellow and Member of the Syndicate of SNDT Women's University during the period 1931—1946. She also held such prestigious international positions as Member, UN Commission on Status of Women, Vice-President, International Alliance of Women, and Member, UN Human Rights Commission.

Smt. Violet Alva was also keenly interested in the problems of students and gave a very perceptive speech on 'Indiscipline in the University' in Parliament on December 14, 1955. She said: "The whole difficulties begin from the point that mass education is going on. Whatever the historical past has been, whatever the political factors have been, whatever the political struggle that caused disruption in the character-building of the mass of our students, the fact remains that when mass education is going on we have not re-oriented our policy to a new type of education that is going to build up a national character in this country."

"What are their (the students') problems? Look at them through their eyes. As the poet has said:

"Oh, would some power the gift give us

To see ourselves as others see us",

In this case—

"Oh, would some power the gift give us

To see ourselves as our children see us."

There were also other noted parliamentarians like Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Renu Chakravarty, Laxmi Menon, Gayatri Devi and Satyavati Dang. But should these ladies be the exception that proves the rule? I

am convinced that if women are encouraged and equipped to participate in various elected bodies at lower levels they would soon acquire a much larger presence in Parliament, and their contribution to parliamentary proceedings would be of a high order. In fact, even before independence, women have represented the people of the country at higher electoral levels. Under the Act of 1935, the first election was held in 1937, in which 8 women were elected from general constituencies and 42 from reserved seats. Five were nominated to the Upper House. Even at that time, more than half a century ago, 6 women members had held different ministerial positions in different provinces. (However, in four decades of independence we have had just only four women chief ministers.) We can thus say that there is a continuing and quite old tradition of elected women representatives in modern India. Then why has their number not grown appreciably during all this period? The answer lies largely in the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the country. Today's Indian women are a socially under-privileged class, an economically depressed community and individually prey to various privations. This is the very antithesis of what should be, because they have to play a fuller, richer and a far more educative role within the home as well as in the society at large as compared to men, but the present constraints on their educational equipment and economic status seriously hamper their participation in the electoral process. To add to the problem, no political party has made a conscious effort to give due representation to women. Hence, a deliberate and sustained effort needs to be made not only to equip them with an adequate background but also to systematically groom them for people's representation at various lower levels.

Unfortunately, the discrimination that our women today suffer from in various serious forms makes this an uphill task. I strongly feel that unless a woman is genuinely emancipated she cannot take her rightful place in the nation's highest forum. As I pointed out in my speech in Parliament on December 2, 1989, the previous Prime Minister had promised 30 per cent representation for women in Parliament, but this is just not possible so long as the serious all-round discrimination against and injustice to our women persist. With degrading customs like *Devadasi* in Maharashtra and Yellamma in Karnataka, how can we hope that women would progress enough for a befitting presence in Parliament? In this speech, I had foused attention almost entirely on the plight of women in India and had strongly supported the idea of a Commission on Women. It is indeed a pity that despite being the repository of noble social values women should be so grievously neglected. During the short period in which I had the privilege to be a member of the Lok Sabha I endeavoured to the best of my ability to highlight not only women's problems but various

other national problems on the floor of the House. While doing so I tried to contribute to the parliamentary process both as a woman and as an elected citizen. I not only raised my voice against atrocities being committed on women all over the country but also brought the attention of the House to bear on such serious national problems as rising prices, environmental pollution, workers' rights and so on.

The Central Government thought it fit to appoint me to advisory Committees on:

1. Food & Civil Supplies,
2. Bureau of Indian Standards,
3. Consumer Protection,
4. AIDS Prevention, and
5. Rules of Parliament.

All these Committees are connceted with women's daily life. Through them as well as in other ways, I had the privilege to solve some pressing problems faced by the citizens.

I also took the opportunity of my memership of the House to ask important questions relating to matters of national importance as well as those related to women's welfare, such as:

1. Providing basic amenities in slums;
2. Improving the working of telephones;
3. Improving local train services in Bombay;
4. Pollution control in Bombay;
5. Providing cooking gas for every home in Maharashtra;
6. Price control on drugs and medicines;
7. Manufacture of steel utensils to ISI standards and removal of Excise Duties on stainless steel utensils;
8. Employment opportunities for women of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes;
9. Drinking water supply to villages in Maharashtra;
10. '*Talaq*' cases in courts.

In all this participation in parliamentary proceedings it has been my humble effort to live up to the trust that the people reposed in me by electing me to this highest democratic forum of the nation, and espe-

In all this participation in parliamentary proceedings it has been my humble effort to live up to the trust that the people reposed in me by electing me to this highest democratic forum of the nation, and especially to prove an effective voice of the women of this country. Indian women today cannot be taken for granted and they deserve MPs befitting their growing awareness :

• *"Abalaa Nahin kaha ja sakta ab bharat ki nari ko,*

Rakh samazhna bhool bahut hai chhipee hui chingari ko."

It has been my personal experience as Municipal Corporator and later as MLA during the period 1968 to 1989 that working as the people's elected representative at various levels helped me substantially in discharging my functions as Member of Parliament. Hansa Mehta had reached the Rajya Sabha in the same way, and so had Violet Alva. They and other women MPs have shown praiseworthy alertness during parliamentary debates on important national issues, and they continue to do so. So the more women parliamentarians we have, the more fruitful this highest forum in the country would prove. But for this women have to be enouraged to participate in the democratic process right from the local level.

, अबला नहीं कहा जा सकता अब भारत की नारी को
राख समझना भूल बहुत है छिपी हुई चिंगारी को

21

The Charm Of Parliamentary Debates

Kanak Mukherjee*

It is a pleasure to write a few lines about my experience of the debates in the Upper House of the Parliament. As a member of the Rajya Sabha for two successsvie terms since 1978 and as a member of the Panel of Vice-Chairmen for last two successive terms I have observed and enjoyed some interesting features regarding the debates in the House, which may be of interest to the readers.

Parliament is the embodiment of Indian democracy. And the most attractive part of the Parliament is its debates. Many of the top most political leaders of the country are assembled here. Here in the House is reflected the great political, intellectual and cultural heritage of our great nation. And the true image of the Parliament is created through the debates. Debates on constitutional matters, on Budget, economic and defence policies, on various social, political and cultural subjects and on Bills comprise the main contribution of the members of Parliament as the representatives of the people. Actually, the success of an MP depends on how far he can echo the voice of the people he represents. Thus, the member of Parliament serves the purpose of link between the people and the Government.

The master-minds of the experienced and able MPs attract the entire House and create new interests, no matter whether they speak for or against the Government. It is the performance of the MPs through debates that upholds the tradition, dignity and prestige of the House.

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With their different political stands and views, they make the sittings of the House lively and memorable through their debating abilities. Many of the veteran parliamentarians of various political shades have left their imprint in our parliamentary annals through their excellence in debates. Their speeches are often quoted as proverbs.

Successful parliamentarians are remembered through ages along with geniuses of other walks of life, like scientists, creative writers, artists. But no one is born an expert parliamentarian. One has to develop the requisite qualities through perseverance and earnestness. One has to continuously nurture the art of deliberation and study the subject matter. It is both what you speak and how you speak that matter. Surely, you cannot convince others unless you yourself are thoroughly convinced. And for that one has to do his or her homework and devote necessary time and energy.

But, very few MPs take this task of parliamentary debate seriously. Most of them happen to be *ex tempore* speakers. It is needless to mention that now when the political controversies are becoming more and more acute outside, the debates inside the House also tend to be hot and bitter. The political atmosphere outside is mainly responsible for this situation. All I want to say is that during the long period of 40 years of Independence, our parliamentary democracy should have attained much more maturity than what it has today.

Oratory in parliamentary debates is a much cherished virtue which has to be acquired by the learned members of the Parliament through continuous and sustained process of self-education and development. The House is not an ordinary mass gathering to be addressed by a political leader, but a prestigious place of high dignity and honour where only the selected few of the country exchange their views and opinions, express the wishes of the people to promote their democratic rights as promised by the Constitution, and ultimately to bring social changes for better life of the people.

Somehow I have developed a strong liking for the House. When I sit there, I remember Shakespeare that all the world's stage, and all the men and women merely players. In the House, some members are always vocal, some are quiet observers or back-benchers. Some are shy, some are over-enthusiastic; some are always attentive and some are more eager to listen to their own voices only and do not find time to remain in the House to hear others. Some are always jolly and humorous and some are always in the fighting mood and suffer from intolerance. Of course, there are some very powerful speakers who can keep the House spell-bound. And altogether we find in the House what we may call Geoffrey Chaucer's 'God's Plenty', and we enjoy their company.

Sometimes the debates in the House make us sit whole night. We, absorbed in the controversial debates, take dinner in the Parliament canteen hosted by the Hon'ble Minister, and wake through the night to go back home in the morning. I remember with pleasure some such occasions, when we had to sit throughout the night over some irreconcilable controversies, like on certain constitutional amendments, ESMA, Muslim Women's Rights Bill and each time no agreement could be reached and only the majority votes could end the debates. But again, it is also very interesting to note how all the different political parties could unite together to support certain Bills like those relating to prohibition of dowry, indecent representation of women, amendment of the penal code to check atrocities on women.

Of course, the House is dynamic, subject to continuous change through years. It reminds us of Tennyson's famous lines, "For men may come and men may go but I go on for ever." So, our battle in the House remains incomplete, and the mantle falls upon the successor. Again, the successor can continue the battle through debates.

We have to remember that the impact of the parliamentary debates on the nation is immense—for present and for future. And, it is surely the progressively rising standard of debates in the House that can advance the cause of democracy envisaged by our Constitution.

22

Our Women M.Ps. As I Saw Them

Leela Damodara Menon

My first glimpse of Indian Women members of Parliament was not as an M.P., but as an interested observer. My husband was a member of the Provisional and First Parliaments. I had a sessional pass, thanks to the enlightened Speaker Mavalankar. I used it liberally and listened spell-bound to the great leaders of India who were household names and whose speeches on high ideals and goals with a nostalgia striving to reach up to them, reverberated in the House. It was also an experience to hear powerful attacks which cut deep but did not wound.

I watched the women MPs with excitement; feeling that, part of me was down with them who were representing the women of India. I was specially detailed to lobby for the Hindu Code Bill in Parliament as Member-in-charge of legislation of the All India Women's Conference (AIWC). The Bill if passed *in toto*, would have been the biggest social revolution envisaged in Free India. In 1946, the Indian Women's Charter of Rights and Duties had already been passed by the women leaders who had started the first agitation for suffrage for women as early as 1917 when they gave a memorandum to Lord Chelmsford, the Governor General of India and had attended the Round Table Conference at London under Sarojini Naidu's leadership to ask for political rights for women and self-Government for India. Myself and my fellow campaigners shared something precious with those women leaders who made laws to change the old discriminatory patterns. I was astonished at the reluctance of some male members of Parliament to give justice to women and more so at the vehement protests from women themselves who came to demonstrate against the Bill shouting that they did not need property rights, divorce laws or any such reforms—a typical example of brain washing and con-

tinued slavery. The Hindu Code Bill had to be split up into several parts for further legislative action.

There has always been a paradox between the high-position of women in 'Concept' and the disheartening 'Reality' of their lower status reflected everywhere including the Parliament of India. We only had very few of our great women luminaries in the Parliament. Many who should have been there did not get an opportunity despite the fact that Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, affirmed firmly that 'Women is companion to man gifted with equal mental capabilities and has the right to participate in the minutest detail, in all activities of man. At his call, women had joined the freedom movement in large numbers equalling in courage and sacrifice to men. The nation was proud of their contribution. The Constitution of India easily granted them equality and the guarantee that they will not be discriminated against on grounds of sex. Yet, even being almost half the population, women's representation in the First Parliament was only 4.4 per cent and did not improve during the years, as expected. It is certainly difficult for women to get into the corridors of power. Their candidature depends even now on the will of their political party and not on their own merit and individuality.

Among the great women who made history and laws, I recall Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the First woman Cabinet Minster in India. A close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, soft spoken, sober and dedicated, she was approachable and kind to even insignificant women workers and was deeply involved in the welfare of the people. All the women leaders had a background of service. I remember an incident: A group of young women was engaged in the novel scheme of rural medical relief through a mobile van. They got into a debt of Rs. 3484/- which was a big sum for them in those days. The State Government had not kept their promise of assistance. As a last desperate measure, unable to raise the amount locally, they appealed to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the Union Health Minister, not expecting any response. To their joyous surprise, they received a cheque for Rs. 3500/- with the directive to pay the debt and go ahead with the work which so inspired them that they started working with renewed dedication. The State Government came forward to help them and the mobile unit, first of its kind in that State, became famous. Dr. Sushila Nayar, another Union Minister of Health was already in work guided by Kasturba. She was also the Minister for Moral & Social Hygiene. Rajendrakumari Bajpai, the gentle Minister, was firm in her decisions and committed to welfare.

Most Women Minsters dealt with health, education or welfare. Yet Women Ministers like Tarkeshwari Sinha, and Sushila Rohatgi in

Finance, Ramdulari Sinha in Labour, Dr. Sarojini Mahishi in Communication and others who had the chance to go outside the usual pattern also did very well. Smt. Lakshmi N. Menon who held the charge of the Ministry of External Affairs for over 17 years, was our guide and an expert on International matters. Even today, in retrospect, I hear the powerful voice and see the indomitable Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh, an MP, who gave new dimensions to social work and as member of the Planning Commission and was responsible for creating an army of efficient and devoted social workers.

I have heard Padmja Naidu whose speech on 'Police Atrocities' shook even the Treasury Benches. Smt. Renuka Ray's gentle approach on substantial improvement to development, Smt. Sucheta Kriplani's clear and fearless way of speaking, Dr. Seeta Paramanand's determined efforts for legislation against 'Immoral Traffic in Women' have all proved their worth as members of Parliament. Smt. Vijayalakshmi Pandit had brought into the Parliament the glamour that caught the attention of the world at the United Nations. Another women M.P. who brought colour and glamour was Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur.

Many of their efforts to get any law passed were fully supported by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Indiraji and her son Rajiv Gandhi, who believed that women's progress is the nation's development. India's other Prime Ministers had hardly any time to help women because of their short term of office. Not that our women MPs were only concerned about women and children or welfare. Some of them had given speeches on many a subject not usually considered woman's sphere. With regard to social changes, there was an effort to bring quick changes, though quick they never were. Unable to overcome old prejudices and bad traditions, there was very slow acceptance if at all to most of the social enactments and needed further amendments.

The woman M.Ps. included commoners and Maharanis, most of them political leaders, following different vocations from housewives, lawyers, labour leaders, social workers, poets, teachers, writers, doctors to socialites, all standing united against atrocities on human beings in any form, irrespective of their party affiliations.

There was an occasion when a very senior leader in authority made disparaging remarks about women. The Rajya Sabha ground to a stand till the words were withdrawn. Veteran Bhupesh Gupta was very vocal and led the protest much to the amusement of the silent men protesters.

Another remarkable woman member who started her parliamentary career in low key as the Minister for Information, and who later

created history by being elected by the World's largest democracy as Prime Minister, was Indiraji, as she was affectionately called. Members and visitors sat alert when Indiraji entered the House as if she was capable of noting the absence or presence of everyone. Her sonorous speeches with an all pervading touch of sincerity and earnestness, made her a unique personality. Indiraji was a good administrator and a fine parliamentarian.

In 1974, I was elected to the Rajya Sabha from Kerala. I did not feel like a stranger because those scenes had become familiar to me. But when I stood up to make my maiden speech, my knees trembled. I suddenly felt the world was looking at me. Nevertheless, some encouraging words I recalled at the moment, helped me to tide over my temporary crisis.

It is only when one is right there that one's enthusiasm and hopes to make fast changes get a setback. Making laws is not an easy process. Implementing specially social laws is like going for a walk with a grasshopper, which frequently jumps forward and backward or remains static. Just when one gets a feeling of achievement, suddenly the process rebounds back or stands still. The Anti-Dowry Act, the Child Marriage Act, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic, Equal Remuneration for Equal Work Act, all are relevant and necessary. But dowry still persists, child marriages continue, prostitution still goes on, and woman are discriminated against. Even *Sati* the most inhuman practice and long out-lawed is sought to be revived by ultra orthodox people.

I had a good batch of Women MPs with me, each one noteworthy in her own right. We sat together with Lok Sabha members to discuss common issues and fight common battles. We used to arrive at some common understanding on important issues while sitting and drinking coffee or tea in the Ladies Lounge in spite of the lure of the relaxing company in the Central Hall.

Smt. Margaret Alva, Smt. Susila Adivarekar and Hamida Habibullah were my close associates. Smt. Margaret Alva's illustrious mother-in-law was one time Vice-Chairperson of the Rajya Sabha and well acclaimed. When she was in the Chair we have heard that even her husband Shri Joachin Alva, a Rajya Sabha member did not overstep the limit for his speech. Smt. Margaret Alva, herself a very good orator later became Minister and had drafted the 'National Perspective Plan for Women'. Dr. Najma Heptullah, the present Vice-Chairperson is also able to control the House at its wild moments.

I was overjoyed when my resolution on the International Women's Year was ballotted. I did get more than forty-five minutes, usually

difficult for a newcomer. After this, the ball was set rolling for the preparation of the International Women's Year in 1975. I felt as proud as a peacock.

There was one member from Kerala who persistently heckled me whenever I spoke. But afterwards, stangely he would congratulate me. One day a friend asked him why he interrupted me each time and later came to falicitate. He replied that it was because, when provoked, I spoke better. He hardly knew that his interruption did upset a fresher.

There was an atmosphere of friendliness among members in spite of the fact that clouds of communal and divisive movements were darkening the national scene and fiery speeches and harsh words were becoming the order of the day. Suddenly, great changes burst in on us in the late 1970 and 1980s.

Women members of Parliament were alive to the situation and took parliamentary work seriously. Apart from the mundane activities of Calling Attention and Adjournment Motions or presentation of Private Members Bills and Resolutions as well as putting Questions. Some of them have creditably dealt with subjects like national security, Centre-State relationship, malpractices, etc. and forcefully reacted to all events disturbing peace and promoting violence. But the media always gave more publicity to men and hardly much to the women members; having said the same thing on the same subjects even if the women was the first to speak. So while fighting against injustices and social malpractices, often justice is not done to women members by the media. A number of young woman members came into the Parliament in the 1980s and 1990s. I have not got acquainted with most of them. I feel sorry that in spite of higher educational status in Kerala, we have sometimes and not often at every election, only one elected woman member in the Lok Sabha from Kerala.

I think that the largest number of women representatives in Parliament had been in 1984 when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi who believed in a more active role in politics for women facilitated their entry into Parliament and State Legislatures.

If some one asks me what would be the inheritance I would like the young Indian women to have, I would say opportunity to follow the example of Sarojini Naidu or Indira Gandhi, both unmatchable in their own spheres.

23

Glimpses Of A Woman M.P. From New Delhi

Mukul Banerjee

One day, the calling bell in my house started ringing constantly at 6.30 in the morning as if the caller's finger had just got stuck to the bell. I was in the bathroom. My husband rushed to the door and opened it. He told the caller that the 'M.P. Saheba' was taking bath and she would start meeting visitors at 8 a.m. He advised him that either he should sit in the drawing room and wait or if he liked he could go and come back by 8.00 a.m. The caller got angry and said that he and many others like him voted for her and she should ever be willing to listen to them because an M.P. was a 'God'. My husband was a very witty type. He replied: "Are you sure an M.P. is a God"? That man gave the reply, "Yes". My husband immediately said, "Well—you will ring the bell—the door will open and the God will come—this never happens in a human life. You will have to ring the temple bell all your life, only then you can expect the Almighty God's blessings in your next life." Fortunately, the man understood and ultimately decided to wait. This is only one such incident which I had to encounter all through my public career as a Member of Parliament.

I used to start meeting the people of my constituency exactly at 8 a.m. and hear each one separately up to 10.45 a.m. on Session days. Then, I used to rush to the Parliament. In the evening, I would visit some of the places in my constituency to understand and settle whatever problems cropped up. All types of demands and requests used to come to me—relating to jobs, children's admission, water, electricity, sewage, road, promotions, demotions, transfers, housing, etc., etc. Apart from that, I had to solve the problems of the trade unions also with whom I was actively associated—hotel workers'

union, hospital workers' union, DESU unions, DDA union, teachers' unions and so on and so forth.

I thus became the servant of my constituency for almost twenty-four hours of the day. I started working so enthusiastically that slowly and gradually, I became quite well-known and popular all over the constituency. And hearing that reputation, people from all the other constituencies of Delhi, even from outside Delhi, started coming to me. People felt as if serving an individual person was more important than even my parliamentary world.

I was quite a conscious person and always tried to live up to the expectations of my constituents or all those who came to me seeking help, advice or guidance. I started sending questions for the Question Hour in Parliament, highlighting various problems and issues. But when I found that very few of my questions were accepted in the Starred List, I began concentrating on supplementary questions every day which gave me ample opportunities to seek clarifications on many a topical subject of discussion. I used to speak in the House on many subjects and always did hard labour to prepare my speeches. Since I represented New Delhi Constituency, I had the good fortune of having the advice and guidance of many experts who were residing there at that time. This helped me become a good speaker. Soon, I became member of some very important committees of the Parliament like the Public Accounts Committee, FERA Committees, etc.

In the midst of all these, I had practically no time for myself or my family. Rather, besides myself, my family members also had to quite often work for people of my constituency. In retrospect, I feel that by voting a woman member to the Legislature, people generally get not one but many other persons also to render service to them.

Apart from this, during my tenure as a Member, I made many many good friends, helpers and sympathisers. I felt as if I had become a member of one big family. Even now, many of my voters love me as though I am related to them in some way. To them, I am their mother, sister and benefactor. This has always been and continues to be a tonic for me.

Addressing me as Didi or Mataji, people would come to me and very easily pour their hearts out. I wonder whether they could do the same before any male member. To conclude, I feel that generally, a woman parliamentarian is a mother, sister, a nurse and attendant to her constituents. And these, they may even excel their male counterparts in many ways.

24

Reminiscences Of My Parliamentary Life

Parvathi Krishnan

When I first entered Parliament, as a member of the Rajya Sabha, representing Tamil Nadu in April 1954, I found myself in a new milieu. However, as a member of the Communist Party of India (CPI) group, I had the benefit of guidance from the leader of the group, a stalwart and eminent parliamentarian, the late Shri P. Sundarayya. So it was not long before I found my feet and began to shoulder my responsibilities as a member of Parliament *albeit* with certain diffidence. I received invaluable assistance from the staff members of the parliamentary office of the CPI in learning to follow the rules of procedure, the method to be followed in framing questions, giving notice of resolutions and so on. The officials of the Rajya Sabha Secretariat were also most helpful.

Within a short time, I realized that many of the male members of the Rajya Sabha, not excluding those belonging to the ruling Congress Party, viewed the women members with a certain amount of patronage, as a group to be given a "helping hand", to be relegated to so-called traditional roles assigned to women and encouraging them only to take up issues strictly pertaining to women's rights and their problems. And this too-notwithstanding able performances of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur as Minister of Health, Smt. Lakshmi N. Menon as Deputy Minister of External Affairs and Smt. Violet Alva as Deputy Minister in the Home Ministry. In the then Lok Sabha were such leading women parliamentarians as Smt. Renu Chakravarty, Smt. Subhadra Joshi and Smt. Tarakeswari Sinha who had displayed their ability to no small extent within the two short years after entering Parliament. I was myself proud indeed of being the daughter of the first ever woman member of Parliament. My illustrious mother, Smt. Radhabai Subbarayan had entered the then Central Assembly as a member of the Congress Party elected from a constituency in Tamil

Nadu as far back as 1938. She had also earned for herself the name as an able Parliamentarian who dealt not only with issues and problems affecting women, but also took many other issues as well. It was certainly no easy task for her as she was the sole woman member, belonging to the Indian National Congress, standing up to the bullying tactics of a British administration.

So I found that the situation of a woman member of Parliament was indeed a complex one in those early days. One had to appreciate that the behaviour and attitudes in Parliament were no different from the social conditions then prevalent in the country. Despite the fact that untold thousands of women had participated actively in the struggle for freedom, society had not yet developed to the extent of accepting that women were equally capable of carrying out the responsibilities that were considered man's prerogative.

A great deal did depend on the manner in which we women conducted at all levels. And the women members of Parliament did, indeed, conduct themselves with both decorum and ability. The pattern of participation of women in Parliament varied. While there were those who did not confine themselves to issues of special concern to women only, there were others who did not participate in debates but worked silently otherwise. Not everyone is able to speak in Parliament—but the work of parliamentarian is certainly not confined merely to participating in debates. The work of making representations, of raising questions, of serving your constituents at the grass-root level yields greater results and as far as I was concerned I derived personal satisfaction from such work.

There were many occasions when one could see in Parliament the truth that society is not after all, divided into warring factions—women *versus* men—but rather into segments—the liberals *versus* the conservatives. I myself had always held the belief that social problems, particularly those affecting women, could find solutions only if men and women worked shoulder to shoulder to do so. While women, no doubt, had to be in the forefront, the task was that of the society as a whole. This was certainly amply illustrated at the time when the amendment to the 'Hindu Code' was under discussion. To grant women the Right to Property was a step forward. During the debate on this issue I found myself speaking in the same terms as my late father, Dr. P. Subbarayan and many of his eminent colleagues. However, there were others of his party who opposed the measure in no uncertain terms.

I will endeavour to recall some of the highlights of participation by women members in Parliament during the years I was a member. It is difficult at this point of time without the aid of reference material to

do full justice to this. But to mention a few I do remember the contribution of Smt. Renu Chakravartty speaking on the report of the accident in the 'Chinakuri Mines in West Bengal'. It was noted by one and all that she had made a convincing case for action against the mine owners who were responsible for neglecting safety measures in their mines. Similarly, the speech of Smt. Subhadra Joshi in 1974 on the 'Communal riots in Sadar Bazaar' remains vividly in my mind. She was an untiring fighter against communalism, I remember how consistently she championed the cause of secularism and the rights of minorities throughout her career as a parliamentarian. Another name which comes to my mind is that Smt. Violet Alva's. Her speech on the report of the 'Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, was also a remarkable one. She was indeed a most capable member of Parliament and did outstandingly as Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. I had had the occasion to speak on the Report of the Education Commission, the 'Report of the Plantation Inquiry Commission and the Committee on the Status of Women'—on all these I had had to move resolutions to take up the discussions.

I have referred to the above in order to illustrate how women members of Parliament made their mark not merely by confining themselves to issues affecting women but also by participating in various debates on varied subjects—This goes to show that they acquitted themselves with distinction as well as any other member of Parliament. But, undoubtedly, issues pertaining to women were highlighted by the women members of Parliament. It is through their presence that the government could be prevailed upon to ratify the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 100 on 'Equal Pay' and later enact legislation to implement the convention. We had to carry out a sustained campaign both inside and outside Parliament to achieve these objectives.

Since my life outside of Parliament consisted of working in the trade union movement, I took every opportunity I could to raise issues pertaining to the movement in parliament. In the Lok Sabha, to which I was elected in 1957, I took up the issue of an appointment of a tribunal to review cases of dismissed government employees in 1957, and again in 1961, after the strike by the central government employees in 1960, I raised the issue of trade union activities of central government employees. Since I was connected with the trade union movement in the railways, at the time of the historic railway general strike in 1974, I spoke on the arrest of the leaders of the strike. At the same time I did not confine myself to purely trade union issues but raised the issue of accidents on the railways and the need to take adequate action to ensure safety measures. These are only a few instances I have referred to illustrate the fact that in Parliament

one did not have to confine oneself *only* to issues concerning women's welfare. No one should consider that men are superior to women and that men, because they outnumber women in Parliament, therefore are better parliamentarians. On the other hand, a perusal of debates of Parliament will amply prove that the women members, few though they may have been acquitted themselves with credit throughout these years. Women members have carried themselves with dignity and grace, have maintained the balance between these elements—a difficult task indeed.

There were moments in my years in Parliament which I recall vividly. One such occasion was that when in the Zero Hour in 1977, I got up to demand an apology from the then Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai, for derogatory remarks he had made against women at a public function. It was not easy for me to do so as many of the women members themselves had tried to persuade me to desist from doing so as we had visited him in his chamber and he had been gracious enough to express his regret at that time. But, I was of the opinion that a statement in public merited that regret should also be expressed in public. So I did raise the issue and was glad that the Prime Minister expressed his regret on the Floor of the House. In 1977, another piquant situation arose when I took the Chair for the first time in the Lok Sabha; Shri George Fernandez, the then Minister of Steel and Mines, immediately addressed me as "Comrade Chairperson"—with a smile. I think he expected me to react violently. At that moment, I was indeed at a loss but I did manage to keep silent. And, then, when he was being interrupted, I merely said, "Will the comrade member desist from interrupting the Comrade Minister!" This did indeed evoke smiles from many members and the next day it was reported in the press that "comrade" had now become a parliamentary term ! So Parliament did have its lighter moments also which one can recall with pleasure.

Perhaps the most difficult moment I faced while in the Chair was to preside over the House when Smt. Indira Gandhi made her maiden speech after being elected from Chickmagalur. It was at the height of the campaign against her and one feared that there would be a lot of disturbance from the government benches on that day. But, fortunately, Parliament in those days was of a different temper and the speech went through without any untoward disturbance which goes to the credit of all the members present and my task as Chairperson was certainly not an arduous one.

One aspect of work in Parliament which I think is quite rewarding is the work in Parliamentary Committees. I found that the work in the Parliamentary Consultative Committee on Railways, in the Public Ac-

counts Committee and in the Official Languages Committee provided me with an opportunity to learn about various aspects not only of the Ministries concerned but also of the problems facing our country. This enabled me to gather knowledge which has stood me in good stead throughout my public life. It is also through working on such committees that one learns to appreciate the work put in by members of the staff of Parliament who are called upon to work unduly long hours to see that the committees work smoothly. There were occasions when one had to go on tour with the committees and appreciated the manner in which all arrangements were made by the staff to ensure that the work was not disrupted. The research section in Parliament is an invaluable help to all members of Parliament though I found that not a great number of M.Ps. make full use of it. The Parliament Library was another rewarding place where one could read varied journals and also benefit from reading books that were not easily available elsewhere.

I cannot but end without referring to the many pleasant hours spent in the ladies' lounge in Parliament. Here, we the women members, would gather to discuss all and sundry. It was at such moment that I realized that majority of the women members even if they did not participate actively in debates, did seriously and sincerely endeavour to fulfil their responsibilities in other ways with dignity and sincerity of purpose. For "gossip" one spent time in the Central Hall where over cups of coffee one could exchange views and gather information from members of Parliament and pressmen alike. The Central Hall is an institution by itself and I did learn also that if one spent some time there, one could also waylay Ministers on their way to their offices to hand over a memorandum or make a representation without going through the hassle of getting an appointment!

It is indeed difficult to write fully and comprehensively about life in Parliament. But I would like to stress that women in Parliament have shown without any doubt that they are second to none in fulfilling their responsibilities—not merely confining themselves to problems of women, but dealing effectively with problems of food, hunger, unemployment and all factors affecting the people of our country as a whole. These include solutions to problems faced by women of discrimination, eradication of the pernicious dowry systems and so on which are closely interwoven and inseparable from the task of defending our national sovereignty, building self-reliance, eradication of poverty and illiteracy. Thus, women have certainly helped build strong and truly independent India, enabling it to take her rightul place in the country of nations.

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From Palace To Parliament

Rajmata Gayatri Devi

Had Chakravarty Rajagopalachari not started the Swatantra Party, I would probably never have been a member of Parliament. As it happened, I was elected on a Swatantra Party ticket three times in a row to the third (1962—1967), fourth (1967—1971) and fifth (1971—1976) Lok Sabha. Rajaji had devoted his life to India. He had held the highest office of the Governor General of the country. He could have spent his retirement in guiding the leaders and in intellectual pursuits. However, this was not to be. Ever vigilant about the way India was being ruled, he grew alarmed at the growing corruption in the Government attributed to the Congress Party's licence-permit quota—Raj. Rajaji once remarked that the Congress Party's slogan of "socialism" was attractive but those mouthing it seemed to be getting richer rather than more caring. He concluded that the socialistic pattern had armed politicians of the ruling party with favours which they disbursed against bribes. It was the state's spreading encroachment of the economy that enriched Congressmen, officials and selected businessmen, and harassed the rest.

In 1958, the Congress decided that the Government should take over the grain trade, impose a ceiling on land holdings and introduce co-operative farming. Rajaji was appalled. To begin with, many Congressmen objected to joint farming and the ceiling on land holdings. However, a sharp rebuke from the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru ultimately shut them up. No one in the party dared oppose him. This was confirmed later when he nominated his daughter, Indira, who had little experience of party work, as President of the Congress Party, without consulting his colleagues. Rajaji felt that he must do something radical to stop this one-man, one-party rule. To

quote from Rajmohan Gandhi's book on his grand father : "The elderly watchdog became a greyhound."

Rajaji at the age of 80, decided to challenge that epitome of power, Jawaharlal, with a new party. On June 4, 1959, the Swatantra Party was born. Rajaji was to lead the party. Professor Ranga, who had left the Congress Party because of its agricultural policy, was to be the President and Minoo Masani the General Secretary. The Gantantra Parishad in Orissa, led by Maharaja P.K. Singh Deo of Kalahandi aiso joined the party. I had become extremely disillusioned by the Congress Party and I found local Congressmen getting more and more arrogant. The euphoria and the hopes that prevailed at the time of Independence had vanished. People were dismayed and openly criticised the Government. Representatives of the people, instead of serving the public, were behaving like tyrants. The beautiful city of Jaipur was being desecrated by its new rulers and the people kept complaining that they had to pay more and more taxes and that no one listened to them—*Koi Sunvai Nahi*. I had always respected Rajaji and I wanted to do something for the people. So after getting my husband's permission, I joined the Swatantra Party. Rajaji wrote an article in *Swarajya* likening me to the *Rani of Jhansi* for joining his party. Many people, including myself, wondered why Rajaji should think it brave for a citizen of India to join an opposition party. India was after all a democracy. His words proved prophetic—in 1970 the sword came down on the princes, and during the Emergency, both Rajmata Vijai Raje Scindia and I, had to suffer the indignity of incarceration because we were opposition members of Parliament.

The Swatantra Party contested its first election in 1962 and secured 25 seats in the Lok Sabha and 270 seats in different State Assemblies. I won the Jaipur Parliamentary seat by a record number of votes. My son, Prithviraj, who had just turned 25 was the youngest member of Parliament, won the Dausa Parliamentary seat and Sawai Madhopur also returned to Swatantra candidate. In Rajasthan, Bihar and Gujarat, the Swatantra Party candidates emerged as the largest opposition party in the Assemblies.

Taking my oath in Parliament was a moving experience. I felt a great sense of responsibility towards my country and specially my constituents who had reposed such trust in me.

As the Swatantra Party was a new party in the Lok Sabha, its members did not know one another. Professor Ranga who was to lead us had lost his election and Mr. M.R. Masani was to contest a by-election later in the summer. So it was Maharaja P.K. Singh Deo of Kalahandi, who took charge of us. He asked me to speak on the President's Address. Initially, I was nervous, but Renuka Ray, a com-

munist member, told me that, as a daughter of Bengal, I must not be silent like the other Maharanis in the House. I, thus, made my first speech in the Lok Sabha—very nervous and very unsure of myself. Gradually, I began to feel at home in my new surroundings.

Eventually, I spoke on many subjects, particularly on education, foreign affairs and tourism. It was the time when Hindi was being imposed and English being removed. I was of the view that it was wrong to impose Hindi in non-Hindi speaking states. I argued that it would be a sad day if a Bengali child had to read a translation of Rabindra Nath Tagore and Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya and emphasized that English should be retained as a second language. On foreign affairs, I asked why we were isolating Israel. We should ask for its expertise to develop our deserts. I also spoke on a No-Confidence Motion. Speaking on tourism, I pointed out how we could improve its infrastructure and earn more foreign exchange. Pleading for Rajasthan, I went with all the members of Parliament from the State to the then Minister for Irrigation to lay stress for the immediate implementation of the 'Rajasthan Canal Project'. I stressed that if the Americans are willing to dig it—let them do it and let them call it what they like, but let us have the canal.

The Lok Sabha was well appointed. The staff was polite and courteous. The secretariat was efficient and helpful. I remember particularly Shri Chawla, a senior official who was always willing to advise and assist the new members.

In 1962, members of all parties mixed freely. The Central Hall was a buzz of activity. Members of both Houses, together with representatives of the press, would gather there to talk and gossip over cups of coffee and snacks. It was an ideal place to pick up information and there was a lot of good-natured bantering. Some young members of the Congress said they had heard that members of the Opposition vied with each other to sit near me to get a whiff of my French perfume. I replied that when Satya Narain Sinha (then a Congress Minister) entered the House from the side of the treasury benches, the whole House reeked of his *attar*.

I made it a point to be in the House when the Prime Minister spoke. There were several good speakers on both sides of the House and there were also a few rowdies who would shout and scream and glance up at the press gallery to make sure that they had been noticed. The whole scene was an education. Often I mused and wondered: "Were these the true representatives of the people of India."

As the budget session drew to a close, I had begun to learn about the parliamentary procedure from Professor Ruthnaswamy and Sri Loknath Mishra, Swatantra Party members of the Rajya Sabha.

My husband had been elected to the Rajya Sabha by the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly and when the Parliament adjourned for the summer months, he left for England to fulfil his polo engagements. But I had to stay behind as my party had asked me to go to Amroha to canvas for Acharya Kriplani and then on to Rajkot where Minoo Masani was contesting. It was the hottest summer I have ever experienced. Both Acharya Kriplani and Minoo Masani won. Professor Ranga had also been elected and the Opposition was richer with the inclusion of these three seasoned parliamentarians.

When we met again for the monsoon session, the clouds of war were hanging over India because of the Chinese aggression. The whole country rose as one. I went and saw Indira Gandhi to ask her what I could do to help. She informed me that blankets and hot water bottles were required for the forward area hospitals. I plunged myself into work and even started knitting a *khaki* scarf in the House which the Speaker disallowed. As it turned out afterward, the troops needed the type of impermeable footwear and clothing that were not available in India. After the humiliating war, there was a debate on the said affair. Our party spokesman was Professor Ranga. The day that the Prime Minister was to reply to the debate, Professor Ranga told me that he was sorry we had no back-benchers — "Jawahar", he said, "will ridicule me and his back-benchers will thump their desks." Sure enough, it came and in his reply Panditji said that the honourable member (Professor Ranga) knew nothing about what he professed to know. I shot up and said: "If you had only been aware of what was happening we would not be in this mess today." Panditji had impeccable parliamentary manners. He sat down when I was on my feet. After I took my seat, he said: "I did not hear what the honourable lady member said." Sardar Hukum Singh, the Speaker remarked: "It was irrelevant, you may continue." The Communist members sitting near me urged me to get up and repeat what I said, which I did. The Prime Minister said, "I will not bandy words with a lady." My heart was beating so fast. I could not believe that I had been so bold. No one had ever said anything like that to the Prime Minister before. The House was stunned. The Press asked me what I had remarked. Professor Ranga said he could hardly believe his ears and that my intervention had been perfectly timed. Mr. Chawla said the next day that he was surprised and upset that a person of my upbringing could be rude to an older person.

After the China debate, it was sad to see the dejection of the Prime Minister. He had always been upright and exuding confidence—now, he looked stooped and dejected.

When the new Lok Sabha had met in 1967, the Swatantra Party had new look. We had many fine speakers and able men in our party. These included Professor Ranga, Minoo Masani, Narain Dandekar, Chiranjeet Rai, Piloo Modi and many other able representative of the people. Piloo had a tremendous sense of humour and he had the added gift of never taking umbrage. He was friendly and jovial with everyone, no matter who. He was an able and entertaining member but it was his friendly humour that made him so popular.

The other members who contributed to the effective functioning of the Opposition benches were Madhu Limaye, Acharya Kriplani and Ram Manohar Lohia.

When I first went to Parliament, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister of India. I had great admiration for him, but unfortunately, it was during his time that affairs in India began to go wrong. Lal Bahadur Shastri who succeeded him, was the best Prime Minister India has ever had. Indira Gandhi was unsure of herself to begin with and then she blossomed forth but unfortunately into an absolute autocrat. During her tenure, the Congress members were apprehensive about talking to the Opposition members. The Central Hall lost its congenial atmosphere.

Let me briefly mention about some of the well known women parliamentarians of India.

Sarojini Naidu had the most magnetic personality. She exuded charm. She had a tremendous sense of humour. Little wonder, there was never a dull moment in her company.

Smt. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit was an elegant and articulate person and a firm believer in democratic norms. She was a distinguished Ambassador and wherever she served, she won friends for India. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was a dedicated and sincere person. Smt. Violet Alva was full of charm and goodwill. She was always helpful and gave good advice. Smt. Ammu Swaminathan was also a great and gentle lady.

Amongst the women in Parliament with me, Sushila Nayar was sincere in her work. Laxmi Menon was very nice. Renuka Ray was a dynamic and effective speaker. Tarkeshwari Sinha always had a coterie around her in the Central Hall. She was very able and vocal. She and I were for some reason known as the glamour girls of the Parliament. Nandini Satpathy could have been added to this list.

I was not an exceptional parliamentarian, but I was a good member of Parliament. My house was open to my constituents all the year round. I looked into their problems and tried to solve them. I attended the Zila Parishad meetings and tried to get the maximum by way of roads, electricity, wells, schools, etc. No one can accuse me of neglecting my constituency or my workers. They became an extended part of my family. However, as I have said at the outset, we in the Swatantra Party were in Parliament to prevent the ruling party from encroaching on the fundamental rights of the people.

My last year and a half as a member of the Lok Sabha was spent in Tihar Jail and on parole. After the emergency, Satish Agarwal of the Jan Sangh was chosen as the candidate from Jaipur by the combined opposition.

I continue to serve the people as best I can and mine is an open house where all are welcome.

26

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur—India's First Woman Cabinet Minister

Renuka Ray

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the renowned tennis player who hailed from the Kapurthala princely family and was brought up in England, was a well-known figure in our national life. When her family adopted Christianity, they were deprived of the succession to the Kapurthala title though they continued to enjoy the prestige at social status. I first met the aristocratic Rajkumari at the All India Women's Conference (AIWC) in Madras in the year 1932 when my grand mother Smt. Sarala Ray, was its President. Rajkumari was charming to everyone and as we came to know her better, we found that she was a wonderful person. She was then the Chairperson of the AIWC's Standing Committee. She was always kind to the younger members. One incident of those days stands out in my mind. Lakshmi Menon and I brought toward a resolution enjoining that the A.I.W.C. members should wear Swadeshi apparel. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur on hearing it, immediately reacted and said, "This smacks of politics, and A.I.W.C. is surely outside the sphere of politics." So the resolution on Swadeshi was adopted in a guarded way. It was a strange contrast to the khadi clad Amrit Kaur who, not many years after this, not only became a follower of Gandhiji but also took to simple and frugal living.

I had come to know Rajkumari Amrit Kaur in the earlier days when she was inspiring the women to help raise their status. Undoubtedly, she played a very prominent part in arousing women and in fact provoking them to participate actively in the women's cause. This she continued to do as a part and parcel of the national cause when she joined Bapu at the Wardha Áshram. She was soon to be known as a right hand man of Gandhiji in many ways and was working as one of his

Secretaries. She had to experience the horrors of jail life under very strenuous circumstances but she stood it uncomplainingly.

When freedom came at last she along with Hansa Mehta became a prominent member of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly under the guidance of Dr. Ambedkar who was its Chairman. During those days, the fourteen women who were members of the Constituent Assembly met very often together and it was under her guidance that we were able to put up a united and concrete stand in regard to women's rights. I remember how disappointed the women were as also Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman, when it was finally decided that the uniform civil code for the citizens should be placed in the Directive Principles of State Policy under Part IV. This was done because unlike the Criminal Procedure Code which had already been drawn up in detail during the British times, the civil code had to be drawn up adequately to cover all citizens. Dr. Ambedkar himself said that it would take almost one year before it could be completed for inclusion in the Constitution. The leaders, particularly late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, were anxious that the Constitution should be completed in the record time of two years and finally on 26 November 1949, the Constitution was adopted.

However, the tragedy that occurred was that there was a difference amongst the Hindi speaking translators of the Constitution and so it took at least three more months and late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in spite of his disappointment reconciled himself to the view that it would be best to announce it on the day of 26 January 1950 and call it Republic Day as it was on that day years back that the Congress had passed the resolution on complete independence.

A part from the uniform civil code for citizens, even such matters of utmost gravity and importance as the provisions for a free and compulsory education for children and equal justice and free legal aid and other important subjects were relegated to the Directive Principles of State Policy. Had we waited for another 6 or 8 months, the position might have been very different. For, to-day after 44 years of independence, the Directive Principles of State Policy are yet to be translated into reality.

To get back to those times when Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Hansa Mehta and all the women who were then members of the Constituent Assembly and a very large number of men were extremely disappointed that vital matters had been left out of the Fundamental Rights. In the third reading of the Bill Shri T.T. Krishnamachari aptly remarked that the Directive Principles of State Policy are "dustbin of our sentiment" and how true it was, we realize too well today.

On 15 August, 1947 Rajkumari Amrit Kaur beame the first woman Minister in the Cabinet of Independent India. She was assigned the portfolio of Health. At her request Dr. Jivraj Mehta, the well-known physician, took up the job of Secretary to the Health Ministry and gave up his other work. He was the husband of Hansa Mehta. Rajkumari knew him very well and could trust him. She set herself very seriously to her assignment with the help of Dr. Mehta. However, it must be pointed out that the Health Ministry of those days was not widespread in its activities. With the help of Dr. Mehta and other colleagues, Rajkumari set herself to the formidable task of expanding the work of the Health Ministry and striving to help the Health Department of the State Government. Under the very restricted rules and conditions that obtained then, it was truly complicated and difficult task to do and the odds against it were formidable. Rajkumari made a determined effort and, in consequence, some of those under her who had a soft job hitherto became very difficult to activise. But Gandhiji's Secretary was not easy to contend with and was able to gradually bring in an entire change of outlook. It cost her heavily even in friendships with those who had a soft and easy living in the past in that Ministry. In spite of her heavy work in the Ministry, she kept up with us and very often she would ask me to come and have quick lunches or dinners with her. Her brother, Maharaj Singh and others were often present and demonstrated with her for not looking after herself at all. She kept a good home but there was no ostentation and extravagance. She felt responsible for me and others whom she had come to know in the All India Women's Conference. Late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to count a great deal on Rajkumariji's help and she gave him unstinted support. At Panditji's insistence, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was sent to represent India at the Untied Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In those days, Ministers or even the Prime Minister, rarely went as the head of a delegation to international bodies. But Panditji felt that Amrit Kaur would be a very suitable person at the UNESCO and this turned out to be more than true. She became extremely popular and her speeches at the UNESCO not only brought a great honour to India in general but also to Indian women in particular. She invariably utilized her opportunities when abroad to speak about the All India Women's Conference with which she had so much to do. She maintained a close association with it; however busy she was. I have repeated elsewhere and say again that in some countries other than the United States of America (U.S.A.) more than one illustrious person had said that "Rajkumari was the AIWC and the AIWC was her." It was true that during her time as an office-bearer the AIWC was first given the stature of an international organization allied to the United Nations.

What was Rajkumari's contribution to Parliament? It may well be asked. I have already mentioned about her contribution to the Con-

stituent Assembly and about her devoted work in the Health Ministry which she held as a Cabinet Minister. Apart from this, her speeches in Parliament were hailed from all sides. In fact, jealousy arose in the opposition benches because so many opposition leaders wanted to hear her speak and not pay much attention to women on their own side.

I have written about Amrit Kaur elsewhere on more than one occasion. It is for us who knew her personally, to help the younger generation to understand and appreciate the values for which Rajumari Amrit Kaur stood. The remarkable change in her mode of living without any feeling of sacrifice and working closely with Gandhiji gave her an inner satisfaction. It has been said of Gandhiji that he made heroes out of 'men of clay'. Here is an example of a heroine for which Gandhiji gets credit.

There is no doubt that Amrit Kaur of aristocratic lineage having lived in the lap of luxury—a princess in her own right—gave it all up in a twinkling of an eye when she became a true and ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi. Invariably she went out of her way to be kind and considerate. She was extremely straight-forward and could not be taken in by any semblance of flattery. She had a gift in her love of natural beauty and flowers. When I went to Wardha, I used to stay with Rajkumari in her room. On one occasion when I went from *Santiniketan*, Gandhiji suddenly asked me, "As you have come straight from meeting of the *Karma Samity* from Gurudev's *Santiniketan*, what do you think we lack that they have in full measure." I replied diffidently by saying: Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has flower pots and a tree outside her room. Perhaps if this could be extended to this Ashram, the fragrance and the feeling that nature is all around us would help. To my great embarrassment, during the evening meal Gandhiji came in and told all the inmates that Renuka feels that if we could tend more flowers, then Wardha could be able to take on some semblance of the beautiful surroundings of Gurudev's *Santiniketan*. I remember feeling terribly embarrassed but he tapped my shoulder and said, "you need not be embarrassed."

I think some of us should emulate what Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has done for the love of nature's beauty. It should be engrained in one's mind and Rajkumariji certainly has set us a good example. Persons of her calibre are outstanding examples to the future generation in India, of how to overcome the problems that face us to-day and without any feeling of sacrifice, help to restore India under the Gandhian technique to the glory that is rightly hers. We have to retrace our steps during the recent years so that we can rebuild the India that was the dream of those who sacrificed and worked for her regeneration.

27

The Status Of Women—Theory And Practice

Roda Mistry

By any name, she may be known, she gets married, goes to her 'new home', leaving fond parents behind, with fresh hopes and aspirations of love and affection from the one who held her by the hand and pledged lifelong companionship in solemn presence of the sacred fire, the priest or whatever the custom may be in the society of her birth.

First reception on entry is that of welcome, warm and loving; women of the household come and greet her; both men and women celebrate the coming in of the new member of the family and for a few days, the newly weds are inseparable parts of a blossoming plant.

Days pass and at times even months or years go by. There is another engagement in wedlock in the neighbourhood. The boy and the girl return from the bride's house with a cartload of gifts and there is much song of the booty brought in by the girl to 'her new home'. 'We got nothing compared to this' is now the watchword in the adjoining family where the daughter-in-law was welcomed as the *'Grihalakshmi'* only some time ago. Now the *'Grihalakshmi'* becomes an eyesore, a burden inherited from a family of paupers or misers and time and again she is reminded that her parents have 'robbed and even cheated' the 'in-laws' who recall some earlier imaginary offers of rich dowry. In course of time, for the husband the 'better-half' turns into 'a cast-away person' and a conspiracy begins to get rid of her to bring in a 'proper replacement' with adequate 'booty'. The law comes in the way but who cares for it. There are so many ways to get out of it. If the woman herself leaves the house, what can we do to stop her, say some of those waiting for her exit. Or it is not dificult to cook up

some other charge. It can be alleged that eversince the girl came, she has been secretly meeting another man or any other story would be developed to first 'correct' her by beating and scolding, burdening her with all the household chores and ultimately she is turned out on the road as she cannot be kept as a disgrace to the family. Not all such 'women in distress' would be welcome back with their parents and those who have no shelter may be attracted with promises of a job or an alternative and lured into the net till they find themselves the victims of the lust of man. Cases of such 'rape on society and not on individual women alone, have been taking place in villages and cities of India in large numbers but of late they have increasingly come to light with the growth of public opinion in some enlightened circles. But even now, most of them might remain unknown as the woman subjected to such atrocities undergoes immense feelings of torture psychologically, physically and socially. After the crisis of physical assault, her dignity is wounded and sense of security endangered and she begins to doubt her own individuality, starts to shun the society and facing the bitter experience of publicity she keeps her plight to herself. Before long, she is treated by the so-called guardians of morality as a 'social outcaste'.

For thousands of such 'thrown away *Grihalakshmis*', the Constitution guarantees of equal rights and opportunities and statutory protection sound meaningless. One needs resources and that too in adequate measure to enjoy the fruits of such guarantees and if they had these resources at their disposal, they would not have been braving the ordeal that has fallen to their lot.

So the remedy lies somewhere else as the constitutional and legal guarantees have failed to check the man's lust of easy wealth and flesh.

While thousands of women suffer the pains of the 'dowry evil' and 'sexual assaults' in this ugly fashion, it is also true that in our society today, thousands of others are marching on as equal partners in the political, economic and cultural life of the Indian society. The fruits and education and enlightenment are there but there have been greatly restricted to limited number. Even though it runs into thousands and these facilities are not availed of by the common womanhood obstructed by the virus of obsolete custom promoting the greed of mankind and temptation to get rich overnight at someone else's cost. And there lies the root of the 'dowry' demanded and expected as a 'right' and subsequent diasters that befall a 'poor woman'. All the social awakening, legislation and campaigns by women's organisations have, no doubt, aroused opinion against the atrocities on women but, in practice, this remained a lip sympathy with the cause

of women. At the time of marriage, an average family continues to be haunted by the nightmare of buying a suitable match for the daughter.

It is but natural for the girl's parents to look for a 'proper match' in arranged marriages. So far, marriage continues to be the final stage of settlement in life for a girl notwithstanding the high education and her professional attainments. The public view remains that until the daughter is married off she is not settled in life as such.

The concept of dowry has widened over the period of time. May be, in some cases a straight demand for cash is not made but the girl's side is expected to perform the prescribed rites in such manner that they transfer, a sizeable amount of cash to the bridegroom's family besides a panorama of costly gifts, TV sets, radios, utensils, clothes, decoration and other pieces. At time, even a car or a scooter is demanded according to the money value of the boy. In several sections of the community there are prevalent prices of the grooms. At times one hears saying that a bank clerk costs thirty thousand rupees, an officer fifty thousand and an IAS, engineer or doctor, may cost anywhere up to a lakh of rupees.

This is besides the high education given to the girl by the parents and her own professional placing. At the time of marriage it is immaterial; only the boy's status income and the family matters.

Naturally, the parents of girls would try to look for a well-placed bridegroom hoping to secure for their daughter a comfortable future and respect for themselves and the girl. Dowry has come to be the price for this exhorted by any available means. Since the law would not cover gifts said to have been willingly presented by members of the bride's family, they would not constitute dowry as such but who does not know that they cast an unbearable burden on the girl's father and mother. And with the ball set in motion, the more you give, the more they expect. It is this insidious thread of dowry giving and taking involving a woman's person that has woven itself into the whole fabric of the society in India which does not end after the ceremony but continues even after. Even the tribal societies have come under its influence. At a time when more advanced societies are laying stress on human relationship as a foundation for marriage, our society is sinking deep into outdated institutionalised modes of exploitation which introduce an element of commercial relationship between the kinsfolk of the young couple ultimately creating a wedge between the two partners themselves leading to disharmony and torture in many cases coming to light now.

The story of dowry or whatever is given in its name and garb, is thus a tale of men and women striving against heavier and heavier odds to keep their self-respect in a relentlessly apathetic society where the price sought is higher in money values than life itself.

And what is needed to correct the situation is not a mere platform campaign but practical leadership in the field of simple marriages based on respect for human values and not money. At the same time, a boycot and exposure to law of those indulging in such money hunting and sub-segment atrocities on woman has to be mounted in a massive manner to restore to the Indian woman, her assigned status of '*Grihalakshmi*' 'the man's better half.'

On the legal side, amendments in Laws regarding Indian Penal Code and Guardianship Act are urgently required to help the women socially and physically. As we hear much about rape and assault on the modesty of women, the law should protect the women against being summoned to police stations for evidence and procedure to be followed in criminal trials. There should be a are-look and re-thinking on the law of rape and allied offences.

Eversince the Hindu Succession Act came into force placing men and women on an equal footing in the matter of inheritance of property, the dowry system has come in the way of such inheritance. The property is alienated or sold out by the bride's parents and amount so recovered is given as dowry. The Act is rarely followed.

The women in general do not know the rules or laws. An awareness is to be created in the society at all levels. The women should know about her rights. The parents are unable to help the married woman in distress. The State cannot come directly to her rescue. Who will do this part of humanitarian work and rescue the distressed women? Our beloved Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Grandhi had then organised the Legal Cell for Women under A.I.C.C. at all Indian State P.C.C. levels to help such women in distress.

28

From Performing Arts To Parliament

Vyjayantimala Bali

Dedication and discipline have been the two "*Mool Mantra*" (basic tenets) of my passage from the arana of arts to Parliament. About dedication, Shrimati Indira Gandhi my beloved leader and a great woman the world has ever seen, once said: "*Dedication of truth and toil is the bedrock of respect, progress and prosperity.*" My firm belief and conviction to this trait of dedication, very much discernible from an undeniable ingenuity, manifested itself in my early life when during an European tour with my parents at the age of five, I danced before the Pope and earned his benediction. As regards "discipline," Chapter 14 of Kural* says : "*Discipline of life is more precious than life itself, for it is out of that discipline that life derives value.*" In fact, discipline has been a watchword in my life. I somehow have a desire to discipline the existing state of affairs and a firm determination to shape it nearer to my heart's desire for perfection.

I was born in South India and hail from an orthodox family—a family of distinguished scholars and one that has patronized tradition and classical arts. My early life encompassed around our rich cultural heritage.

As An Artist

I distinguished myself both in studies and cultural activities. My passionate devotion to dance led me to take a rigorous training under

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* The great book of Tiruvalluvar by C. Rajagopalachari.

distinguished *Gurus* of the purest classical styles. At the age of thirteen I had my *Arangetram* (dance debut), later which I never looked backed and gave numerous performances at various places. I have always tried to combine the great Indian traditions with a touch of my own individual creativity. I have tried in my own way to make some valuable contribution to this ancient art—form with an artistic interpretation of the tenets of *Bharatanatyam*. I have had the honour of being invited to perform before many dignitaries, like President Radhakrishnan, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, H.R.H. Duke of Edinburgh, President Eisenhower and for many other national and international organizations. I was the first dancer to give a *Bharatanatyam* recital at the United Nations' 20th anniversary celebrations on the Human Rights Day in 1969, in its General Assembly Hall. I was overwhelmed with the standing ovation I received. Wherever I have performed I have been adulated for bringing glory to my motherland.

Even today I am contributing my best to this great art of *Bharatanatyam*. My passion for this rich, classical art form has found expression in *Natyalaya*, an academy of classical *Bharatanatyam* and music. Students from all over the world have converged to this institution for training in the classical dance and music.

I have also given expression to my creativity by choreographing a number of ballets such as—*Andal Thirupavai*, Gurudev Tagore's *Chandalika*, *Kavi Kunjara*, *Bharathi's*, *Azhagar Kuravanji*, *Sant Sakhu*, *Ekta*—a multi-dimensional ballet which depicts the growth of the National Freedom Movement and *Om Santih Santih Santih* which conveys a message of universal peace.

A series of L.P. records of dance, music along with hand-written instructions, which enable learners to practise and perform this great art, with self-effort even without a teacher, has also been brought out by me. In order to keep alive the past, I have been involved in deep and dedicated research work through the old, and forgotten temple dances like—*Nava Sandhi*, *Melaprapti*, *Thodaya Mangalam*, *Prabhandams* and *Thayams* and so on.

In recognition of my contribution to the tradition of classical dance, various honours have been conferred upon me. Such as *Nritya Siromani*, *Natyakala Sikamani*, *Nritya Nirupama Visharde*. In 1968, the title of *Padma Shri* was conferred on me by the President of India. The Government of Tamil Nadu honoured me with the State *Artist Award* in 1979. I am also a recipient of the *Sangeet Natak Academy Award* in 1982. Besides the Press in India and abroad has also acclaimed my contribution to the world of dance.

The celluloid world drew me into the fold of movies. My very first film in Tamil "*Vazhkai*" followed by "*Bahar*" in Hindi, took the cinegoers by storm. I received national and international recognition. I have played the most covetous and leading roles in a series of popular Hindi films.

Political Life

My joining of politics from the arena of arts was at the instance of Indiraji. During one of my dance performance in Tamil Nadu, my husband, Dr. Bali and I met several people. They were of the opinion that Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, who was very much loved and admired by these people, was not doing enough under the 20-Point Programme for ameliorating the conditions of the poor in Tamil Nadu. The funds allotted by the Centre for their upliftment were not sufficient. Both of us were, however, convinced that this was not true, and the people of Tamil Nadu should realise that Shrimati Gandhi loved and cared for them, especially the women and children.

Later, when we went to Delhi for a dance perfomance, we also called on Shrimati Gandhi. We opened our heart and mind to her and offered to join the Congress (I) Party and serve the cause of propagating the 20-Point Programme. In her charismatic way, she nodded with a smile and gave us the green signal. We returned to Madras and joined the party with full vigour and enthusiasm. Ever since that day, we worked in the true spirit of the disciplined soldiers of our leader. In the death of both Indiraji and later Rajivji, the nation, no doubt, has lost two brave leaders. But their vision of dedication and discipline still enlivens and enlightens us.

Before Indiraji and Rajivji, I was also very much influenced by the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. Way back, in 1942, along with my grandmother and parents, for the first time, I had the *Darshan* of Mahatma Gandhi, when he came to Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras. I am still nostalgic about those priceless moments which I would always treasure how he blessed me when I did *Pranam*, he patted me on my shoulder and made me sit next to him and the look on his face was so serene and gentle.

I formally joined the Congress (I) Party in 1982. My husband and I visited every nook and corner of our State—Tamil Nadu. We went to the remotest hamlet in the fartherest village of the State. Wherever we went, people reached out to us and narrated their problems. I talked of our beloved leader and her commitment to serve the people. We

could see the joy and gleam in their eyes. Their faith in Indiraji, is still vivid in my memory.

I still remember the affection Indiraji showered on us. On hearing of the sudden demise of her son, Shri Sanjay Gandhiji, my husband and I rushed from Madras to Delhi. We were in a state of shock when we reached 12, Willindon Crescent. Indiraji, in spite of her utmost grief, held my hands in affection. I was so touched by this gesture of her that I could not control my tears. I can never forget the solace that I got from her. After a few minutes, as we were leaving with a heavy heart, Indiraji asked us to go inside and have a cup of tea. She had, perhaps, perceived our grieving state of mind and also the fact that we had undertaken a very long journey. It was almost a mother-like anxiety in her. This is an incident which I will never forget and I shall always cherish it in my heart. Such was the greatness of Indiraji whom we fondly remember every moment, for the many milestones that this nation traversed during her Prime Ministership.

Once Rajiviji, the then Prime Minister, was visiting Madras on his way back from the flood-ravaged areas of Andhra Pradesh. My husband and I were at the Raj Bhawan to pay our respects to him. When I greeted him, he took me aside and inquired if I was willing to contest the forthcoming Eighth Lok Sabha elections. For a moment, I was really taken by surprise and then I have my consent.

As the election fever started, I took the name of God and immediately got busy in the tireless campaigning in my constituency—Madras (South). My approach was simple, full of sincerity and honesty. Over and above, there was the triumphant hand of Indiraji. What a mandate people showered on Rajivji! And, this is how I entered the Parliament in 1984.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi once said: "Only deep sensitivity, minute observation and a feeling of involvement can help one to perceive the subtle and changing nuances in people and situations." To me, politics became a mean to serve my brothers and sisters and redeem them from slipping into the abyss of destructive forces threatening to annihilate our social fabric and the great Indian culture. As a member of Parliament, I always plunged into the debates on burning issues and yearned to become a veritable crusader on the war-path for eradicating social evils and championing the cause of the weaker sections of society.

Ever since I entered the Eighth Lok Sabha, way back in 1984, I earnestly endeavoured to fight for the cause of performing artists, women and downtrodden sections of the society. Highlighting the need to give due recognition to the 'Association of Bharatanatyam

Artist' (ABHAY) and 'concessions to the artists in rail-fare and air fare', I stated my feelings in the following words:

> "The performing arts are being given a lot of importance and the Government of India is promoting the culture and arts through various incentives and other activities like the Festivals of India. But the artists are not being given their rightful recognition and the facilities given to them are negligible. They need better treatment and respect as professionals also. In this connection I would like to draw the attention of the House that the Association of Bharatanatyam Artists have requested the Government for their recognition since the main object of this Association is to look after the welfare activities of these artists. The idea was that if this Association is recognized then it could recommend to the Government the eligible artists for various concessions in Railways. Also the demand of the Association was that the artists should be given concessions on the 1st class railways and air journeys. I request the Government to consider these requests favourably."

I had seen in my constituency how people suffered as they had to support large families. Immediately thereafter, I raised this matter on the floor of the House and stated:

> "Education on family planning particularly to our youth is essential today. Almost every body in the world rightly feels that we have made tremendous progress in our economic as well as political fields. We have almost brought a social upheaval in our country but much remains to be done. The problem becomes more acute because the fruits of our economic achievements have not gone over to our teeming millions. The main reason, I feel, is that we have produced too many mouths to feed. There is the need for family planning.
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> "In this field of checking the growth of too many mouths, we have been working and progressing. But the crux of the matter remains that the 'motivation' part of the family planning programme needs to be immediately revampted. One such method in this direction would be to educate our youth, the 'eligible' couples and even the grown up children in the open fields as well as in our schools/colleges, etc. I understand that this matter is receiving due attention of our policy makers. What I would emphasize is that this 'aspect' of the programme which is the need of the hour has to be given due weightage in our policy making programmes towards making successful the family planning programme in our country."

In 1988, I drew the attention of Government of India to the need to resolve the 'Cauvery Water Dispute between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu'. If the Government of India had taken a serious note of the situation then, perhaps, a lot of unwanted destruction of property and human life could have been prevented. In my speech on 'General Budget (1985-86) on March 25, 1985' I *inter-alia* stated:

> "With regard to the problem of water scarcity, I would like to appeal to the Centre to bring the Himalayan water to the length and breadth of the country by joining the rivers from the North to the rest of India. This can only be possible by linking the rivers and letting their waters flow through canals to all the States of the country."

I strongly believe that the rivers should be nationalised.

Similarly, I always tried to raise the issues relating to abuse of drugs, spurious drugs and life-saving drugs through parliamentary questions and other available procedural devices.

Some of the other issues I raised on the floor of the House were relating to women welfare, reservation of jobs, family planning, water supply to Madras city, help to cultural artists, eradication of mosquito menace, Sri Lankan-Tamil issue, and Second Channel of T.V. at Madras. In the social field, I have supported issues of much importance like new airport at Madras, domestic and international terminals, opening of *Tirusoolam*—new railway station, creation of Madras export promotion zone, construction of St. Thomas Mount and Pavazanthangal sub-way, MGR Nagar storm water drains scheme, mass rapid transit system, cleaning and desilting Parthasarathy temple tank, providing civic amenities to various slums, providing several new bus routes, opening new Aavin milk booths, opening new Post offices, securing financial aid from PM's relief fund for heart surgery to more than 100 people, road improvements in Alandur and Tambaram constituencies.

During the period 1984—1991, as a member of the Eighth and the Ninth Lok Sabha, I missed no opportunity of raising any issue which concerned the common man, the down-trodden and other weaker sections of the society.

As A Social Worker

In the realm of social service, I have tried to put forward the best of my efforts. Persently, I concentrate whole-heartedly on Dr. Bali Pharma Foundation (B.P.F.) — a charitable institution which was

started in 1986 with the mission of "Save a life, for life is precious." B.P.F., a boon to the ailing masses, is a memorial to my husband, Dr. Bali whose vision and deep concern for the poor and suffering, inspired me to establish the Foundation. An excellent team of renowned physicians and specialists came forward to work collectively and effectively in the cause of serving the sick and suffering masses. It gives me much happiness to see it emerge as a veritable trail-blazer in the promotion of his message "Health for all" in our country. Its thrust in procuring and supplying life-saving drugs during emergencies and traumatic conditions has given a new lease of life to the helpless suffering humanity in hopeless situations in our village and cities. I would like to conclude by saying that I will always serve the poor masses of our country to the best of my ability while continuing my efforts to keep the sanctity and purity of *Bharatanatyam* alive.

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Rajkumari Amrit Kaur

Shiva Prasad Gupta

In India, women have always been imbued with patriotism. They have encouraged their fathers and sons to sacrifice themselves for the country. Not only this, they themselves fought when such an occasion arose. In the freedom struggle also Indian women stood shoulder to shoulder with men and actively participated in the struggle. One of them was Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. She left all comforts of the royal family and pledged to remain unmarried throughout her life. She dedicated herself for the cause of the nation. Lucknow city has the privilege of being the birth place of this patriot, social worker and dexterous politician. She was born there on 2 February, 1889. Rajkumari was the princess of Kapurthala State in Punjab. Being a princess and the only sister of seven brothers, she was brought up with great luxury and comforts. Amrit Kaur's father, Raja Harnam Singh was from a rich Singh family but he was very much worried about the plight of women in Punjab. *'Purdah'* system was strictly adhered to by women at that time and whenever they were required to go out, they had to cover themselves fully with clothes. No woman was allowed to remain unmarried. Their place of work was confined only within four-walls of the house.

At that time, christianity spread in Punjab. Raja Harnam Singh, probably, with a view to keeping his daughter away from all such problems, adopted christianity. He got Rajkumari Amrit Kaur educated like boys. Rajkumariji was educated at Sharborne school, Dorsetshire and London. She was more interested in games and sports than in education. She spent most of her time in sports. She was a good tennis player. She won many competitions. Being educated in England, she spent her youth time under the influence of western civilization. She minutely studied the conditions of that country and

judged the merits and demerits of that society. She then returned to India.

The influence of western civilization on Rajkumari Amrit Kaur made her vigilant and efficient like the women of those countries. As a result, she devoted most of her time for the upliftment of women and the downtrodden in the Indian society. She wanted to make Indian students as much proficient and well-versed as were the students of England. For this purpose, she encouraged games and sports in India and organised many competitions. She was of the view that games and sports were necessary for keeping good health and that they helped youths in boosting up their morale and endurance.

As already mentioned Rajkumariji's father had adopted christianity. As a result he was made manager of Awadh State, which was bigger than the Kapurthala State. He was considered a devout Christian. Shri Gopalkrishna Gokhale was his close friend and used to live with him in his palace. After returning from England, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur came in Gokhale's contact, who was one of the great leaders of freedom movement and she began to share his work. On Gokhale's death she said, "The passionate desire in me to see India free from foreign rule was kindled by him." It was Gokhale through whom she was introduced to Mahatma Gandhi in the Bombay Congress Session in 1915. In course of time, she became a staunch follower of Gandhiji and remained his disciple and follower till her last breath.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur joined the Congress Party on the call of Mahatma Gandhi and actively participated in its activities. She started spinning yarn when a call was made to boycott foreign cloths and started using khadi-woven bedsheets and dusters. She used to distribute the yarn, which remained surplus after her use, to the poor people for making their indigenous clothing. She participated in the Salt Movement in 1930 and was arrested in Bombay. Thereafter, she led several processions as part of the Quit India Movement of 1942. Out of them, Shimla procession was of great importance in which heavy lathi charge took place and she was arrested in Kalka.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was more interested in the upliftment of society especially the upliftment of women. She could not forget her childhood memories of sad conditions of women. She, therefore, pledged to improve their conditions. She was elected Secretary to the All India Women's Conference in 1930. She remained President of Women's Federation from 1931 to 1933. She made fruitful efforts to get the voting right to women.

In 1936, at the age of 47, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur became a member of Mahatma Gandhi Seva Ashram. There she felt that education

was essential for the attainment of freedom and upliftment of society. In her speech at a session of the Indian National Congress, she said that every man and woman should spend few hours every week in making literate the poor people of his or her vicinity; men must be given training of first-aid and sanitation, of reading and writing; while women must be trained in stitching, cooking, bringing up children and looking after house-hold affairs. She also laid emphasis on education of girls.

She was against the practice of child-marriage and polygamy. She took all these activities as a part of Sewa Gram programme. No body could recognise her as a princess by her appearance. Like an ordinary women she used to touch the feet of Gandhiji and lead a simple Ashramite life.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was the Secretary of Mahatma Gandhi for English language. She worked in this capacity for 16 years. She possessed all the attributes of an efficient and able Secretary. She was an expert in English correspondence. She dealt with efficiently and expeditiously and also with patience the work of compiling various articles, notes, editorials, etc., written by Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Desai and Shri Pyare Lal every week.

In 1938, she was selected as the Chairman of the All India Women's Federation. She was the first woman to become the member of Consultative Board of Education. But due to some reasons, she resigned from the post in 1942. She was also the member of Hindustani Talimi Sangh. She also took part as an Indian representative in the meetings of UNESCO in 1954 and 1955.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was a member of the Constituent Assembly alongwith my father, late Shri Ramchander Gupta. Thereafter, she was a member of the Provisional Parliament and the First Lok Sabha. Meanwhile she took over the charge as the first Health Minister of India. She paid special attention towards educational and health facilities during her tenure as Minister. She established schools for boys and girls and opened Health Centres in remote villages and also encouraged doctors to serve in remote areas. After having attained the age of 75 years, she passed away on 6 February, 1964.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was a true follower of non-violence and a true patriot. She proved herself to be an efficient woman administrator and a politician. Her name will go down in the history of India. She will always be remembered particularly for her deeds aimed at removing people's persecution in social life.

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DURGABAI DESHMUKH: A CRUSADER OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

Larrdis

Smt. Durga Bai Deshmukh belonged to an era in which women's participation in the political and social processes was still a far cry. But notwithstanding the societal miliue, she could stand up in the crowd of men. It was indeed an uphill task to swim against the current. But she worked with a missionary zeal for the uplift of women and other social issues. She was one of the few women of modern India who held the beacon light of women's participation in our resurgent nationalism. She could galvanise the subaltern fores of women's participation in our endeavour of national building.

Durgabai Deshmukh was a member of the Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament during 1946–52. She always proved her worth as an eloquent speaker and a brilliant parliamentarian. Her political acumen and intellectual abilities were often reflected in all the social and political deliberations she had participated. She built up a very coherent and structured through-process in response to the demand for social and political radicalizations to meet the challenges of the time. In her illustrious and oceanic personality we can discern a beautiful mix of political pragmatism and social realism. She preferred radicalism too, but not at the cost of societal equilibrium. Under such an extraordinary intellectual paradigm coupled with political sagacity and farsightedness, she raised her voice in all debating fora, be it in the legislature or outside for ensuring justice and equality to the hitherto socio-economically denigraded sections of society and the downtrodden. Her powerful appeal to reason and conscience and strong espousal of social cause always created an indeliable imprit on the member of Parliament.

Durgabai was known for her political vision and total grasp of the social reality. She wanted to rebuild India and give a new shape so that peace and tranquillity ushered in an otherwise socially and morally decadent society. She could read the pulses of the Indian masses and their aspirations and always fought to alleviate their miseries and agonies whenever she had the opportunity to deliberate upon these. She was one who raised her voice against social evils and superstitions which were eating into the very vitals of Indian society and always contended the universalistic and humanistic appeal of religion. She said that any misrepresentation of facts was bound to bring grave error of judgement and more particularly quoting the scriptures and holy books under falsity and bogus generalizations was bound to create social cleavages and permanent and perpetual persistence of social and moral maliee causing irreparable damage to the very fabric of Indian society. She fought against the practice of *Devdasis* in the name of religion and also wanted to eliminate the age-old practice of traffic in human beings. Participating in the Constitutent Assembly Debates, she obsered:

> "Sir, if any province has suffered from this bad practice of dedicating of *devdasis* in the name of religion, it is the province of Madras. The worst form of this custom existed in Madras for a long time. I do not know whether this custom of dedication exists in any other province in any form. But we all know that in several ways this was practised".*

She was a relentless fighter for the cause of the untouchables and the shudras. Indian society has been hierachically structured along *Varna-ashram-Dharma* and the *mleccha* (Advivia) or *shudras* have been treated with contempt and the upper caste Brahmins often looked down upon them: they even went to the extent of irrationally maintaining that even the shadow and proximity of the shudras would make them unholy and in order to purify themselves they had to undergo the rituals of penance. Such were the irrational and unscientific thoughts prevalent in pre-independent colonial India. Such seclusion of one class of Hindu from the other, Durgabai opined, was a crime against humanity and all canons of civility. Thus, in the Constitutent Assembly debate she pleaded for their case so that no one was deprived of his opportunity on the basis of religiosity. She said:

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* Constitutent Assembly Debate. Vol. VII. 1948-49, p. 808.

"...With regard to the Hindu religious institutions of a public character. we are all aware that there are various classes of these institutions. such as temples. religious maths. and educational institutions or Pathsalas conducted by these institutions. or attached to these institutions. So far as temples are concerned. I am sure that all of us are aware that alomost all of the provinces. including some states. have already passed law throwing open temples to all sections of classes or sections of Hindus. But I am equally sure that some distinction does still exist in regard to the other forms of relgiious institutions. such as *pathasalas*. educational institutions and others managed or conducted by these religious institutions.... My object is to enlarge the scope of this clause. and to include within it all classes and sections of Hindus. If my amendment is accepted. then the object will be fulfilled. As I have already explained. there should not be any distinction between one class and another class of Hindus."[2]

Durgabai was a great social democrat and had profound faith in the justice and fairplay of judiciary. She was the champion of Human Rights and expressed the view that if adequate legilations were enacted much of the socio-economic ills of the Indian society could be wiped out. She always stood for the transformation of society in gradual and phased manner. Much of the social and political reforms needed for Indian society. are possible only if legislators and protectors of justice behave scrupulously rising above partisan-strife. It would not be an exaggeration to say that she adorned political democracy as the prerequisite for the actual realization of economic democracy. To her, Fundamental Rights were the quintessence of political democracy, but she warned "a right without an expeditious and effective remedy serves no purpose at all, nor is it worth the paper on which it is written." To her, incorporation of Fundamental Rights in the statute book will not serve any meanigful purpose unless it is actually implemented. She laid emphasis on the mutual trust and harmonious relationship between the two pillars of democracy, *i.e.* the legislature and judiciary and drew attention of the Hon'ble Members in the Constitutent Assembly to draw lessons and experiences from the democratic and constitutional functioning of Great Britain. She made the following observations in the Constitutent Assembly Debate:

2.CAD, Vol. VII, 1948-49, p. 829

> "... There, all of us are aware, and the Drafting Committee is quite alive to the fact that, in recent times in England the procedure under ancient writs had been considerably modified and a simple remedy by a petition has been substituted for writs in recent enactment in England. Perhaps that is the reason why the Drafting Committee has put in this article directions or orders in the nature of writs of *habeas corpus*, etc. "*

She was clear in her mind that law should be simplified so that the benefits of law could reach the victims of exploitation; otherwise legal niceties and judicial procrastination will inhibit any progressive legislation.

She was a social and economic thinker and always exhorted for evolving a uniform national policy and her focus of attention was upliftment of the rural masses. If Indian policy-makers are starved of clear-cut social and economic philosophy, it will be extremely difficult for them to adopt uniform national policy. She was in favour of taking into account both long-term and short-term objectives in mind while setting goals for national development and social mobility in a positive and meaningful directions. She believed that restructuring of Indian society and its overall development depended on the degree of economic development and the intensity of industrialisation. But at the same time, she was of the view that 'achieving progressive economic development in terms of growth of average percapita income only is not enough', because "...it may not reveal the large disparities of income and the continuing distress among the poor sections of the people." The levels of living have various componenets like education, health, nutrition, etc. and each of them has separate indicators. We must measure progress, not only in terms of monetary index but supported and supplemented by indicators in the form of social and cultural analysis. In the ultimate analysis, she believed in the simultaneous development of both the economic and social fields and the proper interaction between the two domains.

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* CAD, Vol. VII, 1948-49, p. 937.

31

Sarojini Naidu – The Nightingale Of India

—LARRDIS

Sarojini Naidu belongs to that rare band of eminent Indians who were in the forefront of India's freedom struggle and whose outstanding contributions won independence for the country. She was one who combined in herself a rare contribution of exceptionally gifted talents. She had a vision of the fututre, but her idealism never lost touch with the reality and she always strived hard to translate her remarkable and innovative ideas always into practice. She was bestowed with a cosmopolitan and humanistic outlook. Not surprisingly, Sarojini Naidu has become one of the most admired figures of modern India.

Sarjohini Naidu rose to fame, first with her poetic acumen and consummation in the literary field. Especially her poems *'The Golden Threshold* (1905)', *'The Bird of Time* (1912), and *'The Broken Wings* (1917)' took the literary world by surprise for its melody as well for its touching depiction of the theme. It was for Sarojini Naidu's variety of theme, range of feeling, metaphor and similes, a person no other than Mahatma Gandhi called her the "Nightingale of India" (*Bharat Kokila*). Even today she remains unsurpassed among the Indo-Anglian poets.

Largely owing to Gopal Krishna Gokhale's persuasion in 1902 Sarojini Naidu stepped out of the ivory tower of poetic imagination and dedicated herself to the service of her motherland.

Her involvement in national affairs began as early as 1903 when she attended the Bombay Session of the Indian National Congress and read out a patriotic poem entitled "To India". And she entered into the vortex of the freedom struggle immediately after the publica-

tion of the last collection of her poems in 1917. During the next 32 years of her life, Sarojini did not write any substantial poetry. The poet in her gave place to the fiery patriot.

Role in the Social and Political Movements

Since 1906, Sarojini Naidu became actively involved herself in the women's movement for emancipation. In 1906, she addressed the Indian Social Conference in Calcutta on 'The Education of Indian Women'. This speech aroused a widespread interest all over in women's activities. On December 1908 Sarojini while attending the Session of the Indian National Social Conference held at Madras, moved a resolution regarding the amelioration of the conditions of the Hindu widows and their remarriage. Sarojini sponsored the Women's Indian Association to work for the freedom of mankind and the country. The Association offered a common platform for women to air their grievances and demand their rights.

In 1918, Sarojini moved resolution on women's franshise at the eighth session of the Bombay Provincial Council of Bijapur and, in 1931, while attending the Second Round Table Conference, she vigorously pleaded for women's rights. She was also instrumental in establishing the Lady Irwin College for women in Delhi in 1933.

Sarojini Naidu's political stature grew with the freedom movement and very soon she became a prominent leader of the Congress. In 1916, both the Congress and the Muslim League held their annual seesions at Lucknow. Sarojini addressed both these organisations. At the Congress Session, she moved the resolution on behalf of future mothers of India to demand that the birth right of their sons be given back to them. At the Muslim League Session, she spoke on the resolution of self government.

After 1916, while Gandhiji was travelling the length and breadth of India to have a first-hand knowledge of the plight of its toiling masses Sarojini took up along with Gandhiji the cause of India's workers who were cruelly exploited by the landlords in Champaran which was to culminate in Champaran Satyagraha—the first movement led by Mahatma Gandhi in India.

Sarojini had an intense desire for Hindu-Muslim Unity, a desire she shared with both her teachers: Gokhale and Gandhi. In one of her most forceful speeches on this subject made at a students meeting in 1917, she pertinently pointed out that Islam and Hinduism agreed on essentials *viz.*, truth, purity, service and "the worship of the

same transcendent spirit, no matter whether we call it 'Allah' or 'Parameshwara'.

In 1919, when the Government passed the Rowlatt Act, Mahatma Gandhi organised a passive resistance movement to protest against these respressive laws. Sarojini immediately joined him. She delivered speeches at Madras and Ahmedabad calling upon her compatriots to resist "this hideous nightmare".

As a protest against the Jallianwala Bagh incident in Amritsar where hundreds of unarmed people were shot dead by the orders of a British offcer and the humiliation and oppression that followed, Sarojini Naidu returned the Kaiser-e-Hind medal which the government had awarded to her in recognition of her work in the Ambulance Corps during the war. During the Khilafat movement in furtherance of the objective of promotion Hindu-Muslim unity, Sarojini Naidu went to London in 1919 and during her stay appealed to the Indians living in England to create a favourable image of their motherland.

Events moved quickly after Sarojini's return to India in July 1920. In August, Mahatma Gandhi formally started the Non-Co-operation Movement. Plunging into it, Sarojini addressed hundreds of meetings and exhorted people to boycott foreign goods, buy Gandhiji's books and to court arrest by defying prohibitory orders. On 4 October, 1921 she signed a manifesto issued by Mahatma Gandhi giving an outline of the objectives and methods of the non-violent movement.

In the Bombay strike of 17th November 1921 on the occasion of the arrival of the Prince of Wales, Sarojini Naidu worked tirelessly to keep the people away from indulging in violent activities and to remove the injured to the hospitals. Following her example, many other women joined the movement. When Mahatma Gandhi was being tried by the Ahmedabad court for sedition She termed the trial as a war between the laws of God and the laws of Caeser. To her, Mahatma Gandhi as the upholder of Dharma Sarojini stood firmly behind Gandhian principles during turbulence in the Congress Party and the resultant formatiom of Swarajya Party by Pandit Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das. And in the aftermath of developing a communal outlook by the Muslim League due to the guiles of the British regime dividing Muslims in to Nationalist and Muslim League camps, Sarojini played a positive role supporting the nationalist cause. Then in 1924, as a member of the AICC delegation, she toured East Africa and South Africa to preside over the convention of the Indian congress at East Africa and to convey a message of solidarity and support to the Indians in Durban, who were then groaning under the impact of the segregation laws of General Hartog from their Indian brethren. The

warm send-off given to her on her departure to India in May 1924 indicated her success in winning the hearts of Indians there.

Sarojini saw in Gandhiji not only the upholder of Dharma in the ancient tradition but also the first leader in modern India who really spoke for the common man, a leader who "approached the poor with the mind of the poor." This was the theme of many of her speeches during the months that followed Mahatma Gandhi's trial and imprisonment.

Congress Presidentship

In December 1925, Mahatma Gandhi, the outgoing President, handed over the charge of Presidentship of the Indian National Congress to Sarojini Naidu which was welcomed as "an honour to Indian womanhood". Her Presidential address at the Congress Session held in Kanpur in December 1925 in which she spoke extempore, held the audience spell-bound. Her address was one of courage and hope and a fervent plea for unity abolishing fear and despair. As Congress President, Sarojini devoted much of her time to party work. She also travelled extensively, especially in northern India.

In 1928, Sarojini Naidu sailed for the US and had a triumphant tour as Gandhiji's representative to countract the prejudicial effects caused by American author, Katherine *Mayo's* book "*Mother India*" which condemnd India in most vivicious and scurrilous terms. In 1929 she presided over the East Africa Indian Congress in Mombassa and also addressed gatherings of Indians all over South Africa.

On return to India, Sarojini Naidu participated in the first Round Table Conference convened by Lord Irwin alongwith Motilal Nehru, Jinnah, Gandhiji and Sardar Patel to discuss the demand for full dominion status.

From 1930 to 1947, the freedom struggle entered its final phase. This period was a turbulant one especially for peace-loving Sarojini Naidu. As she herself describes it, this period was "the last and most difficult stage of the journey, the back-breaking, exhausting, precipitous climb before reaching the top of the mountain."

The Salt Satyagraha in which Sarojini took a leading part, and her vigorous campaign for the full participation of women and youth in the public life were her outstanding achievements of this era. During this period too, Sarojini was the great peace maker. She organized a National Week in 1940, virtually managed the whole Congress campaign at this stage, took an active part in the demonstration against

the Cripps Mission to India and was jailed in 1942 for her participation in the Quit India Movement. Sarojini Naidu, as a member of the Congress High Commanad and as one of Mahatma Gandhi's closest friends, played an important part in this final chapter in the saga of India's struggle for freedom.

Asian Relations Conference

As the years rolled by, Sarojini moved from scene to scene. she was at the peak of her career when she was asked to preside over the Asian Relations Conference held in Delhi in March 1947, just six months before India attained the independence. She was now the chosen leader of Asia not of India only. Sarojini Naidu welcoming the delegates rightly hoped that "Asia shall not be a country of enimies" Asia shall be a country of fellowship of the world." In her welcome address as well as in the Presidential address, she brilliantly highlighted the need for a strong and peace-loving Asia.

As a Parliamentarian

Sarojini Naidu was a member of the Constituent Assembly ever since its inception on 9 December 1946. She participated in the House always adding charm and grandeur to the debates. Her participation, though rare indeed, always raised the standards of debates to such poetic heights that kept the members spell-bound. By her vivid imagination, indepth understanding, philosophical bent of mind and the profundity and originality of expression she could weave artistry and poetry into the debates. This could well be gauged from her very first speech at the Constituent Assembly on 11 December 1946, congratulating Dr. Rajendra Prasad on having been elected as the permanent Chairman. In her characteric elegance of style and diction punctuated with sonorous phrases; she said:

> "In this House where every one has said with conviction that he would be the guardian and the father of the House, I conceive him not as one with the flaming sword but an angel with the lily which wins victories over the hearts of men, because in him there is essential sweetness, that is part of his strength, there is essential wisdom, that is part of his experience, there is essential clarity of vision, creative imagination and creative faith that brings him very near the feet of Lord Buddha himself.

> ...Friends. I do not praise or commend Rajendra Prasad . I affirm that he is the symbol of India's destiny to-day. He will help us in framing that charter that restores to our Mother—our Mother still in fetters. –her rightful place as torchbearer of liberty. love. and peace.
>
> Standing in the immemorial house with its roof of snow and walls of sea. once again in the history of humanity she will rekindle her lamp of wisdom and inspiration to illuminate the world on its onward march to freedom. So. will she be justified of her children and the children be justified of her...."

No less significant was her understanding of Indian society. Her craving for freedom, dignity of the individual and the unity of the country reflected in all her speeches at the Constitutent Assembly. Her wish that these ideals be represented in the new constitution can be fully grasped from her speech on 11 December, 1946:

> "I hope those that call themselves the original masters of this land. the tribal people. will realise that there is no distinction of caste. creed. ancient or modern. status in this Constituent Assembly. I hope the smallest minority in this country will. whether represented politically. or I do not know by what other means they may be represented. I hope they will realise that they have a zealous. vigilant and loving guardian of their interests. who will not permit the more privileged to encroach by a hair's breadth on their birthright of equity and equal opportunity in this country. I hope also that the Princes of India. many of whom I count among my personal friends. who are so harried. so anxious. so uncertain or so afraid today. will realise constitution for the freedom and emancipation of every human being in India. whether Prince or peasant...."

In a similar vein on the Resolution of the National Flag on 22nd July 1947, she said:

> "We attain our own Flag. the Flag of Free India. Today we justify. we vindicate and we salute this Flag under which so many hundreds and thousands of us have fought and suffered. Men and women. old and young. princes and peasants. Hindus and Muslims. Sikhs. Jains Christians. Zorostrians. all of them have fought under this Flag...."
>
> "Today I ask one and all to honour this Flag. That wheel. what does it represent ? It represents the Dharma Chakra of Ashoka the magnificent who sent his message of peace and brotherhood all over the world. Did he not anticipate the modern ideal of

fellowship and brotherhood and cooperation? Does not that wheel stand as a symbol for every national interest and national activity? Does it not represent the Chakra of my ilustratious and beloved leader. Mahatma Gandhi and the wheel of time that marches and marches and marches without hesitation and without halt? Does it not represent the rays of the Sun? Does it not represent eternity? Does it not represent the human mind? Who shall live under that Flag without thinking of the common India? Who shall limit its functions? Who shall limit its inheritance? To whom does it belong? It belongs to India. It belongs to all India."

Cosmopolitan as she, indeed, was her compassion and love for humanity enabled her to be an internationalist and be devoid of all prejudices. In all her speeches at the Constitutent Assembly she exhibited the catholicity of outlook and rose above segmented and narrow loyalities. Her yearning for equality, composite culture and secular outlook can be well-gauged from her speech on 22nd July 1947 in the Constituent Assembly:

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told us that India has never been exclusive. I wish he had added: 'India welcomes all knowledge from friend and foe alike." Did she not? Have not all the cultures of the world contributred to the ocean of her culture? Has Islam not brought to India the ideals of democratic brotherhood. the Zorostrian his steadfast courage, who fled from Iran with a blazing log from their fire temple. whose flame has not perished these thousand years? Have not the Christians brought to us the lesson of service to the humblest of the land? Has not the immemorial Hindu creed taught us universal love of mankind and has it not taught us that we shall not judge merely by our own narrow standard but that we should judge by the universal standard of humanity?"

In a nutshel, Sarojini Naidu made the debates in the Constituent Assembly both lively and intelligible. Whenever she spoke on any theme, she infused some thing quite characteristic of her, taking the debates to olympian heights, on a philosophical plane unattainable by ordinary mortals. She lent the Constiutent Assembly debates a rare aesthetic and artistic touch that finally was to manifest in its shaping of our national character. In this sense, she was unique, all by herself, as a parliamentarian.

As Governor

On the eve of independece, Sarojini Naidu became the first women Governor of Uttar Pradesh, where she became immensly popular

among all sections of the society. She left the stamp of her personality on the style of administration in which efficiency was combined with certain degree of informality. In a surprisingly short time, Sarojini familiarised herself with the peculiar and complex problems of the State and handled these problems tactfully. she played a pivotal role in bringing together people belonging to rival factions and conflicting ideologies, making her one of the most successful governors.

Sarojini Naidu was loved and respected by all sections of people. Be at home or in a palace, or a hut, Sarojini was a citizen of the world in the truest sense. Her rich humaneness was an everlasting bridge between all peoples. In fact, Sarojini Naidu was always a woman, supremly womanly and always a patriot. On her death, Jawaharlal Nehru observed in the Constituent Assembly on 3 March 1949; thus:

"Here was a person with so many gifts, but of course some gifts which made her unique....What exactly she was, it is a little difficult for me to say, because she had become almost a part of us; a part of our national heritage of today and part of our individuals who had the great privilege to be associated with her for a multitude of years in our struggle for freedom and in our work....She was curious combination of so many things; she represented in herself a rich culture into which flowed various currents which have made Indian culture so great as it is. she herself was a compsite both of various currents of culture in India as well as various currents of culture both in the East and the West. And so she was, while being a very great national figure, also fully as Internationalist, and whereever she might go in the wide world, she was recognized as such and as one of the great ones on the earth..."

Indeed, no other country groaning under the yoke of foreign rule and exploitation perhaps has produced such outstanding scholar, stateman, poet and social reformer as India did in the course of her struggle for national freedom. Sarojini Naidu reflected as well as contributed to the greatness of that age. By her sophistication and refinement, her genteness and humanity and by her many-sided contribution to India's culture, she demonstrated that one can remain gracious and creative in the midst of turmoil and change. Her life and ideals are, indeed, a source of inspiration for the future generations to emulate and cherish.

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SUCHETA : A STAUNCH NATIONALIST

—LARRDIS

Sucheta Kripalani was one of Gandhiji's select band of Congress freedom-fighters who combined struggle for national independence with the fight for the emancipation of Indian women. She was a woman of extraordinary courage, unassuming simplicity and transparent sincerity. She believed in the democratic way of life and felt wounded whenever, she saw undemocratic tendencies anywhere.

A Staunch Gandhian

Sucheta was influened by the Russian Revolution and the extremist political thought in India. She was immensely inspired by Bankim Chandra's *Ananda Math*. She was also profoundly influenced by Gandhian ideology and remained a staunch Gandhian in her social, economic and political views. Coming from a progressive Brahmo family, she was naturally opposed to caste distinction and was in favour of equality of sexes, widow-marriage and other liberal and social reforms. But she was not one of those radicals who would like to cut off the society from its traditional moorings. In religion she was opposed to conventional rituals but she had abiding faith in the 'Divine Being' and was particularly fond of the *Gita* which she regularly read.

As a Freedom Fighter

Sucheta was greatly distressed by the incident of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the feeling of patriotism and strong nationslist

sentiments penetrated her heart. It was, however, since 1939 that she began to take active part in the nationalist movement. Earlier in 1934, she had worked under Dr. Rajendra Prasad during the Bihar earthquake relief operations, where a population of about fifteen million had been affected and some towns were razed to the ground. In 1939, she started working in the Congress Office at Allahabad and constituted a women's section of the Congress of which she became the Secretary. But her energy and intelligence needed wider scope for expression. She soon attached herself to the AICC office and was in-charge of the Foreign Affairs Department for some time. She then plunged into active politics and came into contact with Gandhiji, Nehru, Sardar Patel, Rajen Babu and other leaders. She, however, continued to do other constructive work through Gandhi Ashram in Uttar Pradesh which was carrying on Khadi work in those difficult days. She also took special interest in work among women and was closely associated at a later period with the Kasturba Memorial Soceity. In 1940, she joined the *Individual Satyagraha Movement* and offered *Satyagraha* at Faizabad. She was sentenced to two years imprisonment and was kept in Faizabad and Lucknow jails.

Sucheta became a legendary figure for the resourcefulness and courage that she displayed during the *Quit India Movement* in 1942. She went underground, and in co-operation with Jai Prakash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia and Aruna Asaf Ali was active in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and other places in organising anti-British resistance. She was arrested at Patna in 1944 and kept in solitary confinement in jail for more than four years. After her release in 1945 she became the Secretary of the Kasturba Trust, which did pioneering work among village women and acted as a catalytic agent for Gandhiji's Sarvodya programme in the villages.

Another test and trial for her came on the eve of Independence when India plunged into an orgy of communal warfare. This was perhaps the saddest moment in Gandhiji's life. His epic tour in the God forsaken Noakhali was an expression of his intense agony. Sucheta was there at his bidding. She was literally a champion of the toiling millions and worked in the most trying circumstances. She worked among the panic-stricken people of Noakhali and did not flinch from visiting the remotest of trouble spots to render help to the threatened minority groups. During these visits she was known to carry a vial of arsenic to take her life, if ever the need arose. But there was no relief for her when that sad chapter was closed and India finally divided. Refugees poured into India in tens and thousands every day with their tales of woe. Here again Sucheta came forward to do her bit to relieve the sufferings of the people who had lost their all.

Entry into Politics

In the political field she had no difficulty in making a distinctive debut. In the post-Independence era, Sucheta stands out as one of the most outstanding women of India. She entered U.P. politics in the year 1948 and remained a member of the Legislative Assembly till 1950. She joined the Council of Ministers under the Chief Ministership of Shri. C.B. Gupta and was entrusted with the ministership of Labour, Development and Small Industries. Her valiant struggle for the cause of the workers and her untiring efforts to help their movement will ever be cherished by the entire workers group of the State. As Labour Minister she encouraged the workers to represent their grievances to her individually or in groups.

After the resignation of C.B. Gupta's Ministry, Sucheta was elected leader of the Congress Legislature Party and became Chief Minister of the most populous and troubled State of the Indian Union, Uttar Pradesh. It was as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh that she gave solid proofs of the varied talents she possessed. She was quick to grasp the essence of any subject that was presented to her. On the floor of the Assembly she tactfully tackled many a difficult and delicate situation and proved herself to be a brilliant administrator who never hesitated to take necessary decisions, however, unpleasant they were.

As a Parliamentarian

Sucheta Kripalani served the nation first as a member of the Constituent Assembly and later as a member of the Provisional Parliament. In 1952, she fought the first general election to Parliament. She was not then in the Congress and fought on the ticket of the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party. This was a new party formed by prominent Congress men in protest against the deviation of the national policies from the path of Gandhiji. Her husband, Acharya Kripalani was its Chairman. Sucheta fought the election not from U.P. but from the Capital—New Delhi where she had become popular with the refugees. Her success in the election was significant achievement. She was chosen as the leader of the K.M.P. Party in Parliament and played the role of an effective Opposition leader. Later the same year, Acharya Kripalani also got elected to the Parliament in a by-election and the leadership of the KMP party was taken over by him. As a parliamentarian techniques and forms, Sucheta, made valuable contributions to the debates in the House. A fluent speaker both in English and Hindi, she could make a well-argued, closely reasoned case for whatever

side she spoke. Championing the cause of the refugees, for whom she devoted her whole life, she once said in the House:

> "The refugees have been hit very hard, having lost all their possessions and all their property. During the last two years or more than two years, we have not succeeded in doing anything about their property. I feel that the Government's policy in regard to evacuee property has been a total failure. If we have introduced a cut on any item of refugee rehabilitation, a cut can be justified if there is no need. But as it is, a great amount of money is needed for affording relief to these people. We have been doing their work in our own small way during the last two or three years and we know what is required to be done in this direction. On what ground has the Government thought it fit to bring about a cut on this item?... If the sixty or seventy lakhs of people are not going to be rehabilitated, they are going to move about the country as beggars, it will be potential source of danger and lawlessness. if we cannot resettle them, we will be only creating robbers, dacoits and brigands. We do not seem to realize that. But the question is how to proceed in the matter, how to resettle them?"

Though Sucheta was the founder member of the KMPP, which was later converted into Praja Socialist Party (PSP), she was somewhat dissatisfied with merely critising the ruling party and felt that she should render more effective public service constructively. When pursuaded by the Congress President, Shri U.N. Dhebar, to rejoin the Congress, she did so and in 1958 fought her election and was elected on the Congress ticket.

In 1959, when Mrs. Gandhi became the Congress President, Sucheta served as the General Secretary of the Congress and undertook extensive tours in certain States for organisational work.

Sucheta was re-elected to the Lok Sabha in 1967. She sat in the treasury benches; while her husband Acharya fulminated against the Congress from the Opposition ranks, forming one of the most interesting couples in Parliament. During this period, though a difference of opinion in their political views and party affiliation always existed, it could never hamper their closest of understanding. After serving the Congress for two years, Sucheta went highly critical of the style of functioning in the Congress and joined back the party of her husband.

Gradually, Sucheta who was once in the thick of her political activity started feeling that she was completely exhausted and incessant overwork started telling upon her health. Her numerous friends and co-workers were, however, looking forward to several more years

of active service from her for the cause she held so dear. But fate willed otherwise and a third attack put an end to a life of dedicated service.

Sucheta was an embodiment of the principle of simple living and high thinking and always pursued the cause dear to her with commitment and conviction. For her, the country's interests were supreme. She would often express her views on the prevailing problems in the country and give her impartial and considered advice on different issues to the leaders in the helm of the country's charge. Envisaging a complete socio-economic revolution of society, she believed that this revolution can be achieved only by good and honest men and women and tried to instill in all, an attitude of dedication towards the task of the upliftment of humanity.

With her qualities of head and heart, she made for herself a permanent place in the history of India. She was like a little earthen lamp the *Deeva* wherever she was placed, she had a golden glow of love and service. She was adorned with the best qualities of Indian womanhood, with the capacity to suffer silently, remain steadfast to her principles and give love and service to all. In her death, India lost an ardent nationalist, whose commitment to the progress and welfare of the country will be long remembered.

WOMEN AND CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

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WOMEN—CONSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVES

V.S. Rama Devi

Women's decade and U.N. Resolutions and Conventions are instrumental in trying to put forward women as part of human resources. Seminars and workshops on women are being conducted to draw the attention of the society towards the sad plight and exploitation of women in every strata in general and in particular towards domestic violence and other sorts of atrocities against women. The statistics with respect to crimes against women placed before Parliament recently reveal that cases of rape, molestation, dowry death and torture have doubled over a decade. Dowry deaths have increased by 11 times, that is to say, from 427 in 1983 to 4,656 in 1991. Rape cases registered in 1983 were 5,298 and they have risen to 9,113 in 1991. In 1983, the cases of molestation reported were 5,298 and the same have risen to 19,555 in 1991. In 1983, 73 cases per day of crime against women who reported and the same have risen to 150 per day in 1991. Kidnapping and abduction cases were 1,710 in 1983 and the same have jumped upto 9,711 in 1991. These are the crimes which were reported or registered. Unreported cases were supposed to be at least nine times higher than the reported cases. Who are to be blamed for this? Is it the Legislature or the Government or the law enforcing agencies or the individuals or the society at large?

As our society, by and large, is based on patriarchy, naturally men dominate women in all respects. Family name passes on through man and woman is treated mainly as a part of his property to be used as he likes including causing physical and mental violence. Her position is well depicted by the "Committee on Status of Women in India" as follows:—

> "Women's position is worsening in practically every sphere with the exception of some gains in education and employment for middle class women. Women were found in least paid jobs working long hours and bearing full responsibility for the home by fetching fuel and water; by doing work in family production units without being paid for the labour; by bringing up children and caring for the sick and the aged. There has been growing violence against woman-rape, wife-battering, family-violence, dowry death and prostitution. This was the stark reality for millions of women."

The Committee on Status of Women was appointed in 1974 to make a systematic investigation into the women's situation and to suggest measures to remedy the same; again in the 80s the National Perspective Plan for Women had been framed for integrating women into the maintstream of the economy and to achieve equality and social justice for them. The impact of both is yet to be felt.

Justice Krishna Aiyer has beautifully analyzed what is meant by equality of man and woman. He says that equality of man and woman does not mean identity of individuality and does not negate difference in personality. What is equal is the acceptance that woman shall be free to unfold her full potential in the social milieu in which she is cast. (*Women Unbound*—a plea for gender justice)

As we have chosen a Welfare State and administration by rule of law, the law should be instrumental through which social engineering is expected to be achieved. Let us peruse the provisions contained in the Constitution of India to see as to what extent they envisage to protect the rights of women and to safeguard their interests and aim of guaranteeing equality in all walks of life.

Various Provisions Under the Constitution For the Betterment of Women

More or less all the provisions contained in the international convention of the U.N. which has been enforced on the 3rd September, 1981 on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, had been incorporated in the Indian Constitution in 1950 itself. The Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles, Fundamental Duties in the Indian Constitution not only give equal status to women along with men but also provide for their protection as they were discriminated against all through.

According to the Preamble of the Constitution ours is a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic and it shall secure to all its

citizens, including women, justice—social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity.

Under article 14 of the Constitution, the State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India. This general provision will be worked subject to other provisions included in other fundamental rights. Any law making a special provision for women under article 15 (3) will be valid and it cannot be challenged on the ground that it is contravening article 14 as article 15 (3) provides that nothing prevents the State from making any special provision for women and children and if such a law is made it cannot be treated as a discrimination against others. It is evident from such a provision that the framers of the Constitution realized the fact that women needed protection and certain additional provisions in that regard had to be made in their favour. Under article 16 (4) reservation can be made for the appointments in favour of any backward class of citizens where the State is of opinion that they are not adequately represented in the services. It is worthwhile to consider here that why not women be treated as backward class within the meaning of this article; and not only under this article but also under article 15 (4) which permits the State to make special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens. To prove that women are socially and educationally backward and they are not adequately represented in the services one need not resort to any research work; it is every one's experience in day-to-day life itself. The gulf between man and woman in this respect is so vast and deep that the Committee on the Status of Women appointed by the Government of India, in their report (1974) had, with great anguish, commented on their backwardness, social as well as economic. They had ample evidence to prove their findings. In this respect the attitude of the Judiciary is noteworthy. The Delhi High Court upheld the reservation in favour of women in appointments to the clerical posts in the inquiry and reservation offices of the railways in the metropolitan cities of India, apart from others, on the ground that women were under-represented in the railways.

Article 23 provides for the rights against exploitation and prohibits traffic in human beings and *begar* and similar forms of forced labour. Such prohibition not only fulfils the pledge made by our country as one of the original signatories of the U.N. Charter but also helps in making specific provisions against exploitation of women for prostitution, etc., by the privileged and the mighty. The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act of 1956 falls within this field. It used to be a common practice in certain places for the women to do *begar*, that is

to say, to render service or labour for no remuneration in the households of landlords or moneylenders for any money advanced as loan for marriage purpose, etc. The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976 is a good example in this field. The labour system is a system of forced labour in which mostly women are trapped, by tradition, by family obligation or by reason of birth in a particular caste or community.

The Directive Principles enshrined in the Constitution Act as guiding principles in the matter of administration as well as in making of laws. As ours is a Republican Constitution and being a Welfare State, the Directive Principles play a pivotal role more so for women and other weaker sections. Though these Directive Principles are not justiciable in the court, still they can overrule or abrogate any of the Fundamental Rights in order to enable the State to implement the Directives so long as the basic features of the Constitution are not affected (*Minerva Mills Case*, 1980, SC).

Article 39 (d) enjoins the State to direct its policy towards securing equal pay for equal work for both men and women. In spite of the passing of the Equal Remuneration for Equal Work Act, 1974, the disparity still remains in the payment of wages to men and women for the same quantum and nature of work, throughout the country. Article 42 provides for securing just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief. The Maternity Relief Act and other similar rules and regulations and also certain labour laws providing creches, etc., are in consonance with this article.

Article 46 provides for the special care of the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, particularly of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and for their protection from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. As women also in many respects require protection from social injustice and exploitation, they should fall under the definition of weaker sections of the people. Articles 39(e), 41, 42, 43 and 43A, all of them, aim at fair conditions of employment and work for men and women and to provide social security.

The more important provision is in Article 39A which enjoins the State to secure that the operation of the legal system promotes justice, on a basis of equal opportunity and to provide free legal aid by suitable legislation or schemes or in any other way, to ensure that the opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities. It implies that justice should be so administered that it becomes available to all equally irrespective of ignorance, property or any other cause and its benefits are not confined to only a few. In spite of the legal and constitutional guarantees, the equality of sexes would remain a pious wish unless the

principles contained in Article 39A are implemented not only in letter but also in spirit. Majority of women have no knowledge about their rights and a very few have economic resources to obtain legal redressal. Unless women themselves become aware of their legal rights, no amount of law can bring solace to them. Hence, the hapless and needy women should be made aware of their rights and also provided with every assistance to enable them to get their due. In this context, no one can ignore the role which is being played by the judiciary in giving what is due to the women. In Muthamma Nargish Meerja, Shah Bano and in several other cases the Indian judiciary showed real concern for women and gave them their due and justice. The principle of equality between the sexes enshrined in our Constitution is being enforced and safeguarded through judicial process.

There is yet another provision worth mentioning, that is Article 44 which provides for uniform civil code. It emphasizes the need for codifying personal laws of different communities and evolving a uniform civil code. This would certainly help in the elimination of discriminatory provisions in personal laws. A statement had been made some time back in the Indian Parliament that very soon a voluntary uniform civil code would be enacted. It did not come through. The irony of it was that instead the uniform civil code, the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986 was enacted. As far as secular matters are concerned, a woman should be treated as a woman and a human being and not a Hindu, Muslim, Christian or Parsi or other woman. In a male dominated society, in personal law matters specially in the case of divorce, maintenance, inheritance, etc., there is every possibility of women being exploited. In this context, unless voluntary organizations take up the case of women and educate them about their rights, it is difficult to bring in any real awareness in the society. Enlightened men of the community should come forward to stand by the women of the same community till they get equal rights in personal law matters.

With growing industrialization and urbanization and growth of population, the forests are getting destroyed. This has a direct impact on the livelihood of women. Forests provide fuel wood, twigs for cleaning teeth, leaves for making plates, etc., to women. Thus, Article 48A which provides for safeguarding the forests would also safeguard the interests of women specially in the lower strata.

It has been provided in the Constitution *vide* Article 51A (e) that it is the fundamental duty of every citizen to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women. One of the Acts passed in pursuance of this article is the Indecent Representation of Women (Prevention) Act, 1986.

All is well on paper; but to what extent this has been transformed into reality? It is no doubt that overnight change may not be possible. But all the same whether a real and an honest attempt is being made or not, is the moot point. As the former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, while inaugurating the Conference of non-Aligned and other developing countries on the Role of Women in Development, held in New Delhi in April 1985, observed, "Women are the social conscience of a country. They hold our societies together. In developing countries, women have been active in all fields and they have risen to prominent places specially in the political field. Unfortunately, at the lower level, we have not been able to give them enough freedom of movement, enough help to rise above the discriminations that had been built up over thousands of years of a male-dominated society." He further observed that, "Women's contribution to humanity throughout history, whether in the home, in the work place, or in society, has been not less than men's. Still women today do not get adequate opportunity." This is the ground reality even today. Further the position of women in political field is fast dwindling.

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WOMEN IN INDIA : 1992

- Kapila Hingorani

The people of India resolved to constitute India into "A Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic and to secure to its citizens Justice, Liberty, Equality of status and opportunity and Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the Unity and Integrity of the nation."

Under the Indian Constitution, the women in India are entitled to the same Fundamental Rights and are subject to the same Fundamental Duties as the Indian men. There is prohibition against discrimination on the ground of sex, religion, race, caste or place of birth, and all laws which discriminate and are inconsistent with liberty and dignity of the women are void. Relevant articles in the Constitution of India are articles 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 23, 25, 32, 38, 39, 42, 44, 51A, 246 and 372.

Some glaring legal discriminations against women have been pointed out to several Prime Ministers, Law Ministers, persons in authority, vocal members of Parliament without any result. The discriminations which have been pointed out are :

—A woman in India is not the natural guardian of her children.

—There is no community of property with the result that a woman is not entitled to an equal share in the property of the husband. No money value is given to the work of a woman, which she does to look after the home and the family.

—The post-Constitution legislative reforms benefited mainly the Hindu woman.

A Hindu woman is still neither entitled by birth to a share in the Joint Family property nor can she ask for partition of this property. None of the personal laws make distinction between ancestral and self-acquired property in the matter of inheritance except the Hindu Law. Even among the Hindus, the *Daya-Bhaga* does not recognize the rule of survivorship. The State of Andhra Pradesh has, by an amendment, removed the inequality between woman and man in this respect.

Section 27 of the Hindu Marriage Act is anomalous as it is hardly ever that presents given at the time of marriage are given jointly to the bride and the bridegroom.

The Law of Maintenance is unjust, cumbersome, duplicate, dilatory and causes immense hardship to a woman in India, who in many cases has no control over the income of the husband or the manner in which it should be spent, no independent source of income, no right to the property of her husband even if it has been built with her efforts or contribution, unless proved, as it normally stands in his name.

A Hindu woman is entitled to Maintenance under Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, Hindu Adoption Maintenance Act, 1956, and Section 125 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, but because she has to move the Court for obtaining Maintenance, she is deprived of it at a time when she needs it most.

An application for Maintenance and Alimony under Section 24 and Section 25 of the Hindu Marriage Act can be filed only in pending proceedings or at the time of passing the decree or subsequent thereto. This causes hardship to a woman who wishes to file an application only for Maintenance.

In application filed under Section 18 of the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, the Petitioner was asked to pay *Ad-Valorem* Court Fee.

The amount in proceedings under Section 125 of the Code of Criminal Procedure is most inadequate.

Maintenance must be available to a woman from the moment she is deserted or thrown out of the home, not from the date of the application, as the law stands today and the factors to determine the quantum of Maintenance must be well-defined. The test of one-fifth of the income of the husband is not just, fair or reasonable.

Maintenance must be deducted at source from the income of the husband and given to the wife and/or children immediately without

compelling them to go to a Court of Law. Such facility whose basic economic need must be met irrespective of her religion or ethnic group.

If the Law against Bigamy can be enforced against those in Government Service, there is no reason why adequate Maintenance cannot be deducted from the income of the husband at source.

Ways can be devised to make the husband/wife in the unorganised sector as well, pay Maintenance to the applicant immediately.

Some time back a proposal was made that irretrievable breakdown of marriage be made a ground for divorce. Such piecemeal legislative reform was not acceptable to the women organizations unless it was linked with the establishment of Family Courts.

Section 19 of the Hindu Marriage Act needs to be amended as the Court should have jurisdiction to entertain a petition also in a place where the petitioner resides. Besides, the word 'petitioner' has to be added in Section 19 (11). This lacuna in Law causes a great deal of hardship, particularly to women petitioners.

The father should not have power to will away the share of the daughter, gift by sisters to brothers of their share in the property should not be permitted except for well defined reasons.

The Prohibition of Dowry Act, 1984, is not satisfactory. The very definition of 'Dowry' is defective even after the Amendments. Further, there is no Specific Law to Combat Dowry Crimes.

A Muslim woman is discriminated against in matters of Marriage, Divorce, Maintenance and Inheritance. Under the Muslim Law, a male may contract marriage and have four wives at a time while the *vice-versa* cannot be done. Polygamy is prohibited in other personal laws. In fact, if proper interpretation is given to the Koranic Precepts, a Muslim is not entitled to marry four wives; several restrictions have been imposed, one of them being, that the husband should treat the wife with equal justice, such impartiality is, in fact, unattainable. These stringent conditions are like Portia asking Shylock, in *'The Merchant of Venice'* to take his pound of flesh from Antonio but not to shed a drop of blood. Portia won her case.

Reform in this respect has been carried out in several Muslim countries through interpretation or amendment but any such effort here is resisted.

A Muslim woman is discriminated against in matter of Divorce, the husband can pronounce 'Talaq' thrice and she is divorced while she is entitled to divorce only on specified grounds mentioned in the

Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act, 1939. Under the Muslim Law the male child is entitled to a share of two females.

A Parsee woman, if she marries out of the community ceases to be a Parsee. A Parsee daughter is discriminated against in matter of the inheritance.

Hence, a Uniform Adoption Law is imperative.

Moreover, discrimination against a woman begins even prior to her birth when scientific knowledge is misused for anti-natal sex determination for having selective abortion of the female foetus. Women have also been discriminated against in matters of employment. But very few challenges have been made in Courts of Law. Certain statutes *e.g.*, Army Act, Navy Act, Air Force Act, prescribe prohibition in the matter of employment of women whom the law considers unsuitable. It is for a woman to determine whether she is suited for a particular post or not.

The discriminatory laws have been challenged in the Supreme Court and in some High Courts in India. Some of these have succeeded while others are pending. But it is a long drawn and time consuming exercise while the Parliament can with a stroke of pen remove these inequalities against women. Cases against factual discrimination have also been filed and relief obtained.

It is urged that members of Parliament take serious note that the discrimination and anomalies which cause great hardship to women are violative of the Constitutional guarantees of equality, freedom and dignity of the individual.

As a result of strong women movements since 1975, legislative measures—the Prohibition of the Dowry Act, the Rape Law and certain other statutes—have been enacted to protect the women from atrocities and crimes against them. But much more needs to be done.

There are either no laws or there is no effective implementation of these laws to prevent crimes against women such as *e.g.*, eve-teasing, breach of promise of marriage, molestation, wife-beating, wrongful confinement, fraudulent marriage, adultery, enticement of married woman, cruelty on married woman, abduction and kidnapping, rape, outraging the modesty, defaming young girls and so on. Piecemeal amendments in the Indian Penal Code are not satisfactory. Besides the nature of these offences is such that they need different treatment; *e.g.*, burden of proof has been shifted in some of them on the accused, a principle contrary to criminal jurisprudence but necessary

in the case of these crimes/offences, but not in others. Laws specifically to deal with these offences must be enacted.

The second Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1983 by Section 498A provided that the husband and his family who treated the wife with cruelty should be punished with three years imprisonment. The provision has at times been misused by parents of the girl to threaten and extort money from the family of the husband. This must not happen. It will only weaken women's movement.

The fault with all our social welfare legislation is that it is piecemeal without an in-built infrastructure for implementation of the Laws, which is imperative if speedy progress has to be made in ameliorating the condition of women or for that matter of all who seek justice under these Laws.

The recent legislation of Prevention of Immoral Traffic Act (PITA) and the Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1988, suffer from the same infirmity.

The whole approach to legislation is erroneous because it is not based on an understanding of a 'Woman' as a 'Person' a human being in her own right.

The Renaissance, the Reformation and the Liberation movements did help a large number of woman to come out of their homes.

In India awakening created by Shri Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayanand Saraswati and other reformers led to a spate of legislation in the 19th Century but unfortunately partly due to inherent defects in the laws or lack of will in their implementation, they have remained paper statutes.

It will be of interest to note some of these enactments. They were : The Act prohibiting Sati in 1830, Caste Disabilities Removal Act passed in 1850 and Hindu Widow Remarriage Act in 1856, which are self-explanatory; Special Marriage Act III of 1872 enabled one to marry out of one's own caste and without any reference to the gotra, Married Women's Property Act, 1874 provided for maintenance and limited estate, Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, which was amended in 1978, has raised the marriageable age for females to 18 and males to 21, Hindu Gains of Earning Act, 1930 provided that the earning of the woman were her property. Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937 provided that the widow shall have the same rights as the husband had during his life time. The Christian Marriage Act of 1872, the Parsee Marriage and Divorce Act of 1936 and the Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act, 1939 made laws in respect of these communities.

The Anand Marriages Act and Arya Samaj Act removed the doubts concerning the validity of marriages performed according to their rites and ceremonies.

There is need for total review of legislation relating to women. In fact, there is need for the same in respect to children as well.

The National Commission for Women has been set up having one of its functions to have a look at the legislation governing women. It is hoped that the Commission would form a Committee (headed by dedicated and competent woman activist in law) to look at the whole range of the laws and suggest amendments with a view to give legal equality to women. There is need for simplification and codification of the laws relating to women. It is necessary to evolve effective implementation strategies as well.

National unity and integrity cannot be achieved until women's equal rights are implemented, who are discriminated against not only *vis-a-vis* men but *vis-a-vis* women also.

Public Interest Litigation, Family Courts, Neighbourhood Centres, and Cells *e.g.*, Anti-Discriminatory Boards, Anti-Dowry and Crime against Women Cells have already been suggested. An infrastructure for these Boards at the Centre, State and at the grass-root level has been worked out. There is need for a change in the judicial structure and functioning or else, as it is already happening, justice will be administered not by the Courts but by the outside agencies, an undesirable but not inconceivable event, *e.g.*, by the underworld, which will be a sad day, indeed, for judicial system of the country.

WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT

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Women Workers And Trade Unions

Ela R. Bhatt

Contrary to the popular myth, every woman is a worker. Her work embraces a multitude of vital social and economic importance. She not only bears children, but also rears, trains and socializes them thus imparting basic skills and information to the future workforce of the country. She ventures and provides multitude of services to her family, contributing directly to the family income by the production of goods and services. In most of the households, it is the contribution of the women that enables the family to survive. In India, the Report of the National Commission on Self-Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector notes that 35 per cent families are solely supported by the income of the women in rural areas and there are 35 per cent families in which more than 50 per cent income of the family is earned by women. But before I proceed with my points on women let me give a broad background of the labour scene in general.

Large-scale industrialization in India which began roughly at the time of Independence, was modelled on the experiences of industrialised nations. The direction of the labour movement and the role of the State/Governments in protecting the interest of the employees in India, were all based on the models of these developed and 'industrialised' countries. However, in spite of the inputs given to industrialisation, our economy is still largely based on agriculture and has not become industrialised as a whole. This has resulted in a situation where only 10 per cent of the working population (predominantly men) are engaged in regular jobs with the recognized employer-employee relationship. The remaining 90 per cent of the working population (more that half must be women) earn their livelihood on their own. They may be called self-employed, informal, unorganised, etc. These workers lack security of the service,

regularity of work and income. Since they rarely won their means of work, they are forced to work as piece rate workers, contract labourers, farm labourers and providers of services in their homes and outside.

The labour movements has yet to reach them and bring them into its fold. The present labour movement is still limited to the workers in the formal sector only. Barring a few local level efforts of unionising, the labour unions are still engaged in the problems of the workers in the organized sector. Also, almost the entire labour enforcement machinery today spend its resources in tackling the problems of the organized sector and the workers engaged in it. In a country like ours, most of the goods and services are produced by the self-employed and informal sectors of the economy. Therefore, my point is that unless the workers in these sectors, whose need for unionisation and protection is far greater, are brought into the mainstream of the labour movement, the labour movement has very little relevance for the majority of the working population. Here, I would like to identify the sections of the unorganized workers (large) within various trades, understand their problems, lend them union know-how and, not forgetting their existence while negotiating collective bargaining agreements for workers of trades.

So far as women's movements is concerned, 80 per cent of Indian women is of rural, poor, illiterate but economically very active. It is these women who should be playing a leading role in the women's movement of India, if it has to have relevance to the majority of the women in India.

Women, all over the world have never asked for anything more than a sharing of life's glories. Women have never asked for or demanded anything more than equality—simply put, we want political, economical and social equality. 'Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses': With these words opened the ICFTU 5th World Women's Labour Congress at Ottawa in April, 1991.

An analysis of the Trade Union Movement in a historical perspective, reveals that at the end of the 19th century the growth of industries witnessed labour class of men and women working in conditions similar to those of the unorganised sector today. Gradually attempts at organization of industrial workers began with sporadic strikes, etc., and gathered momentum so that by the 1920, there was a fast growing a labour movement with workers taking an active part in the process of organising. Within the struggles of Jute workers in Bengal, Textile workers in North-East and Coir workers in Travancore women were actively involved. In fact, it was the working conditions of women and children in factories and mines that stripped an indigna-

tion of the public and trade union and gave birth to the labour movement in India. History is incomplete if there would be no mention of the women workers who at first timidly and later boldly in larger numbers began to organize themselves into trade unions. It is a well known fact that thousands of women workers in textiles, mines, plantations and other industries came forward to participate in struggles launched during the thirties and forties—when the percentage of women to total membership accounted for just 1.2 to 2.1 per cent points, respectively.

As the trade unions became politically powerful, the participation of women decreased not only within the trade unions but within the organized workforce itself. Sadly, the very working women whose militancy had made a success of the labour movement, ended up being exluded from the movements.

In 1981, the percentage of women members to the total membership of registered trade unions submitting returns was as low as 7.5 per cent (Study by the Labour Ministry). A sample survey of 580 CITU unions was taken in 1979 showed that less than .1 per cent of the office bearers of the Executive Committee were women. Since the 1970s, all progressive unions in India have realized that women have a role to play in bringing about social and economic progress and now stand for the equity of women in every sphere of national life.

A recent study of the Ministry of Labour states that the growth of women's particiaption in trade unions has not been in proportion to the rate at which the unions have grown. While the trade unions have multiplied by 15 times, participation of women has grown by only 0.7% *i.e.*, from 6.2 per cent to 6.9 per cent over the last 30 years.

West Bengal ranks one with highest membership but in women membership it lags behind, while Kerala ranks one with highest women's membership.

Not only in India, but also at the International level, the trade union membership is on decline but, the new entrants in the unions, at present, are mainly women – so we have to realise that the women need unions and unions also need women.

In India, the problem is that very few women are fortunate to be working in the formal sector of employment — only 6 per cent in the formal sector, 3.5 per cent in public sector and 2.5 per cent in private sector. The rest 94 per cent of the female work force is working in the unorganised sector. So again, my points is that my pointis that the future of the trade union movement (or women's movement for that matter) is in the women sector, women in the unorganised sector. It is

clear that women will be leading the workers' movement1 bring social change in the country.

Going back to the past trends, the realisation of the potential of organising poor women was essentially top down in the initial stages and it was first the trade union federations formed Women's Wings. I am proud to recall, I was the first Convenor of the Women's Wing of INTUC, set up in 1970. At first, these wings were more like tokenism but gradually a women's force began to emerge. Similarly, political parties also began to realise, the importance of the (poor) female electorate and began to organise women's wings. Attempts to develop a cadre of women leaders within the trade union movement have begun only recently, though in a very isolated way.

There have been enough evidence to indicate that when the trade union movement has been able to bring women actively into its fold, women's militancy has in no way been less than that of the men. While studies have concluded that women's participation and attendance in trade union meetings has been low, no such parallel studies seem to be available to assess the extent of participations by men in similar activities.

Let me specify some problems.

World of Work

According to the ILO, 1200 million workers, *i.e.* 60 per cent of the labour force of 2000 mills are estimated to be unprotected in terms of basic social security coverage and the application of labour legialstion. About 77 per cent of the labour force in the developing countries is unprotected. This proportion amounts to 67 per cent in Asia and 84 per cent in Africa.

Within a country too, there is glaring disparity amongst the working class. Some sections of the workers have become a privileged class within the working class. On the one hand, there are those who have a stable job in the modern sector and who are protected by labour legislation, by social security and often by worker's organisations. On the other hand, there are day labourers also who are working for low wages on a casual, intermittent and insecure basis.

And amongst the unorganised sector of labour, the gap between male and female workers' status widens still further.

Let me quote one example:

The cashewnut industry in a progressive State—Kerala, is a crowded industry. Out of 307 units employing 1,83,873 workers, 46 units were surveyed by the Ministry of Labour. Of the total 25,399 workers, 24,228 are women, only 1,171 are men. (Children?) Only 7 per cent of women workers were graders—a time rated job. The rest are employed for shelling and peeling, on piece rate basis. It is noted that no male worker was found to have been employed on piece rate basis. Men for time rate, women for piece rate! The employers explained that predominance of women workers in the industry has been due to the "repetitive nature of the job which requires a lot of patience and speed that are special qualities of women workers". Is it not a standard statement ? Now the question to the employer is, "Are women workers rewarded for their 'Special Qualities' such as 'patience and speed'? "Certainly not. They, in fact, suffer for this, when you compare the wage ratio. Piece raters (women) earn less than time raters (men)".

One can find a number of such examples within different trades. Let me mention another issue:

Home-based Workers

Home-based work is a global phenomenon. It is not merely an issue of traditional societies nor of female workers only. Home-based workers constitute a large portion of the working population. Their conditions of work and remuneration amount to some among the worst forms of exploitation. A great majority of both old and new home-based workers are women, and this fact is related to their weak position on the labour market and the lack of possibilities to combine regular work with family responsibilities. We recall the Resolution in the 14th World Congress of ICFTU on Home-based workers, that urged ILO to adopt standards for providing basic protection to home-based workers through legislation and regulations. In India, SEWA, a labour union of the women in the unorganised sector, has been waging a campaign for ILO Convention for home-based workers. Let us pursue this Resolution in our own country and bring them within the fold of the Trade Union Movement.

Fair Representation of Women Workers

Changes in the economic structure, the pace of technological changes, widespread and increasing unemployment have raised issues in the labour movement in our countries.

New technologies have made increasingly irrelevant the traditional distinction between "blue-blouse" and "white-blouse", between rural and urban workers. This is all the more so in the case of women workers in developing countries. The situation throws a challenge to unions to improve their capacity to represent workers in sectors and categories where unionisation is still low, including amongst women, and home-based workers in particular.

Sexual Harassment of Women Workers

Another issue that has not yet come out in public and in our country is the issue of sexual harassment at work. It is a form of discrimination and intimidation which affects the majority of women sometime during their working life. Women are shy to discuss this openly. It is high time that we speak out this issue clearly if women have to care. Certainly, it is a legitimate trade union concern. As maternity benefits or cresche is not solely a concern of women, the problem of sexual harassment should also not be left solely to be dealt by women. The problem should be taken up by the entire union as union's problem.

To sum up, trade unions have a crucial role to play in fighting for a world based on social and economic justice and equality for all workers, with the exercise of full human and trade union rights. There can be no democratic societies without unions playing their full role and there can also not be democratic unions without women's full participations.

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Involvement Of Women In The Planning Process

Mary Khemchand

During the last decade, there has been an increasing awareness among policy planners that without meaningful involvement of a broad spectrum of women in the planning process, real development will remain a mirage.

Although the process of development encompasses social, economic, political, legal and ideological fields, they are inter-linked in their issues and problems and must be seen as such in the larger context of development.

Policy documents concerning Indian women have so far been guided by the Constitution. The Preamble to the Constitution of India assures, "To secure to all its citizens: JUSTICE : social, economic and political; LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; EQUALITY of status and opportunity, and to promote among them all FRATERNITY, assuring the dignity of the individual and unity and integrity of the nation." To attain these national objectives, the Constitution guarantees certain fundamental rights and freedoms such as freedom of speech, protection of life, personal liberty and the prohibition of discrimination or denial of equal protection.

Indian Women and Their Rights

Indian women are the beneficiaries of these rights in the same manner as Indian men. For instance, Article 14 ensures 'equality before law' and Article 15 'prohibits discrimination on grounds of

religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth'. There is only specific provision in Article 15 (3) which empowers the State to make 'any special provision for women and children'. This is in violation of the fundamental right obligation of non-discrimination among citizens, *inter alia*, of sex. Consequently, this provision has enabled the State to make special provision for women, particularly in the field of labour legislation like the Factories Act, the Mines Act, etc.

The Directive Principles in Part IV of the Constitution embody the major policy goals of a Welfare State. Together with the chapter of Fundamental Rights, they concretize the constitutional vision of a new Indian socio-political order. Even though the State is charged with "a duty to apply these principles in making laws and are fundamental in the governance of the country", these Principles are declared non-justiciable, and non-enforceable in courts.

Equal But Not Empowered

However, the Directive Principles are meant to be used by all agencies of the State as guidelines to action as major goals of policy, but they confer to power or legislative competence. Some of the Directive Principles relate specifically to women. Others concern women indirectly or by necessary implication. Those which concern women directly include the right to an adequate means of livelihood for men and women equally, equal pay for equal work for both men and women; protection to men, women and children from abuse, and their being employed in jobs unsuited to their age and strength.

In 1981, following an agreement signed between the then Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation and the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, a report reviewed the extent of participation of women scientific establishments and suggested measures for promoting greater involvement of women in science and technology.

In the Seventh Five-Year Plan, the Chapter on "Socio-Economic Programmes for Women" moved further away from a welfare approach to a more positive 'developmental' approach to women's concerns. In 1986, Parliament adopted a National Policy on Education which included a Chapter on 'Education for Women's Equality'.

A National Perspective Plan

In 1988, the National Perspective Plan for Women (NPP) 1988–2000, prepared by the Government of India for overall development

and economic emancipation of women, recommended creating the post of a Commissioner for Women's Rights with specific powers to ensure enforcement of laws pertaining to women. It also suggested establishment of a legal advisory committee to examine and suggest changes in such laws, and a string of cells with which the 'Commissioner' should liaise.

The *raison d'etre* of the NPP was the understanding in Government circles that 40 years of social change and development had adversely affected a large cross-section of Indian women, particularly from the economically handicapped classes. A general lack of concrete understanding of women's problems had led to social legislation and other measures, which, while meant to help women actually contradicted their own stated goals.

The major thrust of the NPP is towards removing the gender bias in the law, and by law enforcement agencies. Also, special recommendations on the issue of matrimonial property to which women must have equal rights were mooted in the NPP. It also recommended that the Census of 1991 take into account women's unpaid work in the household and outside, as well as the value added in performing her many "survival" tasks for the family. Reservation of 30 per cent seats was also suggested to ensure that women enjoy political status with men. This would be exclusive of women who had obtained positions in their own right.

Voluntary Women's Movement in the Planning Process

The NPP evoked mixed reactions among women's organizations. Some hailed it as a commendable effort which could become a charter for women's development, while some others, appreciating certain of its features, debunked it as neither a perspective nor a plan. The NPP was drafted by a core group comprising bureaucrats ostensibly involved with women's "welfare" and "development". "Who are these mandarins to decide the fate of women in India"?, asked some grassroot women's activists. While acknowledging the pioneering role of the Committee on the Status of Women in Indian (CSWI), the core group did not seek the opinions of CSWI members.

Subsequently, on August 23 and 24, 1988, seven national women's organizations held a seminar and drew up a "National Perspective Plan for Women 1988-2000 A.D.– A Perspective from the Women's Movement." This opposed the setting up of an apex training body and recommended instead the setting up of State, district and

block-level training centre and research bodies as part of the National Commission on Women.

Similarly, instead of the setting up of a Commissioner for Women's Rights, the women's organizations demanded decentralization of enforcement machinery down to the local level, and setting up monitoring committees consisting of representatives of women's organizations and of the Government. The women's organizations differed with the NPP's notion of accountability. The NPP blames the executors (bureaucracy) for the failure to implement the programmes of the Government. "The NPP thus not only argues for centralization, but shifts accountability from those elected to implement the people's will to the bureaucracy entirely", the women activists argued.

The criticism of women's organizations emanated from their understanding that, "In the case of a large majority of women, their continued inequality and vulnerability in all sectors – economic, social, legal, educational, etc. – have been enhanced and accelerated by certain features of the development policies and strategies pursued by the Government itself." For instance, the marginalisation of women and the rural poor was a direct result of the Government's "Green Revolution" strategies. The mechanization of mines resulted in massive displacement of women workers. Similarly, modernization of textiles, tobacco, plantation, beedi, coir industries, etc., adversely affected women.

The NPP subsequently accepted some of the major suggestions made by the women's organizations, particularly relating to representation of women up to the district level. Sadly enough, the NPP has not yet been introduced in Parliament prior to its adoption.

One of the problems that affects women's involvement in agriculture is the introduction of modern methods of cultivation which is resulting in gradual displacement of women and shrinking of their activities. This is due to the biased approach of agricultural extension workers, who teach new methods to men only, thus, precipitating changes which will have an adverse effect on women.

Uneven Processes of Development

Unfortunately, various processes of social change did not affect the different sections of women in a uniform manner. Social legislation enacted since Independence, were aimed at putting an end to discrimination against women. The Dowry Prohibition Act passed in the sixties was amended a few years ago. The Suppression of Im-

moral Trafficking Act was also amended, making the man equally guilty in commercialized prostitution. More teeth have been provided to the Rape Law and the law concerning indecent exhibition of women in advertisement. On the labour front, there is the Equal Remuneration Act and the Maternity Benefits Act.

But if the laws could have changed the status of women, they would now be enjoying their place under the sun. Experience so far show that laws can succeed only when social consciousness rises to the level of motivation that inspired the law makers. In areas where female literacy is still low and age-old traditions still rule the roost, evils like child marriage are bound to persist. Where education has taken rapid strides as in Kerala and some other regions of the country, women have forged ahead on different fronts.

Over the past decade, a mass awareness has been generated on the rights of women triggered off by the emergence of active women's organizations. Greater participation of the media, in enhancing such awareness during the International Women's Decade that ended in 1986, and more particularly in 1990 declared as the Year of the Girl Child by the SAARC-countries has played a vital role. The momentum has been carried further, with the decade 1991–2000 having been proclaimed as the Decade of the Girl Child.

While, on the one hand, there has been an increase in the number of pro-women laws enacted by the Government along with a growing media consciousness on discrimination and growth in the spread of women's movements, there has been a corresponding rise in violence against women. This is reflective of the diminishing status of women and is telling commentary on the progress we have made as a society even after 44 years of independence.

More so in January, 1987, a National Commission on Self-Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector was appointed to look into the ways and means to ameliorate the sufferings of the unprotected labouring women. In its report, '*Shramshakti*', the Commission outlined many policy recommendations towards this end. The report lamented that women's representation at every level, except that of the manual worker, is largely absent. Resenting it as a serious omission in policy, it said that women are not included in "democratic bodies" like co-operatives because, for instance, requisites like ownership of a loom is necessary to be eligible for representation in weavers' cooperatives. "Such stipulations eliminate women members in 90 per cent of the cases." Besides, in several States, men traditionally sit at the loom, so ownership is considered to be theirs. Similar problems exist in the dairy and fishery cooperatives as well.

Another place where segregation blocks women's involvement is at the local government levels. The *'Shramshakti'* report felt, "In most cases, a statute requires one or two women to be on the village panchayat, but in a majority of locations they were either non-existent or practically non-participatory members."

Need for Representation at Grass-root Levels

Expressing disappointment at this state of affairs, the report noted that in a State like Himachal Pradesh, where Mahila Mandals are strong and vocal, women want these mandals to be vested with authority at par with the panchayat, because they feel that they are more knowledgeable about women's issues. In some other states like Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra, even separate boards like those of construction workers suffer from lack of women's representation. This lack at most levels is leading to demands that new boards have an equal percentage of women members as the percentage of women workers was equal to that of men. For example, women domestic workers and women construction workers often make up more than half the labourers in these occupations, and they want their numbers reflected in the boards.

The few niches that women have carved out for themselves as Government functionaries, teachers, work supervisors and field workers, among others, by moving about in twos and threes in rural areas, meeting in the homes of village women and helping them to look after their children, need to be multiplied through all levels of policy. Multiplying the number of such women is all the more important because they are appreciated in the communities they work in and are not perceived as "sarkari". Besides, the district collectors are also appreciative and supportive of their work.

However, a strong sense of responsibility and an overwhelming concern for social approval inhibit the women from self-assertion. Basic statistics (according to latest UN figures) – nearly 80.6 per cent of Indian women are illiterate, working 10–14 hours daily, undergoing four to six pregnancies, and running the low-income households with limited means — remains grim. Even educated women do not fare better than their illiterate rural sisters when it comes to vital decisions—personal, social or national. Participation of women in economic activity has been steadily falling over the last seven decades. In 1951, out of every 100 women, 23 were engaged in economic activity. By 1971, this declined to 14, but rose to 20 in 1981. But the level of pre-Plan period is yet to be reached. In spite of directives in the Sixth Five-Year Plan that women should be treated

as targets for assistance for economic activity under the anti-poverty programme, only less than 7 per cent of the beneficiaries of the Integrated Rural Development Programme are women.

Lack of Involvement in Development Planning

Women as a force in development are still a largely untried area in the country's development planning. Despite all talk about women's involvement in nation-building activities, women's access to effective functioning in the affairs of governance, development and local politics is still dependent on the environment in their society and immediate families. It has taken many years for women in rural areas to realize that they do have personalities and lives of their own, that they have a right to develop, to think and live as active participants and partners in the development process and not merely as passive targets of propaganda, governmental or otherwise.

In recent months, the southern State of Kerala has taken the first step towards planning for development. According to an *Indian Express* report, the 'Kallaseri Panchayat' in Kannur district of Kerala has been a successful testing ground for the Panchayat-level Resource Mapping Project (PRP). This has involved preparation to five maps covering all the bio-physical aspects of the area and a sixth 'Environmental Appraisal Map', incorporating the resource data, provided by the maps to depict land and water potential, environmental constraints and alternate modes of resources used by the Panchayat. The projects' scientific terms live and work in the panchayat with local volunteers to produce the resource maps. What makes the PRP unique is its voluntary work component and the participation of the people even beyond the implementation of the actual mapping programme. The Project was adopted by the CPM-led LDF Government in December 1990, as a priority programme to cover the merely 1,000 Panchayats in the State.

The other side of this picture is somewhat bleak. As reported again in *Indian Express*, in Karnataka, rural women who, thanks to the *Mahila Mandals*, were keen to prove their mettle in the political arena, were shattered by the Government's recent decision to *appoint* administrators to Zila Parishads instead of having elections.

The 30 per cent reservation for women in elected bodies in the State had galvanized the *Mahila Mandals* in the State into a one-point programme of making women independent. Now the State Government's moves to waive elections have become stumbling blocks in the way of women seeking self-government. The ground now forfeited by women is again due to purely political reasons. At least in Kar-

nataka, rural women are back where they started, co-opted by a system which does not recognize their central role in development, and marginalised by a wider political move that yet has the power to change their lives and bring the processes of "empowerment" and "power-sharing" to a standstill.

Political will, powered by social compulsions, must bring about changes involving women fully in the planning process for the nation's development.

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Social Consciousness And Women's Rights: Will National Progress Give Women Their Due Rights?

Vimla Patil

Neena is the chairperson of a garment export unit in New Delhi. A divorcee, she heads a company whose annual turn over amounts to millions of rupees. She has built this company single-handedly, learning the skills of buying fabric, designing prints and garments, sampling them for buyers and finally marketing them in the world's most fashion-conscious countries. Neena drives around Delhi's verdant streets in a sleek Mercedez and claims proudly that she is worth at least two million rupees.

Nagi is a tribal woman who lives in a remote village in Bihar. Her daily wage is a meagre two rupees. This pittance does not even buy one decent meal. As a seasonal agricultural labourer, she often works 14 hours a day and is in addition, exploited by arrogant landlords and local politicians.

Neena and Nagi are both Indian women. In their lifestyles, they represent the total polarity of women's condition in this vast sub-continent.

On the one hand, the post-Independence generation of women has scanned new horizons of achievement, made ever new breakthrough in education, industry and the professions. On the other hand, the aftermath of independence and growing industrialization has made a large number of women poorer than ever before.

A recent U.N. report says: "Two out of every three people who cannot read or write are women. Women who make up around 50 per cent of the world's population, work twice as hard as men, but receive merely 10 per cent of the world's income and own one per cent of the world's property." If this is true of the entire world, it is even more shockingly true of India. After 44 years of independence, just about 30 to 35 per cent of India's women are literate. In village schools, the drop-out rate of girls is far higher than that of boys. In spite of new laws to the contrary, rural families marry their daughters off long before they attain puberty. In keeping with the rules and customs of a male-dominated society, women do not own property nor do they administer it. In the large majority of rural communities, a woman even today enjoys respect and status only when she has produced sons. In such families, there is a clear preference for sons and daughters and looked upon as liabilities. Without means of their own, without education or exposure to the outside world, women have been and even now continue to be the oppressed minority in India. India is one among only three countries in the world where the number of women per 1,000 men has been steadily dwindling over the decades. The census of India show that there are now 911 women for every 1,000 men in the country. There are several reasons for this:

Firstly, rural women have little or no access to the explosion of medical knowledge. In spite of modern steel-and-glass hospitals in urban India, the villager often remains without the simplest of health care facilities. The Primary Health Centres, set up by the Government of India, lack equipment and personnel so that many women die because of repeated childbirth and the resultant anaemia. Health experts state that almost 80 per cent of Indian women are anaemic. Coupled with inadequate health care are the effects of superstition and ignorance. Old worn-out family traditions cause a woman to be the least important member of the family. Even stray statements in Hindu scriptures authorize a man to treat his wife as "replaceable property". If one wife dies, the husband can almost always marry another. In keeping with this thinking, women are often given left-overs or poor food and are lifelong sufferers from disease and an overload of work.

Today, India is placed among the 10 most industrialized nations of the world. There has been, in the past four decades, an explosion of technology and communication and massive indutrialization. On the face of it, this has meant great strides for India. But so far as women are concerned, this modernization has ironically eroded their position. The male bias in agricultural financing and farm-operation has cost the large female work force their importance in the agricul-

ture of India. Rural women, even today have no access to the credit facilities offered by the nationalized banks and are not educated enough to master the new techniques of farming. Even if they are willing to remedy this situation by learning, tasks to participate in the discussion led by extension workers and farm experts.

In the unorganized labour force, women are no better off. They often receive wages lower than men for the same kind of work and for the equal number of hours. Everywhere on construction sites and mines–they do heavy manual work and are often harassed by sex-hungry colleagues or bosses.

Even in the organized sector of industry, in the burgeoning factories and mills in India, woman's employment avenues are dwindling at a fast rate. According to published figures, in the non-agriculture sector, the number of female workers has reduced to six millions from the earlier figure of nine million. At the same time, the number of men has risen from 13 to 48 millions.

Women's oppression in India has duel character—economic and socio-cultural. Of course, both are inter-linked. Added to this is the sheer size of India and its national problems which have prevented a women's lobby from being formed effectively. If there has been great development on the national level, women have been the recipients of only the crumbs of such achievement. The Government's programme or the uplift of the vast number of women have amounted to lip service.

Why is this so? Why is it that all our beautifully-worded idealistic laws remain just pieces of paper? Why is that despite the passing of legislation, dowry still continues to ruin the lives of young girls? Why can't a woman inherit her fair share of parental property in spite of our 34-year old Succession Act?

Most people will be surprised to know that some of the social laws of India are the boldest in the world. But all these rights are mere printed lines in our law books. In real life we see exactly the opposite picture.

Without any doubt, the major responsibility for this situation goes to our age old system. While we have used technological and economic progress to better the lifestyles of the educated (men), we have made women the victims of conservatism and revivalism. Male law-makers have neglected to create the right machinery for the implementation of our laws.

If these facts and figures reflect women's conditions in India, then perhaps the emerging picture of the present and even the future

seems gloomy indeed. But in keeping with India's immense capacity for total contrasts, women's lives in India are not static. However small, there is a core of turbulence within the heart of India which is churning away and spinning out new ideas and thinking patterns which inspire men and women to reassess their lives and their expectations.

The last 40 years have been a host of progressive plans being made. These plans have helped, at least theoretically, to remove the albatross of ancient and outmoded anti-women laws from around the necks of women. Marriage laws, succession laws, abortion and family welfare laws–all have been updated and given a new look to achieve the dream of Indian sociologists to bring women into the mainstream of national activity.

Today a woman can enter any educational institution in India. She can opt to enter any profession she chooses. She can earn and create wealth as a separate individual and not be accountable even to her husband. She can votes as she pleases and she can control her fertility.

If she has the strength of character and the staying power, she can certainly shape her own destiny. Some figures illustrate how these new freedoms have affected women. A recent survey revealed that 82 per cent of women are aware of their political rights. In many national elections, women voters have outnumbered men in the political arena, many women have merged as popular leaders who fight a relentless battle.

However, these freedoms and opportunities have not yet reached the rural women and the villages. But urban educated women have grabbed their new found opportunities with alacrity and made unbelievable strides.

As a result of this, an educated urban woman often lives in a radically different social world than her mother's or grandmother's. She is sometimes more emancipated than the western women. She handles all the family money, directs the careers of the children and supports her husband's work by actively participating in it. An extremely capable person, she often handles both her household responsibilities and her flourishing career remarkably well. What is more, it is she who has maintained the link with India's valuable cultural past culling out carefully, those values which strengthen and enrich her children's lives even in the 20th century. She is an aware, gracious, intelligent axis around which her entire family's life revolves.

Will these two extremes ever come together. Will the fruits of progress reach the majority of Indian women in the 21st century? Who knows? There is, however, great hope. Women in more fortunate positions are increasingly realizing their social responsibility. The sisterhood of women is a new phenomenon in India and educated women are accepting the leadership of their downtrodden compatriots to create an effective pressure group in the corridors of powers.

The result is that 1990 was declared as the 'SAARC year of the Girl Child'. The Core Group of the Department of Women and Child Development also produced a National Plan Perspective for Women — 1988 to 2000. The recommendations made by this perspective will be almost revolutionary. If brought into action, they will make Indian women the most emancipated in the world. Women have proved that they are ready for the exciting new century of high technology and progress. Will they really meet the challenge? Will they surpass their past performance and prove their mettle?

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

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Peace Education In The Academia In India — The Role Of Women Therein

Anima Bose

Peace has several meanings. One meaning overwhelms all others in our time and day : the removal of the threats of war, specially nuclear war. The horrors of a nuclear holocaust already experienced in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, reduce people to a state of helplessness and hopelessness. Nuclear war needs now to happen only once to demolish all civilization and to wreck devastation on a scale unequalled by the cumulative destruction caused by all previous wars in history turning this planet of ours uninhabitable for any form of life. Yet nuclear disarmament is not an easy task. Political will is needed for the governments of the nations to come out of the webs of nuclear deterrence and nuclear parity and to take positive steps towards total nuclear disarmament. There are other means of conflict resolution. The time has come to turn to them.

For millions in this world peace does not only mean the absence of war, it also means the satisfaction of basic human needs such as, food, shelter, health and education. It means guaranteed justice, enjoyment of all the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The World Women Parliamentarians for Peace declared, in 1986, at Delhi conference, that women claim their right to be heard primarily because they have so far been left out when vital decisions affecting the future and fate of all human kind as regards war and peace and disarmament have been taken. They claim their right to participate in the decision-making process. They refuse to be victims of the violent state of affairs in the world today – violence overt, subtle and silent. They believe that women have a decisive role in saving this planet

from total destruction, and preserving it for the present and future generations.

Peace and non-violence are two sides of a medal. Non-violence, Gandhiji said, is not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated like the other virtues. Society is largely regulated by the expression of non-violence in its mutual dealings. What is needed is an extension of it on a larger national and international scale, through education.

At no time in human history has there been a greater need for understanding peace and considering the use of non-violent means towards achieving it. At no time in human civilization has the imperative of drawing together the races, the castes, the regions and the nations of the world been more compelling, so that their creative energies may be channelised towards cooperation for human progress instead of being frittered away in conflict and violence. At no time in human history has it been more urgent to rethink and direct activities of the young generation into uplifting and life-affirmative channels.

So far, violent means have been considered inevitable for resolving disagreement. It is time that non-violent means were considered not only as "ANOTHER" way, but perhaps, the only viable way for resolving conflict and disagreement in any civilized society.

Study of peace is not the study of pacification, or suppressing dissent, or maintaining the *status-quo* however unjust and immoral. The study of peace, in essence, is understanding peace not as just the absence of war and overt violence, but also removing subtle forms of violence perpetrated through the ages due to lack of creative thinking. The state of world as we see it today, calls for an "UNDERSTANDING" of peace and *non- violence* urgently. It will not be enough just to talk about peace.

Most of peace-studies and education in non-violence have hitherto taken place at the university level. Today's conditions make it specially important to provide peace education in the years immediately before university entry. Students at this stage are of an impressionable age, directly affected by national or racial prejudices, by violence and conflicts. They are young enough to learn to live together and develop a sense of tolerance and understanding without the pressure of specialized studies and a concern for a career which affects them at a later stage. Attitude of mind and values are still at the stage of growth and have room for development as at no other stage. Shared experience and assistance are vital at this stage of their life. Introducing peace-studies as a subject in schools will help develop the students' minds so that they would reorganize the common humanity

which joins us together and on which the very survival of human civilization depends.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that today our society shows more and more dependence on laws and institution and less and less on the ability or potentiality of the human beings. Here one may profitably quote Section 7 of 1944 Butler Education Act – which became the Education Act of Northern Ireland, 1947 and which says : "It shall be the duty of the local education authority for every area, so far as their powers extend, to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community." Clearly, there would be something lacking in an education pattern which merely provides instruction and ignores wider aspects of the development of the person.

I believe that ideas have always been a very powerful influence on the development of the education pattern. Teachers have produced their own ideas and explored the possibilities of others, such as those of the philosophers and thinkers down the ages. Society has come to see the value and importance of education and to demand more and yet more of it for the children; for the youth.

In India, so long education has been considered a passport to getting jobs and "employment". It would be rather a short-sighted policy to encourage this attitude. Human beings need personal fulfilment and social enhancement. They need to work not merely for survival but for living for and with, others with values in an inter-personal relationship emphasizing a "holistic" view of life with a sense of responsibility to the contemporary society and an accountability to the future generation.

There must be, therefore, room for adaptation, an experiment. non-violence and peace-education, I hope would be looked at from that angle.

Besides, non-violence, conflict resolution and peace education are part of the curricula already at the university level in some countries. It would be relevant to have a background of these fields at the school level and so help create a choice for subjects at the university level if the student decides to go in for university education.

Over the past decade collegiate peace studies programmes in the U.S. and few other countries have increased tremendously, from a small handful in the 60's to an impressive number in the 90's. It appears that the academia have recognized the need for a discipline in peace studies. A bid needs to be made within the senior schools. With an increasing undergraduate peace studies programme, careful

consideration must be directed to the senior school-level student. The student desiring to pursue peace studies in his college/university career needs a good beginning and basic information. This is a consideration which cannot be overlooked. This is the reason for planning carefully the curricula, their evaluation and faculties which clearly will increasingly become areas of concern for the student who wants to pursue seriously the area of peace education in the academia.

What is peace-education? The word "PEACE" has been used historically by many nations and cultures. As for example, "SHANTI" is a benediction in Sanskrit that enhances both the outer and the inner being; the semitic word, "SHALOM" — stands for external, internal, physical and spiritual abundance; the Arabic word, "SALAM" is an expression of peace in the world; "EIRENE" — the Greek word indicated a state of harmony where violence was absent. The Romans used, "pax" for peace which meant "A PACT". Thus, we see the use of Peace as "Pacts" or "Treaties". For example, the Peace of Versailles. While peace courses in education will need to contain all the above historical understandings, peace study today will need to emphasize that peace is a positive condition for human cooperation, underscoring social, economic and political justice for all, irrespective of gender, caste, colour and beliefs, and without any kind of overt, or subtle violence. From this angle, peace education represents a moral challenge to human beings and to international understanding. As Mahatma Gandhi had said years ago, "Non-violence is peace restored with justice and equity."

Peace-education underscores the fact that non-violence, in the last analysis is a sign of strength; resorting to violence is an indication of cowardice. There is no "Winner" or "Loser" where the basis of conflict resolution is non-violence. Its appeal is to the moral conscience and humanity of the opponents involved.

The aim of non-violence is the constant growth of justice and equity, not any particular person's or a group's glory. Non-violence demands that the means be noble as the end, that the *welfare of all* be the focal concern instead of just "the greatest good of the greatest number". Thus, the values of the student undergo a radical change through peace studies and peace education.

Gandhian study has become an integral part of peace-study wherever it has been incorporated at the University level, – in the U.S.A., in the U.K., in Holland, in West Germany and in Sweden with all of which I have had the privilege of being associated.

This is a a phenomenon that had taken place in the earlier part of the 1960's specially in the U.S.A. During my own experience as a University Professor in the U.S.A., 1966—1975—I had the privilege of initiating Gandhian Studies in 4 Universities which included the study of the Gandhian concept and Principles of *Ahimsa*, *Stayagraha*, *Sarvodaya*, and of War and Peace. I initiated a course on "Peace Movements in History" also.

Courses suggested at the University Level:

(1) Conflict Resolution on the basis on non-violence;

(2) Gandhian concept of non-violence;

(3) Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi;

(4) Case Studies of *Satyagrahas* in Gandhiji's time in India;

(5) War and Peace;

(6) Social Justice and Peace;

(7) World Order and Peace;

(8) A historical analysis of peace movements;

(9) The religious dimensions of peace;

(10) The economics of peace;

(11) International Relations and Peace;

(12) The Biology of Human Aggression;

(13) Anthropology of conflicts;

(14) Conflict management;

(15) Autobiographical Studies of Peace-makers, *e.g.*, Buddha, Jesus, Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, Mother Teresa and other peace makers from the contemporary world;

(16) Violence to nature and environment.

For the purpose of school level studies, the courses would be (1), (2), (3), (5), (6), (15) and (16). The above subjects will be chosen relative to the level of the learners. But "LIVE IT" would be compulsory. It would be a project that must become a part of the learner's day-to-day life.

At the University level, however, the programme will have (1) Course work; (2) Inter-disciplinary Seminars; (3) Field work – which could be called "PEACE UNDERSHIPS", or projects called, "LIVING IT"

projects where the personal involvement of the student is of primary importance.

Peace-education helps the learner to become aware of both the impossibility and the possibilities. What seems impossible today is thus because justice has rarely been achieved without violent resistance, so far. And yet, it is possible to achieve justice without violence because human capacity to create is equal to human capacity to destroy. The power of non-violence (*Ahimsa*) is greater than the power of violence as the trends of events in this decade are just beginning to show.

Following up the peace-education courses at the school level, the programme of Peace-studies at the university level may lead to B.A., M.A., Ph.D. degrees.

There is room for "careers in peace making" as I found out by doing quick research in the area while teaching abroad. Some students have become peace-studies teachers at the under-graduate and graduate levels; some work with the United Nations; some work for economic development as well as for labour mediation and government arbitration; some work for the church as its ministers and also as social workers. In all the above fields of work, they have brought their peace-study perspectives.

In my conversation with students abroad, I found them sensitive to the whole question of peace-studies. They had seen and experienced wars and the power of destruction at a very young age. Now they wanted to learn and experience the power of non-violence. They said peace-education would help make the world a better place than they had experienced it.

The Government of India may want to review the nation's education. The review could cover the questions of the pattern, the curricula and the policy of education. It is hoped that the validity of including peace-education as a part of the core curricula in the academia at all levels would be considered seriously, considering the compelling spectre of violence that has overwhelmed our society and this generation. The decision taken today must reflect the lesson we have learned from the past that non-violence and peace can become cliches and merely receive lip-service. That to reject violence, one needs to be "educated" in depth, in the understanding of non-violence and peace in their many dimensions. That peace-study is an imperative and therefore must be included in the core curricula of the academia in India at all levels in our time.

Clearly, education for peace is an imperative. The young must be initiated from the very beginning—within the family where the first socialization begins, and then in the educational institutions, in the academia, where formal learning begins in a disciplined way to prepare the learners for life and for wholesome living.

Women as mothers, the home-makers, women as the leaders of the society, women as the law-makers and members of Parliament have no choice in our time and day but to delve deep into this question of peace-education and take a leadership role in the 1990's in seeing that peace-education becomes a vital part of our education system, and that it is included in the core curricula of the academia both at the school and university levels.

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Women And Higher Education: Perspectives And Prospects

Surinder J. Sharma

It is forty-four years since India achieved Freedom and we are running our Eighth Five-Year Plan for national development. Planning was introduced long back – almost on the morrow of Independence. Yet if we were to take stock of our achievements, we have neither become self-sufficient in most of the fields nor are we able to shake off foreign pressures.

It is time to pause, think and then move. One of the reasons for our slow progress is that the minorities of our society have yet to join the mainstream. This includes women who in our society constitute the largest single minority. It is interesting to note that our Constitution makers provided for equality of all citizens. Subsequently, the Hindu Marriage Act, Hindu Succession Act, Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act and Dowry Prohibition Act were passed to protect the rights and equality of women. However, discrimination on the basis of class, caste and sex remains entrenched. One of the factors behind the slow realization of the national goals and ideals is that 49 per cent of our population suffers from discrimination. Either the role assigned to them is minimal or only a small fraction of them are able to voice their opinions and participate in policy-making decisions.

The present discussion falls into three phases:

Phase one concerning different categories of women, analyses what education means to them in terms of their behaviour pattern in contemporary society. Phase two deals with women in higher education. The last part reflects on the prospect of women in education and

desirable modifications in the educational system in terms of national goals from the women's angle.

Statistics show that about 70 per cent of total population lives in rural areas of which less than half are women. Let alone higher education, even the literacy rate is as low as 24.82 per cent in these areas. Women's role in the family and society is well known if not well defined. Their total exposure to the outside world is through the (1) elders in the family, (2) folklore and (3) some form of mass media (which may or may not be there). Under the circumstances, their lives are governed by males and elders in the family. The meaning of life is what has been explained to them and it is the perpetuation of well-worn traditions and customs of the family, of the clan or tribe to which they belong. Sociologically, it is mostly the in-group interaction which is encouraged and adhered to. In this patriarchal system, therefore, the male child is groomed to be the bread-winner and decision-maker of the family. In agriculture, the women is expected to assist the male but her labour earns no wage at all. Hers is a wage-free contribution both in the house and in the field. This class of Indian women is condemned to economic deprivation and the main reason behind it is the lack of social awareness. She is regarded as subordinate to her male counterparts in the family and completely governed by them. She has no say in matters relating to her own life, – no preferences and no pleasures. She lives for others and at times reduced to the position of only a reproductive machine. It suits probably to the male-dominated society. The rule of the oppressor is more successful if the oppressed is a mindless robot and neither has any awareness of his/her rights nor the courage to claim them. She has no idea of what the Constitution contains. No tear is ever shed on the violation of her human rights. The literates do not hold seminars or *dharnas* to protest against the apathy about her pitiful condition.

The worse hit are the Scheduled Castes where the literacy rate among females is only 8.44 per cent. She is not merely beholden to her family but to the entire village for her bare survival. The oppression here is multifarious including sexual harassment and humiliation. There is no redressal either. For most criminals go scot-free and unpunished for one reason or the other. Sometimes the crime is not even reported out of fear or the evidence is destroyed, and justice perverted. The criminals enjoy patronage of politicians and money bags. The rural poverty line for a family of five (at 1984-85 prices) being Rs. 6400 a year, most children are deprived of school education. So the univer-

salisation of elementary education has no meaning to them. A girl of seven or eight years is supposed to look after the household work and siblings while her mother or elders are at work. Each pair of hands is welcome because the earnings on unskilled labour, completely at the mercy of private hands, are a pittance. It boils down to the question of economic survival and that dominates the total behavioural pattern.

Now compare this class with another class of women who come from a socio-cultural beckground where right from birth onwards every moment of life teaches a lesson of acculturation. Formal education of quality is made available to them along with all the facilities of life. Even against this background, however, discrimination is obvious for anybody to see. The choice of subject, school and university is linked with well deliberated goals of life. It is a steady move in the right direction and women have a very specific role to play. They can be divided into three sub-categories. In the first are women, who head big business houses, do routine work with the assistance of a retinue of experts and fill certain gaps for tax purposes. They are not much credit to higher education or to society though they may be assets to their family. They take more from life than they give. The fact is that their life is governed by their male counterparts with the only difference that business interest is the driving force behind it. This sub-category consists on women who, despite higher education, do not make proper use of it. Heading firms or business houses is just a convenience and not an economic necessity. They are in fact used to pile up the family fortune.

Then, there are women who get the best of every kind of education but they are groomed to be assets to their male counterparts in a different way. To put it in simple words, they are the petite society ladies total manifestation of whose education is in their drawing rooms, social interactions or kitty parties. They come from a social background of abundance, therefore, they do not need to supplement the income of their partners. Their only social assignment is to look and act pretty. To put it bluntly, they are the suckers of our social system whose only goal in life is to receive but never to give anything. It represents a dismal failure of education if one is aware of one's rights but not of one's obligations. This is a total drain on our national resources, with no return.

Lastly, for those women who have achieved professional specialization, the entire world is their oyster and the sky is the limit. It is a deadly combination of brains and right connections. Good and high powered jobs, therefore, easily become their

preserve. Higher education results in a series of successes. The irony is that merit and hard work are relegated to the background which spreads frustration all around in society. It breads dissatisfaction but there is no remedy as knowledge gets converted into power and more power. This elite controls the entire society, directly or indirectly. At times, invisible hands manipulate big business deals and strategic political decisions. They use people as pawns in their games. Fortunately for the nation, they are, even though powerful, in a minority. So higher education has a different meaning for this class of women.

The third category of women come from the middle class strata of society. Irrespective of their numbers, they breathe life in our social, cultural, economic and political system. They are in constant pursuit of their identity, equality, progress or national development. Each rung leads to the next. This awareness is the hallmark of their struggle. Women in this category are socially and economically ambitious and therefore, hard working.

For each of these sections and sub-sections, the realization of education and higher education is a means as well as an end, depending on their station in life. Higher education brings about a sea change in their attitudes and perspectives. With each new chapter of higher education, they improve their lot. Their feet are firmly planted on earth but their gaze is directed towards the stars. Education spells life to them with all its different hues and meanings. This class of women fights on different fronts at the same time. She supplements the income of her partner, looks after the family and the household and simultaneously matches her wits with her professional colleagues. In the interest of development and progress, she is letting herself to be exploited. In the post-independence period, the middle classes have moved up with each new generation and are generally responsible for capturing the consumer market. Besides, various organizations, institutions, trade unions, recreational or cultural clubs, etc., are the product of this class. And this includes movements for literacy, social welfare, anti-dowry cells, legal aids and the fight for the upliftment of the status of women in the society. They are, in fact, the pulsating barometers or the success or failure of our political and economic systems.

Saddled with middle class morality, a set of taboos and inhibitions, they are yet able to adjust to all kinds of situations. Starting with lower ranks, they keep moving up almost in all professions despite resistance. Achievements in higher education

and the professions are the result of a series of adjustments and a constant struggle. What is worse is that inequality and their secondary and dependent status has become a matter of fact and an inescapable part of their personality. They do not even protest when gender prejudice pervades their most sacred beliefs and faiths. They take solace from religion, rightly or wrongly, and there too they are denied entry in its inner ranks—whether it is a school of Buddhism or Jainism or a temple in the South.

A historical perspective of trends in higher education shows that it was only during the seventies and onwards that women's enrolment in science, engineering and management courses started in right earnest.

Even today, except in some States like Goa, Kerala or Punjab, the enrolment of girls in these courses is much lower than that of boys. This, despite the fact that, assimilation of information and knowledge by them is much better than that of the boys. The handicaps are the usual ones. There is inherent doubt in their capacity to perform or to stick to their jobs. The best of men are unable to take a women's profession seriously. In most cases, the very definition of a job excludes a woman candidate. In the selection committees, for the same post the yardstick for interview is different for different sexes. Even when she has an edge over the male candidate, she is rejected. As a common practice, a show of independence in the interview is termed as confidence for the man and dubbed as aggressiveness for the woman. Psychological analysis further shows that when a male candidate is rejected by a selection committee, he blames the panel but when it happens to a woman, she blames herself and starts doubting her own capability.

Women's achievements in academics too are not reflected in statistics in the higher jobs curve. Surveys show that most companies like to employ women in jobs of public dealing at a lower level. Responsible positions are reserved for male candidates. This is true not only of private companies but also of public undertakings. It also applies to Central Government appointments (except where the entrance is on competitive basis) as well as the academic field. Out of 197 universities, we have only five universities for women and only 11 women vice-chancellors. By no stretch of the imagination can it be accepted that there is a dearth of capable and efficient women administrators or academicians.

For example, one does not have to go very far. No central university, which normally boasts of attacking the intelligentsia from far and wide, has had a woman vice-chancellor. One of our prime educational institution – the Delhi University – has never had a woman vice-chancellor

since its inception in 1922. The amazing thing is that the most progressive men do not accept woman scholars, even in administrative posts, as part of the vice-chancellor's hand-picked team. To quote another example, since independence we have had 8 Presidents and 8 Vice-Presidents of the country but none of them was a woman. We have had 10 Prime Ministers in the span of 45 years and only one was a woman who ruled this country for 15 long years and with greater efficiency than most men Prime Ministers. The Supreme Court of India, the apex court of the country, had its only woman judge in 1989, *i.e.*, after almost 40 years of its establishment. The ratio of women judges in High Courts does not exceed 2 per cent.

The Question that arises is, what ails our policies when they are so clearly defined in black and white? We have had various commissions and committees to deal with the minorities including women. They have produced bulky reports and recommendations. But do they play fair for women? Some of these reports are elaborate and comprehensive in their coverage. They are specific about what agencies to be devised, what is the target population that should benefit, the curriculum to be covered, with what tools and methodology, etc. These are important aspects. But the net result does not match the standards visualized or earmarked. It is not quantity but quality that is more important. In respect of quantity, higher education is more or less a preserve of urban middle and upper middle class. It stands to reason that if it is difficult to have primary or middle schools at accessible distances for the rural population, university education can only be a dream for them even if they are eligible and attracted towards it.

Reverting to quality, the issue can be split into three parts :

(1) What are the goals of higher education in our national development?

(2) What are the qualitative differences between the input and the output of university educational systems in terms of these goals?

(3) Is our university education system geared to meet the national targets as also the targets of the concerned personnel who should be treated as independent and equal citizens?

The answer to these three questions would give some idea of the prospects of women in higher education. With technological advancement and modernization which covers even ordinary households, the national goal should be to expect women to learn and practise the ideals of democracy, equality, social justice and secularism. Learning is as much for itself as for future preparation. Let us understand that

most effective learning is done at the family level. A small family unit, which in itself is the need of the hour, can be the thinking board and the testing board of human and social values and women can make the most significant contribution in it. Education in that sense is a critical determinant of a woman's performance both in the family and society. As a result of higher education, a woman's role may be redefined to the extent that besides these, she may be exposed to a professional set-up, *i.e.*, if she is also a working woman. It is then a dual role – more exposure leading to greater responsibilities and on few occasions she is also the decision maker. The fact is that despite these roles, she is never treated as an equal partner at the family, social or professional level.

The realization of national goals is dependent on the performance of the educator and the educated. Since so many constraints block the development of a woman's personality, there is not much that our university education can do. The problems is two, fold – one-the parents of a female child want the educational institution to extend the protection to their ward that she is used to. They do not like it if their child is taught or encouraged to think and act accordingly. It does not suit their traditional view. Besides, university education itself is mostly classroom teaching and exam-oriented which leaves very little scope for open interactions. So both the teacher and the taught have very little room for manoeuvrability. To make matters worse, our syllabi have no bearing on our existing social conditions. We follows either the generation-old parameters for our syllabi or we rely on imported models which do not suit our local conditions. There is no balance between traditional values (that need to be sustained) and modern-day requirement. When narrow visions prevail and self-ish motives govern, what can be the fate of such an education systems? The impression that reaches across is that education in this country is on a low priority. Considering that we are a developing country where literacy in the case of women is only 39.42 per cent in 1991 and the enrolment in higher education is restricted to a select few, we do not even utilize the full fruits of our existing educational system. The enrolment figures (as per Appendix) indicate that in 1988-89, women enrolment was only 31.7 per cent which, as per the Report of the Ministry of Human Resource Development (1990-91) has risen to 32.5 per cent. As it is, only 3 per cent of the GNP is spent on education. The system is allowed to deteriorate in more ways than one. The teacher, the taught and taxpayer, all three seem to be equally unperturbed about it. Each one of them takes the line of least resistance. But somebody has to sit up and initiate the process of self-realisation and self-rectification. Today, it might be called unwarranted interference on the part of decision-making bodies. But once

the situation reaches a point of no return, the coming generation would curse the people responsible for it.

With this end in view, let us record our value priorities in a manner that they promote the national goals. Women and their education can play a pivotal role in the socio-cultural development of our nation. So it is necessary to change the very base of our educational system to let it deal more with contemporary thought and action. While meaningful and value-oriented traditions must be preserved, it is equally necessary to discard all those customs which have lost their relevance today. If the country has to have any place in international relations, the educational system must gear itself to prepare the students to understand and develop analytical powers to be able to differentiate the rights for the wrongs. Whatever is obsolete and irrelevant, must be deleted. The syllabii must be prepared with a view to serve the current material needs or preserve the rich national heritage. The purpose of education should include the use of assimilated knowledge. In other words, it should be action-oriented and extend to workshops and craftsheds too. This umbrella of education should be extended to all kinds of Learning through different tools, methodology and media. The emphasis should be on teaching and learning—less in the classroom and more in the field, street or workshop—with some remuneration if possible. Learning and earning should be combined. Sharing and interacting should be an essential part of higher education for it permits an airing and cleaning of views, opinions and bias. This participatory teaching keeps the student and teacher alert and active. In the process, everybody learns more.

Discrimination against the female child begins right at the family level. The task of the education is, therefore doubly important in the sense that it has to undo the wrong attitude already acquired and it must emphasize equality between the sexes at least among rungs of university hierarchies. This change in attitude of all concerned is the key to making women equal citizens who can contribute effectively in the national development. One sure way to do this is to introduce more co-educational institutions so that the disbursement and assimilation of knowledge is accepted by students without the awareness of sex discrimination. It would be desirable if while holding refresher courses for all senior executives and bureaucrats in different fields, a definite exercise to end discrimination is undertaken. It is not enough to make higher education employable; it is more important to disburse this employment according to exit and merit alone. No gender, class or caste should play any role in it. Both parents and teachers must support this attitudinal change.

Exposure to higher education must aim at inculcating certain basic values and practical abilities—most important of them being patience and rational approach. As on today, the output of higher education which is mainly the outcome of bookish knowledge (totally unconnected with reality) does not prepare them to take their own initiatives in life. Consultation with seniors becomes the deciding factor. Guidance and career counselling must be provided but within limits and upto a point. Cotton-wool handling delays the growth and kills the enthusiasm of youth. While formal education is only for the privileged, let non-formal education (with multi-entry system) be according to the convenience of the student. Limitations or restrictions should not act as a negative force. To offset the centuries old exploitation of women, they must now be given priority like any other minority and even preference if possible. The distribution of privileges and power must help bring women in the forefront. Higher education without proper motivation and extra incentives (even if economical) would not attract the young female intelligentsia.

To make the process of higher education easier and attractive, the tools and methodology should be selected in the light of their acceptability. Effort should be made to get more text-books translated in the regional languages at least for general and traditional subjects. For technical subjects, the student is in any case mentally prepared to put in more hard work and learn it the way that would be useful for her in her later life. This venture can be made successful by roping in the resources from big business houses.

The most Important factor in the success of higher education for women is the performance of those responsible for it. It is imperative to assess the teaching performance, to improve it and supplement it by research and other extension programmes. No amount of good policy or additional budget can help if performance to match with it is lacking. The quality of our output is to a large extent, dependent on it. So professional development must cross the boundaries of petty and unhealthy politics.

Various recommendations and suggestions about infrastructure, tools, methodology or performance can only give a good start. To get results and end discrimination against the female child, our senior citizens have to initiate a conscious and deliberate movement. Else, the professed equality, even though granted by the Constitution of India, would remain a dream for women.

Appendix

SEX-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLMENTS STAGEWISE 1980-81 TO 1988-89

YEAR	GRADUATE			POSTGRADUATE			RESEARCH		
	T	W	%	T	N	N	T	W	70
1980-81	24.01.485	6,52,80	27.2	2,73,337	7 7,001	28.2	32.171	8 ,780	27.3
1981-82	25,88,759	7,16,249	27.7	2,85,892	81,645	28.6	34,588	9, 581	27.2
1982-83	27,57,89 3	7,73,342	28.0	2,96,103	86,380	29.2	36,7 31	10 ,673	29.1
1983-84	29,12,487	8,25,409	28.3	3,13,110	93,728	29..9	36,249	10, 615	29.2
1984-85	29,99,621	8,71,571	29.1	3,22,541	98,415	30.5	38.160	11,332	29.7
1985-86*	31,42,389	9,29,461	29.6	3,39,235	1,04,803	30.9	39,200	12,703	23.3
1986-87*	32,40,046	9,88,017	30.5	3,49,778	1,11,405	31.5	40, 500	13,304	33.3
1987-88*	33,56,687	10,49,274	31.33	3,62,370	1,18,312	32.7	41, 958	14,341	34.2
1988-89*	34,74,171	10,98,809	30.16	3,75,053	1,23,898	33.0	43,4 27	15,018	34.6

	DIPLOMA CERTIFICATE			TOTAL		
YEAR	T	W	%	T	W	%
1980-81	45,444	9,936	21.9	27,52,437	7,48,525	27.2
1981-82	42,827	9,229	21.5	29,52,006	8,16,704	27.7
1982-83	42,366	9,811	23.2	31,33,093	8,80,136	28.1
1983-84	45,803	10,501	22.9	33,07,649	9,40,253	28.4
1984-85	43,774	10,821	24.7	34,04,096	9,92,139	29.1
1985-86*	49,993	11,645	23.3	35,70,897	10,58,612	29.6
1986-87*	51,546	12,378	24.0	36,81,870	11,25,304	30.6
1987-88*	53,402	13,146	24.6	38,14,417	11,95,073	31.3
1988-89*	55,271	13,766	24.9	39,47,922	12,51,491	31.7

* Estimated

T = Total enrolment W = Women enrolment N.A. = Not available

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Education Of Tribal Women

Usha Vohra

. Article 46 of the Constitution of India lays down the broad policy frame in that the State shall promote with special care the educational interest of the Scheduled Tribes. Education, as reflected in terms of literacy, is an area in which the Scheduled Tribes, particularly, the women are much below the rest of the society. The missionaries were the pioneers in the education field and much of the education imparted in tribal areas was initiated by them.

2. After independence, positive steps have been taken to promote female education. The goal of universal education for all categories of children up to the age of 14 years is yet to be reached. The following Table gives a comparative picture of literacy rate in the last few decades:

Year	*General*	*Scheduled Tribe*	
1961	T	24.02	8.53
	M	34.44	13.83
	F	12.95	3.16
1971	T	29.45	11.30
	M	39.45	17.63
	F	18.70	4.85
1981	T	36.20	16.35
	M	46.70	24.52
	F	24.90	8.04

3. In 1981 Census, literacy rate of Scheduled Tribe women was 8.04 as against 24.9 female literacy in general. Sixty-two districts in the country have women literacy below 2 per cent and in 30 districts with below 1 per cent (Appendix It is a paradox, however, that the highest and lowest female literacy rate are among tribal women only. Of 414 communities listed as Scheduled Tribes (STs) in 1971 Census data, 72 Tribes had female literarcy below 1 per cent. The largest number of such tribes/sub-tribes are in Arunachal Pradesh (23) followed by Madhya Pradesh (21) and Orissa (15). The tribal parents are reluctant to send their daughters to schools and sometimes resist their education. Larger groups of tribals in India like *Bhils. Gonds. Hos. Khonas. Minas* and *Santhals* had female literacy below 3 per cent according to 1971 Census. The *Nagas, Mandas* and *Graons* on the other hand have female literacy 17.39, 7.57 and 8.56 per cent respectively. Most of these tribes are from North-Eastern States and in the *Chhotanagpur* plateau and they came under the influence of Christian missionaries.

4. The most important element in harnessing the process of change to the advantage of STs or any community is female education. Lack of female education is one of the main reasons for lack of awareness in tribal families. Unfortunately, female education has not attracted much attention of many of the important committees/commissions and no specific approach to their problems have been focused on their reports. The social practice of neglecting girl child, early marriage and lack of extension actvities are some of the important reasons for low literacy among tribal girls.

5. However, efforts for improving the literacy and educational levels of STs as a whole were taken systematically since the First Five-Year Plan under the general educational sector and under the welfare of backward classes. Special schemes were formulated for STs which are under implementation since the First Five-Year Plan for supplementing efforts of the general educational sector. The schemes were mostly in the nature of incentives to the ST children to get formal schooling. The Centrally-sponsored Schemes in the field of education for the STs are implemented by the Ministry of Welfare and the schemes include post-matric scholarship, ashram schools, hostels, coaching and allied schemes and books for boys and girls.

6. It is observed that during the two years 1984-85 to 1986-87 the enrolment ratio of girls at primary level increased from 56.16 to 63.79. With a high drop-out rate, the net benefit was thus negligible. The extent of wastage or drop-out at all levels of education is alarmingly high. In Class I to V, 66 per cent of the ST children drop-out from the schools. Separate data for girls is not available. The National

policy on education-1986 in addition to general objectives has suggested establishment of large scale residential schools/ashram schools for ST children. The Government is, therefore, giving more stress on ashram schools for tribal children. A Centrally-sponsored scheme on ashram schools is being implemented since 1990-91 in addition to the existing State schemes. Unless remedial measures to control the drop-outs are taken, the ST girls will lag-behind in the coming decades.

Appendix

DISTRICTS HAVING LESS THAN I PER CENT FEMALE LITERACY RATE (1981 CENSUS)

Sl. No.	*State*	*District*	*Literacy Rate*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1. Nizamabad	0.73
		2. Mahabub Nagar	1.19
		3. Medak	1.31
		4. Adilabad	1.62
		5. Karim Nagar	1.61
		6. Warangal	1.39
		7. Nalgonda	1.02
2.	Bihar	1. Nawada	1.45
		2. Paschim Champaram	1.21
		3. Purnia	2.00
3.	Gujarat	1. Kachch	1.44
		2. Banaskantha	1.84
4.	Madhya Pradesh	1. Morena	0.46
		2. Datia	0.84
		3. Shipuri	0.20
		4. Guna	0.25
		5. Tikamgarh	0.32
		6. Chhatarpur	0.39
		7. Panna	0.77
		8. Satna	0.62
		9. Rewa	0.43
		10. Sidhi	0.54
		11. Ratlam	0.98
		12. Dewar	0.87
		13. Rajgarh	0.94
		14. Vidisha	0.63
		15. Shahdol	1.34
		16. Mandsaur	1.07
		17. Shajapur	1.71
		18. Jhabur	1.65
		19. Dhar	1.19
		20. West Nimar	1.82
		21. East Nimar	1.83

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		22. Scholа	1.05
		23. Ratsan	1.32
	5. Orissa	1. Koraput	1.65
	6. Rajasthan	1. Tonk	0.67
		2. Jatsalmer	
		3. Jodhpur	0.94
		4. Pali	0.45
		5. Barmer	0.14
		6. Jalar	0.09
		7. Sirohi	0.38
		8. Bhilrwara	0.45
		9. Udaipur	0.68
		10. Chittaurgarh	0.46
		11. Bundi	0.91
		12. Alwar	1.34
		13. Sawai Madhopur	1.35
		14 Jaipur	1.67
		15. Nagaur	1.77
		16 Dungarpur	1.31
		17. Panswara	1.07
		18. Jhalawar	1.37
	7. Uttar Pradesh	1. Pilibhit	0.74
		2. Kheri	0.70
		3. Unnao	0.45
		4. Bahraich.	0.61
		5. Gonda	0.32
		6. Bijnor	1.78
		7. Farrukhabad	1.31
	8. Arunachal Pradesh	1. East Kemeng	1.01

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Women In Education—Girl Child In India: In A No-Win Situation?

Vimla Patil

Yes on the face of it, this seems so. If she's illiterate, the angles of darkness govern her life. If she's lucky and highly educated, successful and intelligent, she's not tolerated by her family—mainly the husband. Every speaker, every social custom screams that woman is woman's worst enemy. Even if this were so, what are our enlightened fathers, husbands, brothers doing ? For a woman's status and life will change ultimately only when her own family—especially husband and children—give her a place of respect in and outside the family.

The girl child in India finds herself in a no-win situation from conception to death. More and more female foetuses are aborted in spite of the ban on sex-determination tests. According to doctors, aminocentesis has only been pushed into the back alleys of medical practice and each such test can now cost as much as Rs. 5,000. Many doctors agree to aborting foetuses at a price. A figure quoted is 78,000 female suicides per year.

If she still lives, a girl child is given meagre food, often last of all in a family. Pathetic situations when little girls, waiting to be given food while the men eat, are an eloquent commentary on how deep-rooted social prejudices are.

In education too, the female child is the first to drop-out. When marriage or motherhood comes, she is the most vulnerable.

In India, today, there are only 935 or less women per 1000 men and this number is dwindling further with every census. Many men feel that foeticide is a better option than to bring girls into this world

only to live lives of deprivation and humiliation. Saying that women are often women's worst enemies, doctors say that family planning through medical termination of pregnancy is an accepted method in India and family planning can also mean not having too many daughters.

This is a debatable view. Should society not change and accept men as rightful citizens of the world? Should not men step in if women are women's enemies? Should we kill females because they will otherwise have a raw deal in life ? The following points record the situation in India and raise these valid points.

Today a girl child is standing at the crossroads. She looks ahead and sees some positive changes that are slowly but surely changing our society. On looking back, she sees the conservative society that demeans her existence and makes her feel unwanted. She puts a step forward but her feet are bound by the conditional roles that she is forced to play throughout her life that of a daughter, wife, mother and widow—all within the four walls of her house.

According to statistics, India has the dubious distinction of having 935 females to 1,000 males of which 130 million girls are below 20. 69 per cent girls are enrolled in primary schools as against 99 per cent boys.

This clearly indicates that both physically and mentally, and even with education and influences from outside a girl is not to think of herself as an individual. An in-built prejudice exists in the whole generation of women and it has not changed with time. A girl is appreciated for being servile or adaptable and anyone who is different is considered abnormal.

The patriarchical structure of society advocates the theory that a male is superior and considers a girl child as an economic burden. Due to this the girl grows up with a feeling of rejection and diffidence which stays with her all her life. It has also been observed that a female gets less food, less health care and less education. In some Asian countries more girl babies die before her fifth birthay. In fact, they are even killed. Often the girl child's head is crushed underneath a cot. An old primitive way known as *Dudh Pita Karna* meant that the head of the new born girl was dipped in a bowl of milk. In later years women are forced to play the roles that are imposed by society—a daughter is there only to work, a dutiful wife who has to die with her husband. She should bear only a male child and was abused if she gave birth to a girl. The *Athurveda* itself states: "Grant me a son and a girl elsewhere."

The paradox is that science is subordinated to the dictates of traditional prejudices, as is evident in a technique like aminocentesis which blatantly perpetuates the preference for male progeny. Female foeticide is only a symptom of a deeper malaise which cannot be wiped off through mere laws.

Justifying femicide by saying that it is merely a medical termination of pregnancy is a twisted logic. It shows that there exists an indifference and lack of understanding of the issues underlying the entire movement against oppression.

Women have always desired fewer children than men. However, they have to bow down to the oppression and compulsions of the family planning programmes which are aimed at controlling 'female fertility'.

Demanding abortion after the sex of the foetus is determined is denying the unborn her basic right to live. Denying life to her is to kill her or to make her live for ever in darkness. Take the case of Sakhu:

Sakhu is a tiny girl and lives in a village in Maharashtra. Her family, farmers for generations, owns a tiny piece of land on the banks of the Pavna river and ekes out a meagre livelihood planting onions, potatoes, rice and *jowar* depending on the season. Sakhu has been a vivacious girl. Though she is only 10 years old, she is scrawny, yet bright-eyed; shy, yet curious; poor, yet fiercely willing to learn. Till two years ago. Sakhu used to stay home to tend the house; she would pick up her baby brother and run after the clucking hens to feed them and put them in their pens for the night. She idled all day and aimlessly sat by, as her emaciated mother cooked the thick, *grey bajra rotis* for the family's meals.

But in the last two years, Sakhu's life has changed dramatically. Since the government of India introduced free education for all girls till the 12th standard, Sakhu and many other girls like her, are where they rightfully should be – in school. The government has now made so many schemes available to girls to encourage them to go to school, that a definite improvement in the enrolment in rural schools is perceptible. The first of these schemes is the *Savitribai Phule Dattak Palak Yojana*. Though this scheme is being recast by the Maharashtra government right now, it had covered some 1,73,000 girls during the year 1987-88.

Named after the famed women's education activist, the scheme recognizes that education is the best weapon India can give to a woman to fight poverty, family and social oppression, financial dependence, chronic health problems, superstition and blind faith, ig-

norance and apathy. Only education, the scheme states, can open the window of a woman's mind and bring her the fresh breeze of ideas, thoughts and self-awareness. A woman, even in impoverished rural families, has a prominent place. She brings together two families. If she is educated, she brings change in both families at a faster rate. Being a victim of traditional neglect, rituals and economic backwardness, she remains deprived of education and its varied aspects.

The *Savitribai Phule scheme* picks up such girls who are unable to come to school because of any of the reasons. Any family which wishes to adopt such a girl can pay Rs. 25 plus clothes, books, etc. and send her to school. In Maharashtra alone, there are 21 lakh girls between the ages of six and fourteen who are going to any school and 56 lakh women (aged 15 to 35) who are illiterate. There are possibilities for those who have the awareness and the will to help. Such educated families can work for adult education schemes or adopt the girl—and support her from the time she enters school to the time she completes the seventh standard. Simultaneously, the parent of the 'adopted' girl must co-operate in keeping the girl in school till the seventh grade and give such a letter of agreement to the headmistress. The school principal should then keep the 'adoptive parents' informed about the attendance of their ward.

While this as well as other schemes have worked well, the progress of women's education has been slow, at best. Some of the figures that the governmental agencies provide are astounding. Each year, the Maharashtra government spends Rs. 5.5 crores on free education for girls. There are now 55,000 primary schools in the State: almost every village has at least one primary school. Free milk, *chana*, eggs and other benefits are offered to students in some regions, to attract them to schools. Thirty-two per cent of the Maharashtra budget goes towards education. The State now has 47 per cent literacy as compared to the Hindi belt where U.P. has 22 per cent and M.P. has 23 per cent. Rajasthan and Bihar have 20 per cent literacy, each. The Marwari community for instance can show only four to five per cent literacy among girls. Many Muslim communities still prefer to give their daughters only religious education.

"Governmental efforts are not enough for the upliftment of girls," says the education department of the State. "Social participation is necessary. Old traditions come in the way of educating girls. The economic factor acquires importance. But a girl social handicaps are the worst obstacles to her emancipation. We lure them (1,59,000 boys and girls) with free uniforms, free school kits and a book bank which reaches 7,43,000 students of the 1st to 7th grades. In the last 10 years, the number of schools and colleges in Maharashtra has gone

up steadily. The number of students has also grown dramatically. But free education is not the only reason. This is the result of many social factors."

But all these hopeful factors are only a drop in the ocean. The obstacles in girls education remain immoveable—like boulders standing bossily in the midst of a rolling, rushing river. Firstly, parents of a girl prefer her to be illiterate. They wish that she only learn the household work because "that's what she'll do in her husband's home". Secondly, she is always *paraya dhan* or another's property, so spending time, money or energy on her education is a fruiutless job. Thirdly, a son, educated, brings the reward (income) to his family. A girl educated, earns for others. Orthodox parents surprisingly believe that education makes a girl lose her character because she becomes free and is exposed to independent thinking. Educated girls, they say, find no husband. Such girls cannot adjust to the demands of marriage and home-making. So in darkness is a woman born, in darkness does she grow up and in darkness does she bring to yet another botheration... the root of this dismal state of affairs are certain age-old strong beliefs: one, that woman is born only to marry and bred. Two, that men are the gate-keepers of her character. That any foray into the man-made orbit, on her part, diminishes a man and his traditional prestige. Three, that men see a woman's illiteracy as a weapon to be used against her, to keep her in control and subjugation. Four, that a man actually believes that an iliterate woman is a good, innocent woman! When will these frightening bedrocks of society move, creating a volcanic change? Indian girls are now poised at the threshold of the 21st century, a new dawn of hi-technology. And they are impatient to know what the new age will mean for them!

WOMEN : A PEEP INTO THE PAST

42

NATIONALISM AND WOMEN'S AWAKENING*

Aruna Asaf Ali

Participation of women in India's epic freedom struggle can be traced back to the time of formation of Indian National Congress. It may be recalled that there was no woman delegate among those who entered their names in the register at the inauguration of Indian National Congress. A woman delegate participated for the first time in the fifth annual session in 1889. She was Kadambini Ganguly, who was also one of the first women to graduate in medical science. Within two decades, women took part in the movement against the partition of Bengal. It was the first militant anti-imperialist struggle.

The final decison to partition Bengal was announced by the Government on 20 July, 1905. It set off a vigorous movement of mass protest in the province, with sympathetic reaction in other parts of the country, the like of which had not been witnessed before. The common people, including women, were for the first time galvanised into political action. Some 500 women held a meeting at Janikandi village in the district of Murshidabad to protest against the partition. "*Bande Mataram*" (Literally "Hail the Mother"), with mother symbolising the motherland was the rallying cry which sustained the morale of the anti-partition demostrators in the face of assaults by the police.

Women contributed their gold bangles and other jewellery for the promotion of the Swadeshi movement. Saraladevi, a niece of Rabindra Nath Tagore, opened an emporium called Lakshmir

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* Adopted from the author's book, *Resurgence of Indian Women*, Radiant Publishers (Under the auspices of Nehru Memorical Museum and Library), New Delhi, 1991.

Bhandar in Calcutta for popularising Swadeshi goods. Women active in the Swadeshi movement outside Bengal included Mrs. Ketkar (daughter of Bal Gangadhar Tilak) and Mrs. A.V. Joshi in Bombay, and Sushila Devi, Hardevi and Purani in the Punjab.

Mrs. Ramsay MacDonald, who visited India at that time, noted that, "The movement seems to be spreading as much among women as men." Valentine Chirol, the British writer of book on *Indian Unrest*, said that "...revolt seems to have obtained a firm hold of the *zenana;* and the Hindu woman behind the *purdah* often exercises a greater influence upon her husband and her sons than the English woman who moves freely about the world... In Bengal even small boys of so tender an age as still to have the run of *zenanas* have, I am told, been taught the whole pattern of sedition, and go about from house to house dressed up as little *sanyasis* in little yellow robes preaching hatred of the English."

The next landmark in national awakening and women's resurgence was the formation of the Home Rule League in 1916 and of the Women's Indian Association in 1917 by Annie Beasant. Partly of Irish extraction on her father's side, Annie Beasant (1847—1933) was a freethinker and suffragette who moved from Fabian socialism to Theosophy. She first visited India in November 1893 and came to know and admire India's cultural heritage. Soon after being elected President of the International Theosophical Society following the death of Col. Olcott, she made Adyar, in Madras, her permanent home in 1907.

Annie Beasant's principal lieutenants were Sarojini Naidu (1879—1949) and Margaret Cousins (1878—1954). Poetess, patriot and orator, Sarojini was born in a Bengali Brahmin family of Chattopadhyayas. She was one of the earliest among English-educated women to choose her husband—Dr. Govindarajulu Naidu of Hyderabad—outside her caste and linguistic region. Margaret Cousins was born in Ireland and was imprisoned twice in the cause of women's suffrage in Britain.

All the three pioneers of women's movement in India worked closely with men comrades. Among Mrs. Beasant's prominent collaborators was Charles Bradlaugh, who consistently championed Indian interest in the House of Commons. The poet James H. Cousins and Margaret, both theosophists, made India their home and worked as a husband and wife team. Sarojini Naidu was near and dear enough to Mahatma Gandhi to poke irrelevant fun at him. All the three women influenced and inspired large numbers not only of Indian women but men too. It was the government's harassment of Annie Beasant which triggered the entry into public life of Jawaharlal

Nehru when, as a young lawyer, he addressed a meeting of prominent citizens of Allahabad on 20 June 1916. The meeting was organised to protest against the government's order demanding security from the journals published by Annie Beasant.

She had the courage to write in her newspaper, *New India* (2 March, 1917), at the height of the First World War: "Young men cannot be expected to make the sacrifice asked for unless they are inspired by a passionate love for their Motherland, such as emptied the Universities of Great Britain. Love for a Foreign Empire in which they are a Dependency cannot do it, love for an Empire in which they are a partner will do it. The prospect of the prolongation of a condition of inferiority will not inspire; the love of liberty and the hope of winning it, and of becoming citizens of an Empire of free Nations will inspire." This was a remarkable anticipation of the position which the Indian National Congress was to take a quarter-century later in relation to the Second World War.

Annie Beasant was chosen, while under internment, to preside over the annual session of the Congress at Calcutta in December 1917. Becoming the first woman to hold that highly prized office, she said in her presidential address: "While I was humiliated, you crowned me with honour;... while I was crushed under the heel of bureaucratic power, you acclaimed me as your leader; while I was silenced and unable to defend myself, you defended me, and won for me release. I was proud to serve in lowliest fashion, but you lifted me up and placed me before the world as your chosen representative."

On the participation of women in the Home Rule movement Mrs. Beasant said: "The strength of the Home Rule movement is rendered tenfold greater by the adhesion to it of large numbers of women, who bring to its helping the uncalculating heroism, the endurance, the self-sacrifice of the feminine nature. Our League's best recruits and recruiters are among the women of India, and the women of Madras boast that they marched in procession when the men were stopped and that their prayers in the temples set the interned captives free. Home Rule has become interwined with religion.... That is, in this country, the surest way of winning alike the women of the higher classes and the men and women villagers. And that is why I have said that the two words, "Home Rule", have become a Mantram (an incantation charged with power)."

During the Home Rule Movement Jawaharlal was moved also "by a number of eloquent speeches delivered by Sarojini Naidu in Allahabad. It was all nationalism and patriotism..." (*An Autobiography*. p. 35)

Sarojini Naidu became in 1925 the first Indian woman to be elected President of the Congress. She said, "You have done something that may serve to redeem for one moment the shame and degradation of your fallen manhood. In giving to a mere woman, the woman who for years and years rocked the cradle and sang lullaby, that national standard which is the emblem of your own regeneration, you have gone back to the earliest inspiration that built your civilisation and admitted the woman a co-sharer and a comrade in the secular and spiritual evolution of a people."

The women's Indian Association, which Sarojini Naidu helped to build as the first organization of Indian women, was the nucleus of the All-India Women's Conference which emerged in 1926. She presided over the fourth annual session of the Women's Conference at Bombay in July 1930, and soon afterwards played a notable part in the Salt Satyagraha. The A.I.W.C. has appropriately commemorated her by naming its building on Bhagwandas Road in New Delhi as Sarojini House.

Stri Dharma, journal of the Women's Indian Association was edited for many years by Margaret Cousins. A tireless organiser, she succeeded in establishing more than forty branches of the Association. Sentenced to a year's imprisonment in 1932 during the civil diobedience movement for protesting against rule by ordinance, she used to sing with other prisoners the song 'God Save Our Motherland', composed by Annie Beasant as a patriotic substitute for 'God Save the King'.

A close colleague of Margaret Cousins was Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi (1886—1968), the first woman medical graduate of Madras. She gave up her large practice to work for women's uplift. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi became the first Indian woman legislator when she was nominated to the Legislative Council of Madras in 1927. She was subsequently elected Deputy Speaker of the Council but resigned in 1930 in protest against the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi.

The resistance from conservatives that had to be overcome before young Muthulakshmi could enter college in the then princely State of Pudukottai in Tamil Nadu has been graphically recounted by former President R. Venkataraman. "The State Darbar ran a presitigious College in the town, called the Maharaja's College. In the Darbar records there is a discussion that took place in the college and Darbar over an application for admission to the F.A. Course from one C.N. Muthulakshmi, the eighteen-year old daughter of a former Principal of the College. Muthulakshmi had just then passed her matriculation examination. In her application bearing the date 4th of February 1904, Muthulakshmi said she was 'eager to commence the collegiate

course'. The point to be noted is that until that date no girl had been admitted to the College. The application distrubed the Establishment. The father supported the desire of the girl with all his might. But the Principal wrote to the Darbar : ' I do not think it advisable to admit her into the regular class and train her along with the other students, who are boys, as I believe that such a procedure will demoralise the boys.' Just imagine a single girl student, it was feared, would pose a threat to an entire college of boys! The Diwan opposed the admission of Muthulakshmi on other grounds also. It remains to the credit of the then Raja of Pudukottai that he overruled these objections. He did not dream that the girl he was helping, was meant not only to finish her studies at the College but later to become the first woman member of a Legislative Council; and finally to blazon a new trail in the world of social reform.

The enthusiasm and organising abilities of persons like Muthulakshmi Reddi, Ammu Swaminathan and Rukmani Lakshmipathi helped the growth of the Women's Indian Association. With its base in Madras Presidency, the organisation had 2,700 members by 1921.

The National Council of Women was formed in 1925 to promote mutual awareness and co-ordination of work among women's organisations in various parts of the country. These efforts culminated in the establishment in 1926 of the All India Women's Conference, which held its first session at Poona in January 1927. The conference was presided over by Maharani Chimnabai, the progressive minded wife of the remarkably progressive ruler of Baroda who was in the forefront of the campaign against untouchability. Several subsequent session of the A.I.W.C. were presided over by women of the princely houses; the Rani Saheb of Sangli; the Begum Mother of Bhopal and the Dowager Rani of Mandi. This led Sarojini Naidu to claim that the Women's Conference was "the most representative body in India, not excepting the Indian National Congress even, because we have here on a common platform women of every rank and every shade of public opinion."

Poona was appropriate as the venue of the founding session of the Women's Conference, Maharashi Karve having established the first women's university there in 1916. The A.I.W.C. began as a gathering of 47 women from different parts of the country who were keenly interested in promoting girls' education, to draw up a memorandum on educational reform. This was in response to a remark made by Mr. Oaten, Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, at a prize-giving function in Bethune College, Calcutta, "How long are you going to tolerate a man-made syllabus, a man-made examination and a controlling

authority in which women have no influence, as the dominating arbiter of your educational destinies." He urged women to "tell us with one voice what they want, and keep on telling us till they get it."

While drawing up the memorandum on Educational Reforms the delegates assembled at the Women's Conference realised that a condition for the accomplishment of girls' education was the abolition of child marriage. Therefore, at the next Conference in Delhi in February, 1928, it was decided to send deputations to the Viceroy and to the All Parties Conference to press for enactment of the Child Marriage Restraint Bill which had been introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly by a non-official member, Harbilas Sarda. This led on, in the thirties, to the realization of the need to mobilise political support for the women's cause. The Constitution of the A.I.W.C. was amended in 1938 to permit political activity of a non-party and constructive nature.

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Status Of Women In Ancient India : Some Reflections

D. Chandra

It is tricky to make statements about the status of women in ancient India, since any categorical assertion is bound to be misleading. The only existing sources for arriving at any assessment of conditions then prevailing are the religious texts and the epics. However, not only is there a great deal of ambivalence in the recorded sources of information, but also extremely varied customs, attitudes and values are reflected therein, giving rise to the supposition that, then as now, the status of women was as varied and complex as in modern day India.

For example, to claim that the status of women in independent India has been high and equal to that of men because there has been a woman Prime Minister for many years is as misleading as to say that '*Sati*' is prevalent in modern India because of the '*Roop Kanwar*' incident. Similarly to claim that the position of women in ancient India was equal to that of men because records indicate the participation of women like Maitreyi and Gargi in the intellectual activities and rites recorded in the *Rig Veda*, would be false. The *Rig Veda* records cremation rites which required the widow of a dead man to lie down on his pyre beside him, from whence she is called back to the world of the living by the brothers of the dead man, or in the absence of such, by her own brothers. The rite indicates, that the custom of '*Sati*', though practised earlier, had been given up by the time of the writing of the *Rig Veda*. This is not to say that no widow immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband. The *Mahabharata* records Madri's self-immolation on the funeral pyre of the dead Pandu, as it records the arguments between his two wives, Kunti and Madri, as to who has the greater right and justification to this 'privilege'.

The great epic bears evidence of both polygamy and polyandry. In the story of *Dhritarashtra* and *Gandhari*, it also tells of single marriage. The epic has stories of women abducted for marriage, *e.g. Amba, Ambika* and *Ambalika;* of bride prices paid for them, *e.g. Madri;* of women won as reward in contests, *e.g. Draupadi*, of women who chose their own men in marriage, *e.g.* Rukmani. It also relates stories of '*Niyoga*' where the women concerned had no control over their bodies and had to submit to decisions made by others and accepted the same, no matter how distasteful *e.g.* the stories regarding the birth of *Dhritarashrta* and *Pandu;* and there is the example of Satyawati where neither she nor her illegitimate son *Vyasa* have any stigma attached to them.

Even this very brief overview indicates the variation in attitude and value regarding the status of women in ancient India as reflected in the *Mahabharata*, which can be taken to embody the value structure of ancient India.

The *Mahabharata* is said to mark the end of an approach and hence referred to as '*yuganta*'. The reality depicted in it is harsh, stern and realistic without any softening by sentiment or idealistic romanticism. Each character in the epic, does what has to be done in the light of his or her birth and situation in life. Personal likes and dislikes or individual goals, are not justified as springs of action. It is a patriarchal society, dominated by male values of assertion, domination, stern duty and discipline. The women reflect these values as much as the men. There is no place in such a world for *Yudhishtir's* humility and lack of ambition or Arjuna's self doubt and moral dilemma. The women in the epic show as much ruthlessness, determination and intellectual and emotional discipline as the men. The abducted Amba, rejected by Shallya and not accepted by Bhishma, commits suicide, not out of despair or helplessness but in order to wreck revenge as Shikhandi on Bhishma, the author of her tragedy. However, the Indian psyche moved completely away from the harsh reality and stern value system depicted in the *Mahabharata* and sought expression in the gentle and romantic vision of the *Bhakti* movement and classical literature. Even the *Ramayana* is romantic and idealistic and therefore closer to the atmosphere of a later epoch than that depicted in the *Mahabharata*, which marked the end of this earlier epoch. It is in this sense that the *Mahabharata* marks the end of an epoch. To this day, the Indian psyche reflects the romantic, unrealistic and escapist values of medieval poets and writers other than the austere, stern and harsh reality of the *Mahabharata* and presumably of a particular epoch in the history of Hindu civilization.

There are no 'heroes' in the *Mahabharata*, each character lives his or her life not with the prop of 'faith' but with a clear commitment to

duty and responsibility. It is widely accepted now that *The Gita*, which claims godhead for *Krishna*, is a later interpolation. He lived his life in the epic with the constraints and limitations attendant on life on this earth. Hero worship, expressed in unquestioning obedience to the order founded by an individual hero, is found from the time of '*Buddha*' onwards and is a much later phenomenon than the *Mahabharata*. This hero-worship is at the root of the *Bhakti* cult as well. The result was sentimental and dreamy literature, far removed from the practical necessities of living, though beautiful and humane in itself. The hardness and realism of the *Mahabharata* never appeared again in Indian literature. This has been taken as signs of a people 'afraid of life', by some scholars. Be that as it may, the romantic unrealism and sentimental escapism of subsequent era, resulted in characters in literature shown to possess one virtue to an excessive degree; and instead of such excesses leading to inevitable ruin and disaster (as would have been the case with the Pandavas, if the master 'strategist' '*Krishna*' had not been present) is rewarded extravagantly at the end. The treatment of the Harishchandra story is a case in point.

Thus while almost all existing Hindu legends and stories find a place in the *Mahabharata*, their treatment in subsequent ages reflect a value system, which is concerned with rewarding the 'good' and the 'virtuous' and is therefore far removed from the values of the *Mahabharata*, where all have to face sorrow and hardship, ruin and happiness, success and frustration, *e.g.* the eternally changeful conditions of life.

Not only the value system presented in the *Mahabharata*, but also none of its characters, have an archetypal hold on the Hindu imagination. The reason seems to be that in the experience of the race that the harsh necessities of existence in a new environment was repealed by an easier way of life leading to a softened value system. As already pointed out, the '*Krishna*' of the *Gita*, or the later *Gitagobinda*, is not the '*Krishna*' of the *Mahabharata*.

The images of women that dominate the Hindu consciousness is that of the wife. Thus the archetypal female in the Hindu mind is that of the wife (The image of *Radha*, the beloved, is a product of the later Bhakti movement). An archetypal image is one, which by repeated appearance in the literature of a particular people and by the strength of its hold on the popular imagination establishes itself as an image of significance to the particular people. An archetypal image thus embodies values lived and aspired for, by a race and has its origin in the experience of that race. The experience may not be part of remembered history, but it remains a part of the collective unconsciousness of the race and shows its presence by finding powerful expression in particular images.

The archetypal image in the western experience, for example, is that of *The Mother*. Thus, in the story of creation, the first woman is named *Eve*, meaning, 'The Mother of all things'. The image of *Mary*, the Mother of Christ, is another expression of this archetype. In the Indian context, it is the image of wife, in the figures of *Sita*, and *Savitri* which is dominant and which give expression to the racial consciousness. Thus, the image of woman as wife has a crucial significance to the experiences of the race.

Human experience and imagination has viewed woman in three broad archetypes: Mother, Temptress/Mistress, and Wife. In western thought, the first two images are mutually exclusive and there is hardly any powerful image of woman as wife. The virginity of *Mary*, the Mother of God, is a significant aspect of the western Mother archetype. There is no archetypal image of wife to rival this image of woman as mother. *Eve*, in the *Bible*, is viewed as the mother of Adam's children, her role as a wife and companion is hardly mentioned. She first appears in the story as a 'Temptress', and after the Fall becomes the mother of Adam's children and is named 'Eve' by him, meaning "the mother of all things". Interestingly Adam's first wife, in a Judean-Babylonean legend, is *Lillith*, who was discarded for being an unsuitable wife for Adam, because she claimed equality with him. Significantly, she then became a demon goddess, inimical to children. To correct the shortcomings of *Lillith*, Eve is created out of one of Adam's rib and is given the name meaning 'the mother of all things'.

The image of woman in western thought and experience therefore seems to exist in two mutually exclusive images of Mistress and Mother. The first reflects man's aspirations for pleasure, the second, his need for the qualities of nurturing and procreation. The Hindu consciousness with its partiality for the image of woman as wife, sees no dichotomy between woman as a source of pleasure and woman as a source of life giving and life nurturing values embodied in the name of the 'mother'.

The Hindu marriage had three main purposes: first and foremost the promotion of religion by the performance of household sacrifices: second, the begetting of progeny, thereby the ancestors were assured of a happy after life and the family line was continued; and finally *Rati*, or sexual pleasure.

> The priorities of these three objectives were clear and specified. Thus marriage was an obligatory requirement for the ancient Hindu, since without it he could not perform the prescribed household sacrifices. A wife, therefore, was far more than the mother of a man's children and the source and prospect of his pleasure and passions. She was an essential and partner in his religious duties, *e.g.* his '*Sahadharmini*', who support and help in

his duties and responsibilities as a householder *e.g.* his *'Ardhangini'* without whom in this life is incomplete.

The marriage rites specified in the *Rig Veda*, which in essentials is followed even today, is a long and solemn ceremony, giving some idea of the importance and sanctity of marriage in the eyes of the ancient Indian law givers. It cilled upon the bridal couple their responsibilities as householders, and highlighted the three traditional aims of life—piety, wealth and pleasure, in that order. .

Viewed thus, it is not difficult to understand why the image of woman as wife is of such prime importance in literature, legend and the Hindu imagination. It indicates theoretically at least her place in life and society which is not only one of prime significance but also of high importance.

In actual practice, as already pointed out it was a complex and varied reality. Certainly at the early stages of the Aryan civilisation, there was little difference in the rearing of boys and girls. Both went through the initiation ceremony *'upanayana'* which marked the beginning of the study of the *Vedas*. Decline in the status of women came with the decline in education. The study of the *Vedas* took a minimum of 12 to 15 years. In practice this meant girls could not be married till their mid-twenties leading to several difficulties like late child birth and proximity in the ages of brides and grooms. The anxiety of an invading people to multiply in number is understandable as also in a patriarchal society the desirability of having adequate age difference between a man and his wife. Thus, while in earlier times, it was usual for girls to be fully adult before marriage, the *Smritis* recommended marriage at twenty-four, for men and the bride to be one-third his age. Such an arrangement put a stop to the education of women in most cases, leading to a stunted decline in personality and consequent decline in status.

Against this decline, Manu's injunctions about women are not difficult to understand. By the early years of the Common Era, woman as a class was deprived of education and as a result had become confined and cramped in her faculties and uncouth, and crude in her behaviour, justifying *Manu's* remark that such a creature was not fit for independence and needed the constant guardianship and vigilance of a male, e.g. father, husband and son. It also justified the comparison between her and creatures of low mental ability and animals. This was the sad social reality of the time e.g. 3 B.C. onwards.

However, the best aspirations of the Hindu mind and thought on women are recorded in his vision of a woman as wife expressed in the archetypes and probably operative to some extent in ancient India.

If one accepts the *Mahabharata* to represent the last expression of an ancient value system, one sees images of strong women, who suffered along with their men; often as a result of their foolishness, sometimes as a result of their own. However, they did not shed futile tears but confronted life boldly and dutifully and faced the inevitable end bravely and well. The epic provides no information regarding the education of its women characters but their strong characters and powerful impact on life and society leads one to believe they were not unschooled nor timid, or weak. None of the images of women from *Mahabharata* have become part of the Hindu consciousness in the manner that *Sita* or *Savitri* or *Damayanti* have become. The reason has already been suggested.

Thus while it is difficult and unwise to make a categorical statement about the position of women in ancient India, it is possible to claim that the available images in epics and legend lead one to believe that in theory at least she was given a place of high importance and status in the daily life of the household and society. In reality this place of honour and respect was lost through decline in her education, which by the middle ages reduced her to a status comparable to the lowest of the low *e.g.* the sudras and animals.

To sum up, it would be 'unscientific' to make any categorical statement about the position of women in ancient India. The available sources of information are the epics and the religious texts which are open to a great deal of interpretation and where attitudes to woman are ambivalent and complex. The values presented in the *Mahabharata* which is more realistic than the *Ramayana*, and which marks the end of an epoch in the Hindu consciousness, has had little following in subsequent epochs. However, what is of significance is the archetypal hold of woman as wife. The marriage ceremony of the *Rig Veda* reflects the sanctity and solemnity of the ceremony and indicates the aspirations of society in visualising the relationship between man and woman. Decline in this ideal was caused by the decline in women's education leading to the 'shocking' injunctions of Manu, whose dictates dominated the attitudes and status of women for many centuries *e.g.* to the time of western impact. An exaggerated sense of the 'glory' and 'greatness' of early Hindu civilisation has been a deterrent to realistic assessment of its strength and weakness. It is important to arrive at such an assessment and in order to learn from mistakes and evaluate achievements.

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Status Of Women In Ancient India

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The theme of my paper is to describe the status of Women in Hindu civilization in ancient times and to indicate the general position of women in its entirety. To capture the spirit of any civilization, it is important to study the position and status of women. The smallest unit both in the administration and social life in ancient India was always a family. Hence, to reconstruct both these aspects of the various phases of historical development, it becomes important to study the status of women. Further, during various periods specially like those of Indus Valley Civilization where archaeological records continue to be the prime evidence, a study of their ornaments, dress, etc., gives us an idea of the wealth of the community and enables us to obtain a glimpse of its progress in trade, mining, metallurgy and the skill in inlaying, tailoring and embroidery.

All through the ages, except where matriarchal system was in force, law has been in favour of men. Law and Law courts can offer no solution to the basic problems of those Indian women who are living in poverty and illiteracy. For the majority of women, handicapped by their illiteracy, lack of training and access to productive assets, the principle of equality of opportunity remains inoperative. The ideas of equality of opportunity rested in the egalitarian framework of our Constitution has remained as an abstract principle in society, characterised by social and economic equalities.

The unfavourable status of women is aggravated by *de-facto* discrimination on grounds of sex, resulting in women being treated as objects of pleasure or robots intended to serve men. It is true that there were some kind words said about them. One such statement is

"यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमने तत्र देवता।'' मनु

("Gods dwell where women are worshipped.

But in law, women were once treated as chattels that could be owned. They were like slaves who needed a manumission to become free. A woman passed from one family to another and on marriage they mostly were dependent on the will of the father.)

"कन्या कनक सपन्ना कनका भरणा भूषिता

ददामि तव सेवाय, दंता स्नेहेन पालय''

(I give you my daughter well dowered and resplendent in gold ornaments to serve you, kindly look after her, who has been gifted to you with consideration.)

A woman in ancient India had a six-fold role:

कार्येष दासी, करणोषु मन्त्री, रूपेच लक्ष्मी क्षमया धरित्री,
भोज्येषु माता शयनेषु वेश्या, षट् धर्मयुक्ता कुल धर्म पत्नी।

(She is to serve as a maid servant for domestic chores. She is a minister to advice for duties, she should be veritable of Lakshmi in beauty, in tolerance, she should compare with mother earth herself, she should feed like a mother and in bed she should act like a prostitute. A wife should have these six qualities.)

The position of women was no different in the West. In fact, the dominion of the father over the daughter was exercised more virulently under the early roman law. They had no right to property on marriage. The English married women's right to property was a reform which attempted to modify the rigours of law to some extent.

Women have suffered exploitation, humiliation and oppression, owing to the religion and the laws made by those who spoke in the name of the creator. The ideal of Indian womanhood as daughter, sister, wife, even as mother, has never been depicted in terms of equality with men or independence. The women were taught to accept a position of subordination, listening to the stories of *Sita* and *Savitri* who personified the virtues of the Indian womanhood, glaring examples of subordination, servitude and sacrifice. They were taught that their life was meant for the happiness of their husbands or children.

The position, power, status and disabilities of the daughter, the wife and the widow kept on changing. Although women, once enjoyed considerable freedom and privileges in the spheres of family, religion and public life; yet the situation went on changing adversely as centuries rolled by.

Right from the early decades, the progress of civilization was often linked with the Aryans race. In India too the salvation of humanity was connected with the spiritual leadership of the Aryans; and the country they inhabited was known as *Aryabhatta*. That branch of Aryans who made inroads into India and settled down in the Punjab came in contact with what is now known as the Indus Valley Civilization. Our knowledge of the Indus Valley people is, at present, very meagre. The size, lay-out and architecture of their cities, arts and crafts, indicate a fairly advanced civilization. Very little information can be gleaned from the evidence regarding the position of their women in society. But the many figures of goddesses discovered suggest that the popular deities of the pantheon were female, and this indicates matriarchal social conceptions. Bronze statues of dancing girls reveal the elaborate attention paid to feminine adornments and also show that connoisseurs set high standards in fashions.

". . . Women wore a fan shaped head dress. Small cones of gold, silver, copper, faience, as also shell, were worn on the sides of the head.... Earings were made of coils of gold, silver, copper or faience. There was a variety of necklaces having Pendant in the middle, with a number of rows of beads of various shapes and materials artistically arranged using spacers and terminals. Finger rings were plentiful, and bangles and bracelets were gold, silver, copper, bronze, faience, shell and pottery... Girdles of which two fine specimens have been found were worn round the waist..."* The importance of mother worship and female with rich ornaments, cosmetics and lesser male figures shows that the Indus Valley was more favourable to women than man.

Women of the Aryan's time were crude hardy camp-dwellers who did not know urban luxuries. In inter-racial marriages, men were Aryan and women were non-Aryans. Since the Aryans held the view that a woman marrying below her caste or status demeans herself and family, no such stigma was there for the man. This rule is valid even today to a large extent.

The *Mahabharata* refers to an age in which inter-racial marriages were common *e.g.* Bhima married Rakshasa lady Hidimbaa and stayed in her house for a year and returned to his brother only after the birth of her son named Ghatotkacha. Arjun lived with a Naga lady Ulupi which shows some sort of matriarchal custom. Also it appears among the Rakshasas, there was a law by which strong ruler could

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* Thomas, P., *Indian Women Through The Ages.*

seize the wives of their foes. Marriage by capture was a recognised institution among many ancient people including the Indo-Aryans. However Indo-Aryan law permitted capture of only unmarried women. If Rawana was free to molest other men's wives, his sister Sarupnakha was equally free to capture men. The women provided night-life as Hanuman saw in Lanka. The tempo of the night-life of the city was rising as Hanuman proceeded from street to street. From every house emanated the notes of stringed and wind instruments set to the melodious music of lovely singing girls. The streets resounded with the jingling of ornaments of light-footed dancers and merry peals of laughter. Moving from house to house, 'Hanuman' saw damsels rivalling celestial Apsaras in beauty, dancing, drinking and merry-making with their lovers..."* ". . .the sweet music of stringed instruments lulling the lovers to sleep... these flowery fays of Lanka lay in the delightful city like lines of lightning in the autum sky."** This fits in well with the night life of some of our modern cities. *Ramayana* shows that the moral codes of the Simian heroes like those of the *Rakshas* was less strict than the Aryans. Matrimonial ties were lose and both Polygamy and Polyandry were prevalent. But the society was generally patriarchal. The King and Chiefs had harems. Non-Aryan culture allowed a good deal of freedom to women compared to the Aryan culture. It would appear that it was lawful for the younger brother to marry the widow of the elder brother but it was unlawful *vice-versa*. An event in the *Ramayana* shows that woman had freedom of speech and capacity to argue with unreasonable Aryan was accepted. For example, when the irate Lakshmana intruded into the privacy of Sugriva's palace, the monkey chief was frightened to face him. It was Tara who met him and with cool headedness she handled the difficult situation. This incident speaks well for the freedom and respect which enjoyed in *Kishkindha*.

In South India, *Tolkappiyam* the approved form of marriage among the ancient Tamil's was '*Kalavu*' or secret that is love marriage. "It is interesting to note that the approved form of marriage according to Sanskrit *Samhitas* were the unapproved forms to the Tamil and were as such known as Poruntak-Kaman"*** The social pattern was probably matriarchal society for it to be successful. The South Indian women before the influence of Aryans were a free hardy type not enslaved by sacramental notions of marriage, *i.e. Sati*. Child marriage, *Purdah* and other institutions of the Aryan of the North.

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* Thomas, P., *Indian Woman Through the Ages.*
** Dutt, M.N. , *The Ramayana:* Translation.
*** Aiyar Sesha, K.G., *Chera King of the Sangama Period.*

Matriarchal tradition was deep rooted particularly in Kerala as can be seen in the Royal House of Cochin and Travancore, the heir to the throne was not the Maharaja's son but his sister's son. The matriarchal system has now succumbed to the patriarchal system.

Divorce was easy and informal and led to no social and economic complication. Plurality of husbands often enhanced the reputation of a woman in Kerala. The dominant matriachs of Kerala were Nayars (Sudras). The Nayar ladies enjoyed freedom from the tyranny of husband and from the evil practices of child marriage, *Purdah* and other perverted institutions. This endowed them with self-reliance, independence and ability to manage men and affairs. Nowhere else have women enjoyed position like this in India.

The early Indo-Aryan women had a lot of freedom and the men had no right to restrict her sexual freedom. But the story of the Indo-Aryan women is a tragic tale of gradual subjection beginning from the age of free love and ending up in the middle ages when they had lost all individuality and were made to mount the funeral pyres of their husbands. Child marriage was unknown in the early Vedic period and the widow was married to the younger brother.

The position of women in the Vedic age was far from being analogous to what it usually is in early uncivilized societies. The patriachal man had almost absolute power over his wife and children. But the position which women occupied in Hindu society at the dawn of civilization during the Vedic age is much better than what we ordinarily expect it to have been. "...in Vedic times women composed hymns and learnt the Vedas and they co-operated with their husbands in all religious acts. On the whole their social position was much better except as to rights of property than what it became in later times. Some of the passages eulogising women and the wife were as follows :

"न गृह गृहमित्याहुर्गृहिणी गृहमुच्यते । गृंह तु गृहिणी हि

नअरण्यसदृंश मतम्' ' (शान्ति १४४ : ६)

("A house only cannot qualify to be called a home, it is the lady of the house who should be called house. A home is only the wife, otherwise it is as good as a forest.") *Shantiprva.**

Some of the Smritikaras like *Atri* and *Devala* were so liberal as to say that women who had intercourse with one not of the same caste

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* ***Shantiparva*** : (144 : 6).

or who had conceived by such inter-course did not become out-castes forever.

"असवर्णेस्तु यो गर्भ स्त्रीणा यो नौ निषिच्येत अशुद्धा सा
भर्वन्नारी यत्यद्धर्म न मुच्यति'' विमुक्त तु ततः शल्ये
रजश्चापि प्रद्धश्यत तथा सा राध्यते नारी विमल काचनं यथा''
Atri-Verses 195-196.

Marriage was arranged by parents and the girl lived in her husband's house and was full grown. The marriage ceremony usually ended with a joint prayer for long life and progeny but there was no fire. Contract marriage was not unknown in this period. Monogamy seems to have been the general rule except for kings and chiefs and sages.

In the Vedic times, there was an undercurrent of opinion which was hostile to women, sneered at them and treated them with scorn. I am citing a few passages unfavourable to women. Woman was said to be "falsehood incarnate"* (*Maitaayaniya*, S.1.10.11) *Rg*. VIII, 33.17 says, "The mind of woman is uncontrollable" *Rg*. V.30,9, "Women are the weapons and army of the dasa."**

"स्त्रिया हि दास आयुधनि चके कि मा करन्नबला अस्य सेना''
Rg. V. 30.

The passages about the character of woman contain no more than what male cynics and critics of all times and in all countries have attributed to women such as "fidelity thy name is woman." In the Dharmashastra literature the position of women became worse and worse as time went on except as to rights of property. *Manu* (1x-2-3) says that women are not independent, but dependent in all matters on men and that in childhood, after marriage and in old age they are to be guarded by the father, the husband and the sons respectively.***

अस्वतत्रा : स्त्रिय कार्या : पुरूषै : स्वैर्दिवानिशम । बिषयेषु
च सज्जन्त्य संस्थाप्या आत्मनो वशे ।। पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता
रक्षति यौवने रक्षन्ति स्थविरे पुत्रा न स्त्री स्वातन्त्राय मर्हति''।।
Manu (1x–2–3).

From Rig Vedic times to the later Vedic period, there was another descent down the rung. The main reason for this was the notion that sons alone were competent to redeem their parents from hell. As

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* *Atri-Verses* 195-196.
** Rg. V. 30.
*** Manu (1x–2–3).

these ideas began to take root, women were valued only as vehicles or bearing sons. This is mentioned in the *Atharva Veda*, *Brahmanas* and *Upanishad*.

In the *Atharva Veda*, we find a firm belief in the personality after death and clear notion of hell and heaven. The religious ideas embodied in the *Atharva Veda* had a direct bearing on the change of attitude of society towards women. Women were beginning to be considered generally impure and particularly so during the menstrual periods, pregnancy and child birth. In the *Satapatha Brahamana*—a wife should take her meals after her husband had finished his. A disobedient wife is to be taught obedience by physical force. "The *Maitrayani Samhita* places women on a par with dice and drink, and describes her as one of the major evils in society. She is declared to be untruth itself in human society and is connected with *Nivritti*, the genius of darkness. The *Taitareya Samhita* and *Satapatha Brahamana* rank her as inferior to a bad man.*

During the age of the *Sutras*, the *Epics* and the Early *Smritis i.e.* (500 B.C. to 500 A.D.) the position of women deteriorated considerably in this period. Religion for the Indo-Aryan household had become a daily ritual and a round of ceremonies, were to be performed at each stage in life. Here, arranged marriage ceremony became an elaborate affair. *Agni* had become the presiding deity—Sacramental notions of marriage were fast effacing the individuality of women and reducing her to an appendage of man. Her right to individual ownership of property was also questioned. Married women were also prohibited to perform rituals. All told, the position of women deteriorated. The caste system had become the most important feature of society.

In the 6 Century B.C., we find the Brahmanical religion flourishing in North India. The decrepit sacrificial religion of the *Brahmanas* died a natural death leaving three sons: *Puranic Hinduism* nominal heir to the Vedic religion: *Buddhism*, a rebel disinherited on coming of age and exiled, and *Jainism*, a rebel who got reconciled to his eldest brother, *e.g.* Puranic Hinduism.

Buddhism did not subscribe to the prevailing Brahminic view that a son was indispensable for a man's salvations. Celibacy mentioned was superior to sex life. Sacramental notion of marriage had a salutary effect on the position of women. No widow was expected to remain single. Buddhism and its secular notion of marriage had held in check *Satti*, child marriage and other pernicious institutions of

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* Shastri, Shakuntala Rao: Women in the Vedic Age.

medieval Hinduism in all parts of India. Buddhism recognized the individuality and independence of women and their title to salvation in their own right. The courtesan position was not looked down upon.

Jainism had much the same philosophy as Buddhism on women. It rejected the sanctity of the *Vedas*. The superiority of the Brahmin and the sacramental notions of marriage, and considered all sex relations in or out of wedlock as inferior to celibacy. Monogamy was the general rule in Jainism. But the rich paid fanciful prices for their brides. The Jains considered women as the temptress that perpetuated the misery that was life but the courtesan were held in honour.

There are some writers who even in ancient times could not bear the undeserved censure of women and most vigorously protested against the injustice of these accusations. Varahmihira (6th Century A.D.) in his *Brhat Samhita* Chap. 74, makes a spirited defence of women and eulogizes them highly. He first says that on women depend dharma and artha and from them man derives the pleasures of sense and the blessing of sons, that they are the Lakshmi (goddess of prosperity) of the house and should be always given honour and wealth..." The high eulogy of and the reverence for the mother is one very bright spot in the midst of this dark picture and undeserved condemnation of woman *e.g.*, *The Anusasan Parva* says that, "The mother excels in her greatness, ten fathers or even the whole earth; there is no guru like the mother."

During the Dharmashastra period, most law givers were of the opinion that a woman was bound to worship her husband as a god even if he was a drunkard, gambler or debauche. In the later Puranic period, the wife was condemned to domestic drudgery ignorance and premature motherhood.

Thus the story of Hindu woman in ancient India is a story of gradual decline of her position in society and she lost the position of superiority of the earlier times. It is true that woman as a general rule received similar and often worse treatment in contemporary time in several other civilisations both in the East and West. But this can hardly be a sufficient consolation or justification for us. For a woman can, if she wants to, stop the wheels of change. Without women's co-operation and participation there can be no change—in real terms. Any process of change that does not include women cannot be of a fundamental kind. To enhance the status of women, there is an imperative need to awaken the women by literacy and not by enacting laws.

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The Epic Struggle Of Women

Kanan Nanda and Rashima Mullick

Traditionally, the standard of any civilized society is best judged from the standard of treatment given to its women. In India, the truth that more and more women are being educated, a vast majority are getting higher education, and are occupying high positions of responsibility in all walks of life is offset by the large number of dowry deaths that we hear every day.

A peep into the crystal ball of the past centuries makes one realise that the actual position of women through times has remained rather a questionable truth. The status of the female figure can easily surface, if traced to the archetypal goddess—*Shakti* of the Harappan era. She being the symbol of fertility can be paralleled to the Greek god of fertility. She has been treated as the procreative generative tool provided to man by God. In Christianity the story of man and woman says, "God created woman to be a help-mate and companion to man." However, in Indian culture, the woman has been an object of veneration and respect, to the extent, that during the early Vedic period no religious ceremony could be performed, and considered complete, unless the female partner took part in it. Not only this, in the matriarchal families, the sons came to be known by the name of the mother like "*Kuntinandan*," "*Gangaputra*" and the historical lineage thus continued with their names. But today, unfortunately, the child is recognized not only by his father's name, but on the contrary mother's name finds no place at all.

The status of women came to a pinnacle in the times of Guptas in the third and fourth century A.D. which is made clear in the incidents of Vasantsena and Charugupta. Women like Chitralekha, Ambapali

and Vasantsena were not just prostitutes as erroneously believed by some people, but well read scholars with whom intellectual discussions could be held, yet this at the same time, can be negated with the awareness of the 'Devadasi Cult' and their sexual abuse in the name of God by the priests of the temples. This, thus, brings to the forefront the plight of the innocent women in the myth ridden Indian society.

The advent of the Muslims hanged the dimensions of the predominant culture and the treatment of woman. Now the women her faced with a new challenge. The emergence of the *Purdah* system and polyandry were freedoms afforded by the other religion it was thus sacrosanct. This deprived and undermined the position of woman to a further hedonistic depth. The scope and working area of a women got even more limited, as just a shackled prisoner inside the household, debarred in totality from the outer world. Woman became nothing more than an untouchable or an outcaste. If she, due to unforeseen circumstances, happened to be an unfortunate widow or was barren; the only option left to her was either to fall prey to her own male relations or commit suicide with the sacrosanct permissiveness and rituals as "Sati".

Although uncanny oppressions have been patiently suffered by the women, it did not take long for the dam of patience to break and overflow into the very roots of socio-culturally demented psyche of Indians.

The present day woman is striving to be in equality to man. Salutations to people like Raja Ram Mohon Roy who have propagated the cause of woman in India. It is unfortunate that the policy of 30 per cent job reservation for women has not been fully implemented as yet. All this has resulted in women remaining more or less subservient to man.

One of the causes of the dismal picture of woman's status in our economy, is also the indiscriminate use of modernized techniques in various sectors of production activity. The need for a judicious use of technology is evidently the call of the hour. Technological upgrading must be carried on. But women cannot be relegated to the background and thrown off board. Technical take off for them is of utmost importance. Further, the concept of appropriate technology is usually interpreted in case of women as a second rate or inferior technology. Most extension programmes include only men who are encouraged and given training in new methods. Also the primary determinants of the technological change and the adoption pattern are the men-folk in the Government and the management in the industries. The decision and policy-making process is thus male dominated, and women's

voice is no doubt weak. Women's special status, special nature, and special environment are not taken into account in designing projects and laying priorities.

The women do not need any special treatment in any programmes or planning, but at the same time, their special characteristics have to be kept in view *e.g.*, a woman is the primary functionary for the supply of fuel, food, water and fodder, etc. Further, her reproductive role and responsibility for child care affects her work capacity and at the same time limits the choice.

It has been very rightly stated by Merrill Mchoughlin (1991) that, "We have come a long way since those bad old days. We have also moved beyond a backlash of 1970's feminist scholarship which insisted with equal ideological fervour that apart from the obvious dimorphism of human beings, there were no real differences between the sexes—that seeming disparities in mental abilities, emotional make up attitudes and even many physical skills were merely the product of centuries of male domination and male dominated interpretations." If the status of woman in India is to be raised, and a total practical reform is to be achieved, then we have to: (*i*) strike at the grass-root level; (*ii*) work on war-footing; (*iii*) establish a country wide network so as to reach the remotest areas; (*iv*) work honestly for the cause of the various reforms, the first and the foremost is the woman literacy.

Though illiteracy is a national problem, but eradication of women illiteracy is of peramount importance. If India has to become a cohesive nation and give its citizens, the quality of life, they deserve. Eucation alone is tool of equality and liberation. It can bring about overall qualitative change. No literate mother will ever allow her children to remain illiterate :

(*i*) Therefore, women should be given the equal opportunity for learning;

(*ii*) There should be many informal learning opportunity beyond their domestic duties;

(*iii*) The urban-rural imbalance should be removed, rural areas have fewer schools, teachers and test-books. Even if the schools are there, they are practically non-functional;

(*iv*) In some cultures, all-girl schools and women teachers may encourage the parents to send their wards for schooling;

(*v*) Language of instruction may be an important reason for a large number of dropout in rural/tribal areas. Hence, it should be taken care of in the right perspective.

It is the education in her that would help to enhance and develop her family, society and nation. Once literate the rationale behind various movements decends into the right place. Basic education represents a key resource for women as for men "Literacy is Light".

Coupled with this, job-oriented (vocational) education is a must, to offset the general feeling that an educated girl instead of being a liability is an asset to the family. Therefore, the curricula of the present day degree oriented education system need to be reframed to make women's education more meaningful.

Also India has millions of rural women still steeped in superstitions, pursuing many injurious practices. Inculcation of scientific attitudes in such women is another important aspect which deserves attention. It will help in developing right perception in them, gainfully utilize the benefits of scientific advancements, thus, enabling them to live a better life.

(*i*) The women scientists should be given an opportunity to launch a movement for the popularization of science and its applications to alleviate the miseries and providing basic amenities to rural masses;

(*ii*) Women should be given equal opportunities in technical training programmes;

(*iii*) Special training programmes should be tailored to their requirements, and

(*iv*) Encouragement should be given to indignously developed technologies related to womenfolk so that they could be readily adopted.

Last but not the least, parental attitude needs basic change, by trying to inject the right attitude and right approach. The parents must be made to realize that girls are intelligent, and have equal ability to work as those of boys and hence must be treated with equality.

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Role Of Women In Ancient India

Vidyaben Shah

There is a widespread misconception regarding the true status of women in ancient Indian society. It is mainly due to the lack of understanding of the original Sanskrit texts, both *Sruti* and *Smriti* which define the true status of women in early times. The most authoritative text on the subject is the *Rigveda*. As a matter of fact *Rigveda* contains the seeds and sources from which the entire course of Hindu thought through ages flowed.

The Vedic period can be placed before five thousand years. The period itself is said to have had a span of a thousand years. Thus, the Vedic period can be placed between 2500 B.C. to 1500 B.C. This is followed by the Upanishadic period which is also said to have lasted for a thousand years that is from 1500 B.C. to 500 B.C. After this, comes the medieval period and the period of gradual decline.

Vedic Period

Thus women of ancient India would mean women of the Vedic and the Upanishadic periods. From the available information it can be concluded that women in the Vedic age were accepted as human beings in their own right. They enjoyed considerable freedom, so far as political, social and educational activities were concerned, they enjoyed a status and prestige in society. Right from the early Vedic period up to 300 B.C., women were held in esteem and respect—husband and wife together constituted a unit in society and a man without his wife was considered only half and incomplete. A married woman was known as a better half of her husband. In homes, women were given

superior position to that of men, as they were treated as the embodiment of goddess of Wealth, Strength and Wisdom. It was said that a house where women were not respected was cursed place and that one which accorded respect and reverence to women turned into a place of happiness and prosperity. In the words of *Manu* where women are neglected, all rites and ceremonies are fruitless and that family quickly perishes, but where women don't grieve that family always prospers.

Ordinarily girls were no doubt less welcome than boys, but I must add here that there were also some parents in society who would perform special religious rituals for the good luck of getting learned and capable daughters. Girls were educated like boys and had to pass through a period of *Brahmacharya*. Many of them used to distinguish and excel in different fields. The marriages of girls used to take place at a fairly advanced age, the normal time being the age of 16 or 17. Educated brides had naturally an effective voice in the selection of their partners in life. There was no seclusion of women. They used to move freely in society, often even in the company of their lovers. Very often there were love marriages which were later blessed by the parents also.

Women occupied a prominent position in social and religious gatherings. Women had an absolute equality with men in the eye of religion. They could perform sacrifices independently and were not regarded as an impediment in religious pursuits. Marriage, in fact, was a religious necessity to both man and woman. The position of the wife was an honoured one in the family. Even though the custom of polygamy was prevalent yet monogamy was generally in greater vogue during the *Vedic* period. There are a few instances showing the practice of polyandry also. Of course, such marriages should have been rare. Here, a single instance of *Draupadi* should be sufficient. Adultery was forbidden both for men and women. A widow had a right to remarry, and under certain circumstances, a woman could marry again even if her husband was alive. The practice of *Sati* was not in vogue. However, some rare instances (like Madri becoming *Sati* after King Pandu) are found. The only disability from which women suffered in this age, as well as in the next one, were proprietary ones. They could hold or inherit no property. The male head of the family was regarded as the owner of the family property.

In short, we can say that the woman enjoyed fairly satisfactory position. The community on the whole was showing proper concern and respect for women, allowing them considerable freedom in the different activities of the social and political life.

Upanishadic Period

Gradual changes took place during the age of later *Samhitas* and *Upanishads* (1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.). In the higher sections of society, the sacred initiation (*upanayana*) of girls was common, and they subsequently used to go through a course of education. As the period advanced, there was gradual decline in female education. The system of sending girls out for education was discouraged and whatever little education was given to the girls, it was primarily given at home by the parents and the relatives. As a result, the training and the education were only possible for girls of rich and cultured families. Consequently, there arose a tendency to curtail the religious rights and privileges of average woman and many functions which were performed earlier by wife alone now came to be assigned to make substitutes.

During this period, *Svayamvara* was fairly common in *Kshatriya* circles and brides had some say in selection of their partners in life. The *Sati* custom was altogether unknown and the widows had the option of remarriage. *Purdah* was altogether unknown, but women had ceased to attend public meetings.

The relatively satisfactory position of women in the two epochs was due to partly religious and partly economic and political causes. Women used to take active part in the economic activities in the absence of their menfolk who were mainly engaged in the conquest and consolidation.

Period of Sutras and Early Smritis

The position of women deteriorated considerably in the age of *Sutras* and early *Smritis*. Before the beginning of this period, the Aryans rule had become well established. As they settled down and life became more regularized, a gradual decline in the status of women began. This was because the Aryans took non-Aryan wives who were not familiar with Aryan rituals and could not assist their husbands during religious ceremonies. Their mistakes gave religious *pandits* an excuse to declare that all women were unfit to perform religious rituals at which they were perfect before. Gradually lesser respect was extended to them and their position further deteriorated to the stage of condemnation. This can be verified with the help of opinions expressed by the Western writers who hold that the birth of a daughter brought a general gloom in the family, whereas the arrival of a male issue brought rejoicings and happiness. The '*Aitrava Brahmana*' lays down that, "A daughter is a source of misery and that a son is the saviour of the family." A son was preferred to a daughter

because he would always remain with his parents, continue the family line, offer oblations to the ancestors for their spiritual benefit, be a support to his parents in their old age and add lustre and glory to the good name of the family by noble and brilliant achievements. Such things could not be expected of a girl, whom a substantial dowry had to be given on the occasion of her marriage, who had to be maintained in case of her husband's poverty or death and who in the event of her remaining unmarried had to be provided for, by the apportionment to her, of a share of the ancestral property and sedulously guarded against going astray.

So far as selection of girls for marriage was concerned, the main criterion was the virtue in her. But '*Bharduwaj Grihya Sutra*' states that four considerations were kept in view while selecting a girl for marriage: wealth, beauty, intelligence and family.

While unmarried women were considered auspicious, widows were treated as messengers of misery and, therefore, were condemned in society on all ceremonial occasions. Society granted them no respectable position at all. The restrictions on them were strictly imposed and they were not allowed to live a life of comfort. Under these conditions, the position of women further deteriorated from the level of equal partnership in life to almost a place of slavery. The religious and moral aspect of the society was greatly shared by women who actually offered a backbone to the religious structure of society. Visiting temples, offering prayers, keeping fasts, observing rituals and so on formed a part of the duties performed by the Hindu wives. Taking vocations, entering into gainful activities was abhorred by them with a view to avoiding any disruption in the family. The advent of *purdah* system completely isolated them and their social life was completely crippled. Not only this, it told badly upon their education and a big majority of them began to remain illiterate.

With no educational goal to achieve, the custom of early marriage for girls to partners chosen by the parents began to take shape. Thus, girls lost their freedom for education, for performing rituals, for choosing their partners and for participating in public life. Gradually, the home became her only domain. Man, thus, considered himself superior to woman in religious and social matters. Perhaps, after this, men began to look for companionship elsewhere. Courtesans and temple dancers who were well trained and other women who excelled in music, dance and poetry, began to appear on the scene to entertain men. As their popularity increased, women became the object of men's pleasure. This may, perhaps, be the beginning of the social evil—prostitution.

Owing to different causes narrated above, there arose the tendency to lower marriageable age of girls and as a consequence to discourage their *upanayana* and education. The discontinuance of *upanayana*, the neglect of education and the lowering of the marriage age produced disastrous consequences upon the position and status of women.

During the first half of this period, widow remarriages and '*niyoga*' continued to be permitted but the public opinion was increasing against these customs. Marriage was regarded as religious sacrament in *Vedic* period also and yet society was permitting divorce and remarriage in exceptional cases. During the *Smriti* period, marriage became an irrevocable union. It was irrevocable, only so far as the wife was concerned. During this period, the husband was permitted to remarry in the lifetime of his first wife. The wife was not given the remedy of divorce even when she was completely forsaken by her husband. Again, it was during this period that Manu put forth his idea that a wife's marital relationship and her duties as a wife did not cease even if the husband sold or abandoned her. This differential treatment was due to the simple fact that women were no longer able to effectively oppose this because they were either illiterate or had attained lower level of education. This produced a very unfavourable consequence upon the conditions and status of the vast majority of women of the upper classes and it had its natural repercussions on the status of wives in ordinary families as well. The tendency to regard woman as a fragile entity made of a weak moral fibre was getting stronger in this period.

Later Period of Smritis

During the age of later *Smritis*, the only sphere in which the position of women improved was the one of property rights. In all other spheres, the position of women continued to deteriorate in this period. Most of the causes responsible for women's degradation during the last period continued to operate in this age also. The *upanayana* of women went completely out of vogue. Women was regarded as of the same status as that of a *sudra*. This inflicted an incalculable harm on their general status and prestige. The marriageable age of girls was further lowered. Early marriage was followed by early maternity which increased the mortality among women.

The above analysis of the position of the Hindu women shows that their condition has been deteriorating on the whole during the last two thousand years. Women lost ground, both economically and socially due to their lack of vigilance. Politically too they were isolated, so they became powerless. Being illiterate, they were unable to challenge the system and therefore submitted to it. In addition, the con-

cept of the *Karma* which means that their sufferings were due to their sins of the past lives, did not permit them to revolt. So they accepted their conditions as fate and resigned to it.

Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

During the later part of the eighteenth century and the nineteeth century, several enlightened individuals and groups sprang up. First in Bengal and later in the other parts of the country. This was as a consequence of various influences including Western thought. Very well known among these were Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayananda Saraswati, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Mortified by the miserable plight of women, the Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj were formed in the east and west. They voiced their displeasure and attacked out-moded beliefs and openly challenged practices like *sati*, child marriage, lack of education for women and the inhuman conditions of widows. Thus, many reform associations were formed and they worked towards the amelioration of the conditions of women. Men provided leadership to these associations while many heroic women worked hard to achieve social gains. The ultimate aim of the reform movement was to secure equal rights for women as human beings. As a result of the reform movements launched by these savants, the Hindu society gradually started realising the need for giving a better deal to women. Legislations were passed validating the marriage of widows and widening the traditional scope of *Stridhana*.

In independent India, a series of legislations have been enacted to improve the conditions of women. As a result, they have come to enjoy a status almost at par with men. It is not that these social legislations were inconsistent with the urges of the Hindu society. In fact, India's contact with the West even though it came through the agency of a foreign rule, had been a major factor in changing the traditional outlook of the Hindu society. As already said Hindu society itself had started feeling the need for a reorientation of its attitude towards women.

The present society is witnessing a resurgence in the position of Hindu women. They are claiming equality with men in all spheres of life. The position of our women has considerably improved from what it was before we gained our political freedom. Though many battles have been won the war for complete equality still goes on. Each generation has to face new problems and fight its battles afresh. Today we know that emancipation of our women cannot be considered to be complete until they enjoy political rights, social equality, economic independence and last but not the least biological emancipation.

PART III

INTERVIEWS

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PROMOTE VALUE-BASED EDUCATION, SAYS KRISHNA SAHI

"Education should be value-based in India. It should have linkage with Indian culture and heritage. Such value-based education helps to build our national character."

This is how an experienced parliamentarian and a Union Minister of State, Krishna Sahi, thinks. Elected from the Begusarai constituency, she is the lone member of the Congress(I) Party from Bihar in the Tenth Lok Sabha.

Though hailing from a freedom-fighter and politician's family, she did not feel the urge of joining politics till she turned around 40. Her father, the late Mahesh Prasad Sinha, who served as the Deputy Chief Minister of Bihar for nearly two decades, was one of the most powerful men and had spent long years in jail while struggling for the independence of India. Her father and her uncle did inspire her to join active politics, but the final decision was taken by none other than Krishna herself and it was fully supported by her husband, late B.P.N. Sahi who was an I.P.S. officer. Another personality, whom she remembers with great respect, was Dr. S.K. Sinha, the former Chief Minister of Bihar. He remained a guiding force during the difficult times of her life.

Krishna Sahi was married at the young age of 15 to Shri B.P.N. Sahi. She recalls that those were different days. She was innocent

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* For Profile of Smt. Krishna Sahi, please see p 826

and simple. She remembers that her husband became seriously ill with typhoid just after their marriage. Like any other family, her family also started offering prayers to God for her husband's early recovery. She was too young to understand the seriousness of the situation. With the passage of time, she started understanding the deprived conditions of women in our society. Her husband, who expired in 1976, always wished that his wife, Krishna, should be the best. He used to tell her, "You should have all the qualities so that people may envy you and you should not be on the mercy of others."*

Motivation Behind Joining Politics

She joined politics to do social work and promote national integration. Her desire to work for the eradication of social evils in the society and removal of economic backwardness of the people motivated her to enter active politics and work for the poorest of the poor.

Krishna Sahi, in her own words, was born in a 'Congress family'. She formally joined the party in 1969. The dynamic leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi and above all, the family faith in Congress philosophy, were the reasons behind her joining this party. In 1972, she was elected to the Bihar Legislative Assembly.

A seasoned politician, she firmly believes that India should remain a Secular State and that it should continue to function as a parliamentary democracy. She is anxious about the various problems the country is facing at present.

On Her Constituency

Talking about the existing problems of her constituency—Begusarai—major portions of which are rural, Krishna Sahi, says that unemployment, floods and soil erosion, are some of the major problems faced by her people. There is a need to establish industries, particularly industries connected with petro-chemicals and fertilizers or aromatic complex, in the area. She has been making efforts to solve these problems. She knows that she, alone, cannot solve such a

'huge' problem as unemployment, but she has been helping many needy people by getting them jobs.

On Women's Issues

Coming to the problems of women, Krishna Sahi says that being a woman herself she understands their deprived conditions. A social worker in her own right, she asks for urgent attention to solve some of their most important problems, namely, violence against women, harassment faced by tribal and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes women in everyday life, dowry and bride-burning, and wants better conditions for orphaned children and separated women. She is equally anxious about the illiteracy among women. She feels the imperative need for taking up these issues at the social level.

Speaking on the question of constitutional amendment for providing specific opportunities to women and children, she says that constitutional amendments do not offer any solution to these problems. We must work together to create social consciousness and improve the level of education in our society.

As a Union Minister of State in the Department of Education and Culture (Ministry of Human Resource Development) during 1986—88, Krishna Sahi looked after the implementation of the New National Education Policy and the opening of Navodaya Vidyalayas in the country. She also took initiative in the opening of schools for village children. Having remained so close to the educational scene in India, she opines that education, in our country, should be value-based and it should have linkage, with our culture and heritage. Such value-based education helps to build national character. She also appeals that villages should be adopted for their overall development. In such adopted villages, emphasis should be laid on nourishment of children.

She feels that the recently constituted, 'National Commission for Women' is an 'urban-oriented' Commission, and is not likely to be very much effective for the successful implementation of legislation relating to women because in our country 70 per cent of women live in villages and they do not know about this Commission.

On the Working of Parliament and its Committees

Well-versed with the functioning of various Parliamentary Committees (she served on several Parliamentary Committees during the

Seventh and the Eighth Lok Sabha), Krishna Sahi observes that some of the Committees are working properly, while some of them are not working satisfactorily. The performance of a Committee depends upon the initiatives taken by the Chairman of the Committee and also by its members. She sadly remarks that the recommendations of these Committees are not implemented by the bureaucrats. Not only this, she also favours constitution of a new Parliamentary Committee for the welfare of women and children.

As a woman member, Krishna Sahi, has faced many problems both inside and outside Parliament. In Parliament, she was unable to raise matters many times in the House due to paucity of time. At times her own soft voice, pandemonium, shouting by other members or lengthy speeches also created hurdles in her participation in the debates. Seniority of other members has never posed a problem for her in Parliament. Outside the Parliament, existing religious imbalances and other social circumstances have posed obstacles in her work as an M.P. She has a lot of responsibilities in the constituency where developmental works have to be taken up at the district and block levels. The constituency work takes a good deal of her time and energy.

She feels that the minimum educational qualification for membership should be fixed at 'matriculation'. Some similar criteria should also be developed in Rajya Sabha.

In the end, speaking on the role of women in promoting international cooperation in tackling global problems particularly those affecting women and children, Krishna Sahi, suggests that fruitful results can be achieved in this area if educated and learned women are given opportunities at that level.

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Pratibha Devisingh Patil* Calls For Economic Independence And Social Education Of Women

Pratibha Devisingh Patil is among those few veteran women parliamentarians who have had the privilege of serving both the Houses of Parliament and the State Assembly with marked distinction. A woman who has worked tirelessly in every walk of her life, whether it is education, social work, politics or administration, she is a true example of selfless service to the society.

Educated at M.J. College, Jalgaon, she obtained her law degree after completing the Master of Arts. A meritorius student throughout, she could have taken up teaching as a career. Instead, she opted for social work and public life.

At the age of 27, when most of the young girls would normally have been involved in matters personal, Pratibha Devisingh Patil thought sympathetically for the poor and neglected. As one from a family of well-known political leaders of Jalgaon, she already had some exposure to political life. She liked the philosophy of the Congress Party and joined it in 1962. To serve the people of Jalgaon more purposefully, she contested and won the election to the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly in 1962 when she was 27. She got inspiration to join politics from her relatives, particularly from her brother and

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* For Profile of Smt. Pratibha Devisingh Patil, please see p 781

father and later from her husband. Shri S.D. Patil, an active Congress member and also a member of Rajya Sabha, guided her political path from time to time. Besides them, the autobiographies of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, and the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also impressed her to opt for this way of life. The motivation behind her joining politics was purely social work says Pratibha Devisingh Patil.

On Secular India and Democracy

As a social worker, Pratibha Devisingh served the people of Jalgaon with great dedication. Later in her life, holding various portfolios as Minister in the State, Leader of Opposition, President of Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee and also as the Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha, she continued to help the people to resolve some of their social and economic problems. Being so close to the people, she remembers vividly the contributions of all men and women, irrespective of their castes and religions, in building a strong and secular India. Expressing her views on the concept of secular India, she says:

> "India, as we envisage it today, is secular. People from all religions have contributed to India being independent and coming to being a nation. Freedom-fighters belonged to different races and religions. Religions did not come in their way. To achieve freedom was their religion. Independence is not the achievement of any single religion. It is the achievement of not only men but women also. Women also fought and went to jail. They took the flag. The fought shoulder to shoulder with men. In my opinion, India has to be of secular nature if it does not want to disintegrate."

As the Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha, she maintained and upheld the great traditions of parliamentary institutions. She says that India is a parliamentary democracy and we have to demostrate our faith in parliamentary institutions if we wish to continue them. She thinks that persisting malpractices in our electoral system *viz.*, booth-capturing and rigging of votes and taking up of non-crucial issues as the main propaganda points during the election campaign, adversely affect our polity and hamper the developmental activities in the country. People are being misguided by these propaganda tactics. As a result, the main issues are set aside. People are swayed away by such issues as religion and Bofors, side-trackking much more important matters like the welfare of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and welfare of women and children. In her opinion, religion,

the innocent people in the name or religion. Ours is a nation where people belonging to different religions and castes live. Sensing the growing hatred, she feels that we should have peace in the minds of the people and the country first. Religion should preach to maintain such peace. Otherwise, she fears that the country will disintegrate and we will not be able to protect religion also it will be lost and the problems of security will mount day-by day.

Pratibha Devisingh Patil feels that threats to the unity and integrity of the country and terrorism are the main problems endangering the very fabric of our democratic set-up. In her view, the population explosion is the root cause of our other problems including poverty and scarcity of most of the commodities. Other areas and problems which she thinks should receive attention on priority basis are edcuation, productivity and price-rise, respectively. She opines that continuous rise in price level is basically due to the low level of productivity and high unemployment rates.

On Constituency Problems

Pratibha Devisingh Patil represents 'Amravati' constituency in the Tenth Lok Sabha and was elected on a Congress (I) Ticket while narrating problems of her constitutents, she expresses her anxiety over the progress and welfare of scheduled tribes. To her, progress should be there in every sense–economic, geographical and educational. Construction of more roads, hospitals, etc., especially for the tribal population should be undertaken soon. She also feels concerned about the farmer's problems including lack of irrigation facilities. She observes that this region is rich in oranges. Understanding the changing economic scene of today's India, she advocates the commercialization of these oranges. As elsewhere, unemployment problem is engulfing gradually this area also. It is necessary to establish industries in the region by pursuing the matter with the central government. She wants that government should declare 'Amravati as Industrial Growth Centre'. However, these complicated problems can be tackled only if Centre plans to resolve them in accordance with the view of the State government.

On Problems of Indian Women

A woman of progressive outlook, Pratibha Devisingh Patil has been handling her multi-farious responsibilities with utmost sincerity and ability. She has always been alive to the problems of women and rates

the problem relating to inheritance of property by women as the first priority. She says that as on today very few women are economically independent, due to lack of opportunities. She calls for more opportunities and economic independence for women. Consequently, problems like dowry, bride-burning and divorce have been multiplying in our society. She calls for better conditions for the orphaned children and separated women. She observes that a woman has been considered to be a dependent on her father, husband or son since Manu's times. The parents think that their son will look after them when they grow old and hence, it is in their own interest to discriminate between a boy and a girl. Women have also been indoctrinated to treat their daughters as subordinate to their sons. This concept has been followed as ritual and social custom. It's roots are so deep in our society that it is difficult for them to revolt against it. Prefereutial treatment should also be given for solving the other important problems of women like recognition of household jobs of housewives as 'productive work' and removal of inequality of wages between male and female labour. Pratiba Devisingh Patil insists that education is a must for women as it makes them confident. She feels that a constitutional amendment for providing specific opportunities to women will not help them. Constitutionally, they have got all the fundamental rights. There is, however, need to create such atmosphere in the society as would be conducive for their socio-economic development.

It is disheartening to notice that the social awareness among women is very limited in our country. Steps should be taken for clearing and creating the social atmosphere in the society. Emphasis should be laid on social education. Attention should be paid to the gearing up of propaganda through the proper use of television, radio, dramas and pictures. She wishes that voluntary organizations and the political parties should participate together in this mission. Her concept of helping women is that we must try to help them to stand on their own legs. Keeping this in mind, Pratibha Devisingh Patil mooted the idea of 'women cooperative banks'. Out of 26 cooperative banks in Maharashtra, she is happy to note that in about 20, shareholders are only women. As the Minister of Social Welfare in Maharashtra, she brought women of Maharashtra under '*Maharashtra Mahila Vikas Mandal*'. Moreover, 'Shram Sadhna Hostel for Working Women' has also been functioning under her guidance since 1975. Years ago, Pratibha Devisingh Patil thought of establishing a 'Sugar Cooperative Society'. She has been trying hard to collect at least 50 per cent of its shares from the weaker sections—women, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Seeing the poor conditions of women. She endorses the idea of reservation of seats for women in Parliament and State Assemblies. She states that 30 per cent of seats have already been reserved for women in Zila Parishads and Municipal Councils in

Maharashtra. She strongly feels that if not 30 per cent, at least 25 per cent seats should be reserved for women in Parliament and State Assemblies.

In the Service of SCs and STs

As the Minister of Social Welfare in Maharashtra, she was in-charge of the welfare of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. There She undertook the work on the 'tribal plan'—sub-plan of the Five-year Plan. Along with her team of officers, she visited extensively all the 13 States inhabited predominantly by tribal people. Studies were also undertaken to understand their problems. There after plans were formulated for the uplifitment of the tribal people. These plans were accepted in most of the States. Under the tribal plan, schools and colleges were opened with the help of the voluntary organizations. Initiatives were taken to set up hostels for tribal girls. ' Kamla Mahila Hostel, at Dharvi in Amravati District was inaugurated by Indiraji, for the tribal girls. She feels that emphasis should be laid on opening of more schools, constructing of new roads and providing adequate medical facilities in the tribal and far off areas and that we must try to make efforts to take T.V. sub-stations to these areas and give the people living there opportunities to watch and learn about the activities of the outside world.

On the Committee System

Pratibha Devisingh Patil has served as the Chairman of the Privileges Committee of Rajya Sabha and also as a member of the Business Advisory Committee of that House. Reflecting on the functioning of Parliamentary Committees, she says;

> ". . . The stystem of Parliamentary Committees is very good. It should be strengthened. We can really have better discussion in the Parliamentary Committees than in the Parliament itself. But the Committees should devote more time and discuss various issues in a more serious way. Their reports should be taken up in Parliament in a serious manner. Suggestions of Parliamentary Committees also should be noted. It is actually the Minister and various departments who are supposed to take the suggestions into consideration. It should be noted how the suggestions have been implemented and what have been their achievements. . . ."

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Dil Kumari Bhandari* Calls For Overall Development Of Women

"When a man is hungry, he is angry. A hungry man cannot think of unity and integrity of the country.... In our country, the main problem is that most of the people live from hand to mouth...."

This expression of Dil Kumari Bhandari is a manifestation of her deep concern for the poor and the downtrodden.

In the Service of People of Sikkim

Hailing from the small but picturesque State, Sikkim, Dil Kumari Bhandari realized the need of entering into politics only in her late thirties though she was no stranger to politics. Being the wife of the Chief Minister of Sikkim, Shri Nar Bahadur Bhandari, she could have led a peaceful and comfortable life in the State and avoided the hardships of politics. Instead, sensing the political environment in her State, she stood up on her own to do something worthwhile for the people of Sikkim. The then existing political and social circumstances in the State, her desire to lead from the front and fight for the development of the area and fulfil the wishes of the people of Sikkim were the motivating factors which drew her to politics. Besides, her personal decision to enter politics was also influenced by her husband's interest.

Dil Kumari Bhandari recalls that just before she entered the Eighth Lok Sabha, the political circumstances in Sikkim were very

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* For Profile of Smt. Dil Kumari Bhandari Please see p 459.

discouraging. She strongly feels that the "high handedness of the then ruling party... and the way they dealt the people of Sikkim", forced her to think about the future of Sikkim which she loves beyond any limit. She saw sadly how this party suppressed the democratic rights of the people.

Regarding the political environment of Sikkim those days, she says that it was strange for her to see how frequently the people from a particular group changed their political parties with the sole aim of acquiring 'power'.

Even though fully conscious of the need for change in Sikkim, she felt constrained initially to undertake any promotional activities in her State. She was candid in admitting that the reason behind this was her lack of exposure to the hard realities of political life as Sikkim was geographically a small State which became part of the Indian Union only in 1975. She was inspired to work for the people of Sikkim by her maternal uncle—the first cousin of her mother—Shri G.B. Rai. She adds that she has learned most of the things in her life from him.

Challenges before the Nation

Sikkim is no doubt a young State of our country. But its culture has deep roots. On the concept of a secular State, Dil Kumari Bhandari says, "...India is a great country. People are basically secular. There is no doubt about it.... In this context, I am proud to say, Sikkim is an example. Ours is a peaceful State. People believe in co-existence and they respect each other's religion. Any person can go to a mosque or temple, etc., without any hesitation."

She is proud of the fact that India is the greatest democratic country in the world. Democracy, she thinks, is the most suitable system for our country and no other alternative is better for us.

She assigns priorities to the various problems at the national level in the following sequence: Population explosion, threats to the unity and integrity of the country, terrorism, price-rise and illiteracy. In her opinion, when a man is hungry, he is angry. Hunger arising from rapid increase in population disintegrates every human being. She is of the view that a hungry man cannot think of the unity and integrity of the country. She opines that the people as such are loyal to the country.

Constituency Problems

Highlighting the problems of Sikkim from where she has been elected, on an S.S.P. (Sikkim Sangram Parishad) ticket to the Tenth Lok Sabha, Dil Kumari Bhandari says that even though Sikkim joined India in 1975, it could not make adequate development in various fields like industry, health, education, particularly higher education, and services. The Centre has also declared Sikkim an industrially backward State, but not a single industry has been set up there since 1975; there is no public sector undertaking. The North-Eastern States get annual aid from the Centre. She says that Sikkim should also have been taken into the North-Eastern Council by now. The crux of the problem of underdevelopment of Sikkim, she analyses, is that the amount of aid they receive from the Centre is not sufficient. It is imperative that proper attention should be paid to the development of the people of Sikkim.

Dil Kumari Bhandari invites attention to two other major problems of her constituency—poverty and unemployment. She says, "Poverty is there but it is being slowly removed.... If you go to Sikkim you will see a total change in the scenario which existed four or five years ago." *Kachcha* houses of earlier days are now being replaced by the *Pucca* houses. She demands that government projects should be initiated to provide long-term solutions to the persisting problems. Our motto should not be benefit one person only. There should be sufficient number of jobs and easy availability of essential food items. The government of Sikkim have been trying to manage the problem of unemployment. But if Sikkim does not develop industrially side by side, the problem of unemployment will grow tremendously. For this stupendous task, assistance from the Centre is a must. Only then, she thinks, Sikkim can hope to provide sufficient jobs to its people in the future. Dil Kumari Bhandari states that her contribution towards solving these problems will be "to sincerely serve the people" of Sikkim and see that the funds allocated are properly used in order to make Sikkim a fully self-sufficient State. She explains that she has been doing her duty to the people by pointing out the improper functioning of the people.

The total literacy rate of the State is 57 per cent. It also has a fairly high rate of female literacy with about 47 per cent of the women population being literate. She says that the people of Sikkim are very conscious. Whenever they see that something wrong is being done, they write letters to the State Chief Minister and go and meet him personally. So whenever there is some problem or something wrong in the State, people of her party are the first to help. She hopes that she will be able to manage all the things for her people whenever various issues are dealt within the framework of the Centre-State relations.

Women and Their Welfare

Dil Kumari Bhandari observes that the women of Sikkim are in a better position than those in many of the other States. They have a say in the family and are maintaining their culture. However, women in the hilly regions have their own problems which should also be kept in mind by the government. Our governments have been introducing various welfare programmes from time to time to improve the conditions of women and children. She asks why governments think of welfare plans and programmes only? Why cannot they think of development of women and children.

She is very sensitive towards every type of violence committed against women. She is also worried about the low rate of literacy of women in the country. Discrimination based on gender must be discouraged. It is true, she says that women in India are not aware of the various laws passed from time to time for their welfare. Such awareness depends on the literacy rate. If one is literate, one becomes conscious of one's rights. Assertiveness is linked with the literacy rate. In this connection, she desires that the laws related to women should be published in all the regional languages. This way, women may perhaps get to know about laws which are passed by Parliament. She does not like the idea of reservation for women in any field, not even in the legislatures. Instead she calls for equal opportunities for women in every sphere of activity. She does not want to get preference merely because of being a woman. She strongly feels that if equal opportunities are provided, girls may be able to perform as well as boys, if not better than them. She, however, favours constitution of a Parliamentary Committee for the welfare of women and Children. Commenting on the recently constituted National Commission for Women, she says that the functioning of the Commission depends upon the party in power. In her own words, "Let us hope for the best from the Commission's working."

Introducing constitutional amendment for providing specific opportunities to women and children will not serve the purpose, she opines. There have been amendments to the Constitution and many laws have been enacted, but their implementation, has been far from satisfactory. In her opinion there is a need to change the social environment. People prefer male children to female children and are guided by such considerations as dowry and money. They should learn to respect the human beings. Compulsory education for children has been much talked about but as on today a very large number of children are not getting proper education. She wants that government should provide facilities for formal or at least informal education to children and should extend assistance to them in cash and kind.

Equality, equalness and togetherness—these are the cardinal principles followed in the society of Sikkim, says Dil Kumari Bhandari. People in this State believe in togetherness. Years back, scheduled castes were looked down upon. This attitude has been slowly disappearing. She observes that the percentage of scheduled castes is less than even one per cent now. She is happy to note that nobody wishes to create any rift between scheduled castes and other classes in Sikkim.

Her Experiences As a Parliamentarian

As a Parliamentarian* she wants Parliamentary Committees to be made more effective as according to her, they have become a routine matter. This way of discussion and deliberations does not impress her much. She says that when she was just elected to Parliament in 1985, there was an incident of bomb blast which took the lives of 12 persons. Initially, every one adopted a fire-fighting approach and attitude. However, it soon became a routine affair. Similar is the attitude towards the demands for inclusion of 'Nepali'** language in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. She says that this is one of the most peaceful and democratic movement going on and nothing has been done during the last four decades. Many times, she is unable to raise matters in the House, due to paucity of time. Outside the House, she does not face any problem in the performance of her duties as a representative and adds that she does not indulge in politics also.

Commenting upon the need to have minimum educational qualifications for members, she says:

> "What is education—Degree! (That is not education). Education is the way that polishes human being but degrees are not the only thing. It is the culture, environment and upbringing that make a human being.... Those who cannot write properly may have better understanding of problems and solutions which can be achieved with sincere efforts and human touch. I am not against higher level of education.... At least they should be able to read and write.... I will leave all to the rest."

* She has been member of the Consultative Committee, Ministry of Home Affairs and Bofor's Committee.

** At the time of interview, Nepali was yet to be included. Nepali has since been included in the Eighth Scheduled of the Constitution.

She observes that women are coming forward in our country and in other countries also. They have become conscious of their rights and their say in the administration of the country matters. She feels that given the chance, women can do better than men and believes that women by nature, are better managers and soft-hearted too. If they join hands together in matters like keeping peace, etc., they can play an effective role.

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Girija Devi's* Journey From Sitar To Sansad

A university teacher, and a renowned Sitar player Dr. Girija Devi, presently is the representative of the people of Maharajgang (Bihar) in the Tenth Lok Sabha. She has travelled a long way in her life covering various fields *viz.*, music, education and politics. She joined politics rather late at the age of 50 years, though politics had never been a strange world for her. She has born in a politically conscious family whose members keenly participated in freedom struggle of our country.

Recalling her early days with pain, she says that her mother, a widow and a believer in Gandhian philosophy, did not get justice from society. They were expected to follow all the norms of the society without objecting to them. They were treated as second rate citizens. Her mother was ill treated and she also did not receive any share in the ancestrol property. In spite of her personal plight, she fought for the betterment of the conditions of women. Girija Devi's mother used to tell her: "Don't feel that you are a woman. But think that you are a person."

Music: An Alternative of God

A musician and a student of philosophy, Girija Devi believe that music is an alterantive of God *i.e.*, *Brahma*. She says, that in earlier

* For Profile of Dr. (Prof.) Girija Devi please *see* p 565.

days a woman who learnt music in our society was hated and treated as a second rate citizen, whereas a man who learnt this art was greatly respected. This discrimination in the attitude led to rebellious feelings in young Girija's heart. She says that music is a pious art for girls. As a student, she took study of music in a very serious manner and later taught it at university level. She demands that our society should consider girls' needs in the right manner.

She joined politics to work for securing social justice for the neglected sections of the society and removing economic backwardness.

Secular and Democratic India

She got inspiration to work for the people at the grassroots level from the Father of the Nation — Mahatma Gandhi. She has been in search of 'truth' both inside her and in the outside world after reading his biography. She thinks that the people who live in rural areas are the mirror of our nation's development. We will achieve social and economic independence in the true sense only when a girl from a backward community reaches the highest position in the country.

Commenting upon the future of secularism in India, she says,

> "Yes, India will remain a secular... State Ours is a unique country in the world. Here, people from different religions—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Jews, etc., live together with great love and care. Masons and architects who build temples for Hindus are even now from Muslim community.

Girija Devi observes with a sense of satisfaction in our politics the voter occupies the highest position which is no doubt a healthy sign for the democratic system. However, she adds that illiterate voters cannot sometimes check corruption in a government's functioning. The innocent feelings of these illiterate people are sought to be won by maintaining the names of few popular leaders. In actual practice, parties work against the philosophies of those great leaders. She says that even under such circumstances, the general public is wise enough to vote for the right person and sustain the democratic system.

Illiteracy: A Major Problem of Her Constituency

Girija Devi is a Janata Dal member in the Tenth Lok Sabha. She points out sadly that we have not been able to provide basic neces-

sitites—food, cloth and shelter, to our people. She says that Janata Dal can fulfil people's basic necessities, protect secularism and pro-ue social justice to the oppressed people. She considers women to be the most oppressed and depressed class in the society.

In her constituency—Maharajganj, illiteracy particularly among women is the major problem. So far, no proper educational programmes have been introduced for women. Besides the lack of proper educational facilities negative social thinking is the other factor responsible for causing illiteracy among girls. Girl's are not generally encouraged to join schools. Instead, they are encouraged to work at home. Overall, there is lack of social and mental awareness in our society. On her own, Girija Devi has been struggling to convince Central and State Governments to select areas which have high illiteracy rates. These selected areas should be made 'Literate' in five years. She also works hard to convince people to educate their daughters, sisters and wives so that they may become able and efficient individuals. Another point which she notices is that women do not utilise their education properly. She has made special efforts in this direction by encouraging establishment of more and more women's organisations — for sharing of views and thinking over their role and place in the society. Unemployment is another problem faced by the people of Maharajganj. Maharajganj is a highly populated area where per capita availability of land is very low.

Labour from North Bihar migrates to other parts of India like Punjab and Haryana and even to foreign countries like Malaysia and Trinidad. Cottage industries are vanishing from the scene due to lack of infrastructure. There is an urgent need of improving the infrastructural facilities and providing better facilities of rails, roads electricity, etc., in this area. She urges that both the Centre and the State governments should spot the non-agricultrual land available in Maharajganj and think of starting 'self-employment schemes'.

Concern for National Problems

Being a university teacher, she has been well conversant with day-to-day developments on the national scene. In her opinion, population growth should be given number one in the priority list of national problems; thereafter causes the problem of price-rise and then that of unemployment. The fourth and fifth national priorities should be promotion of education and removal of inequality in the society respectively.

Ensure Equality for Women

Girija Devi has been extremely sensitive towards women and their problems. She is very much concerned about the discrimination in the family between the male child and the female child both in their upbringing and education. She opines that illiteracy among women is another problem which needs immediate attention. Even among literate group of women, stress is not laid on qualitative literacy. Laws relating to inheritance of property still do not consider woman as a shareholder in the family's property. It is a matter of concern that property rights are not automatically transferred to women. Problems relating to dowry and bride-burning should also be tackled on priority basis.

Girija Devi says that the Constitution of India has provisions for ensuring equality to women. In actual practice, the situation is different. This can be seen especially in the case of property distribution, where it is necessary to guarantee non-discriminatory policy between male and female members of the family.

It is a fact that women in India have very limited awareness of social legislations passed for their welfare. This situation exists mainly because of the high rate of illiteracy among Indian women. They are bounded by their personal and social circumstances. Hence, they hardly have any knowledge of their rights. She thinks that women can be enlightened about their rights with the right type of education. She observes that if one woman is educated, one family is educated. Therefore, government should think seriously about educating women. .

Regarding the setting up of the 'National Commission for Women', Girija Devi thinks that if the Commission had been set up with all the powers that the Bill is introduced in the Ninth Lok Sabha had envisioned, it would have been a great achievement. Now the things are different. The Chairperson of the Commission is presently not of the rank of a Cabinet Minister. Specific duties have not been defined for the Commission. She prefers to wait and see how the Commission will proceed in future.

Parliamentary Issues

Girija Devi is in favour of laying down some minimum educational qualification for membership of Parliament to promote efficiency and promptness. She, however, thinks that educational qualification is a relative term; members should at least be able to read and write.

She also supports the idea of reservation for women. If backwardness dominates the scene, the woman is generally tortured. Outside the house, she mostly works at the lower cadres. Girija Devi wishes that women should be there at the decision-making place. At least, 30 per cent seats should be reserved for women in Parliament and State Assemblies.

In Indian society, about half of the population is of women. Many existing economic and social problems are directly related to women and children. Therefore, it will be helpful to have a Parliamentary Committee for the welfare of women and children, she says. Speaking about her experiences as a Parliamentarian she says that, she did not face any problem either during her election campaigns or later while participating in the debates of the House as a Member. But before that, during her journey from 'Sitar to Sansad', she had to face a lot of problems. Regretting the conservatives outlook of society towards musicians she says that it is imperative to respect the musicians and they should also be given respectable place in society.

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RESERVATION—A MUST FOR WOMEN, SAYS K.S. SOUNDARAM*.

K.S. Soundaram, a member of A.I.A.D.M.K. party since 1972, is a member of the Tenth Lok Sabha from Tiruchengode constituency in Tamil Nadu.

All along her political career, she has been inspired by the late Dr. M.G. Ramachandran and the present Chief Minster of Tamil Nadu Ms. J. Jayalalitha. Her desire to fight social evils, prevailing in society has motivated her to enter the political arena.

Specifying her views on 'India as a secular State' and 'India as a Parliamentary Democracy', she thinks that both are functioning very well in India.

At the young age of 25, K.S. Soundaram joined politics. She is well-acquainted with the people of her area. In her constituency, Tiruchengode, she thinks that unemployment, water for irrigation, house-sites and basic amenities for the economically weaker-sections are the major problems which need immediate attention of the authorities.

At the national level, she gives priority to eradicate problems like unemployment, corruption, illiteracy, economic backwardness and atrocites on women, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

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* For Profile of Dr. (Smt.) K.S. Soundaram, please *see*. p 889–90.

Coming to women's problems, K.S. Soundaram thinks that the most serious problem faced by women in India is dowry and bride-burning. The other problems. She points out, are violence against women, non-recognition of household jobs of housewives as 'productive work', illiteracy among women, discrimination in the family between male child and female child both in upbringing and education.

She is of the view that there should be specific opportunities for women and children. In this context she suggests that 50 per cent seats should be reserved for them in the Parliament and State Legislatures. Some provisions should also be made for them in the military and police force.

She feels that women in India have limited awareness of social legislations passed for their welfare. She advocates that illiteracy should be eradicted to create such awareness among women and media. Television and All India Radio must be utilised for this purpose. She thinks that the National Commission for Women will be effective to a certain extent for the successful implementation of legislation intended for women. However, she wants the scope and power of the Commission to be enlarged. She also opines favourably for the constitution of a Parliamentary Committee for the welfare of Women and Children.

As a Parliamentarian, she has been impressed by the dynamic leadership of her political party–the A.I.A.D.M.K. As a woman member, she has not only been helping the scheduled castes/ scheduled tribes by arranging drinking water, transport, recreation and other facilities for them, but also espousing their cause.

Dr. K.S. Soundaram is in favour of prescribing some minimum educational qualifications for membership to Parliament to promote its efficiency and promptness.

Outside Parliament, she has not faced any obstacle as a woman member. However, such is not the case inside the Parliament. As a woman, she is unable to raise matters many times in the House due to paucity of time. She also faces problems when other members shout or when pandemonium is created in the House.

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KAMALA SINHA* STRESSES NEED FOR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF WOMEN

A socialist and an active trade unionist, Kamala Sinha is a Janata Dal member of Parliament, elected to Rajya Sabha from Bihar. Born and brought up in a family of freedom-fighters, she began her political career very early, as a student, when she was just 15 years of age. She herself took the decision to join politics though inspiration came from her family members. Her father, late Kedareshwar Mukherjee, a member of Yugantar Party, had spent a few years in jail. Her uncle (*Chacha*), late Atmanand Saraswati—a co-worker of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati and also a founder-leader of the Socialist Party in Bihar was in jail for nearly ten years during the freedom struggle. He was freed only after India attained independence. Another personality who inspired her to join politics was none other than her husband, late Basawon Sinha—a co-worker of eminent leaders like Jayaprakash Narain, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia and Ashok Mehta. In the earlier days, her husband was a member of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army. One of the founder-leaders of the Socialist Party and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, Shri Basawon Sinha also spent more than 16 years in jail. Surrounded by those who sacrifice many years of their lives for the nation, Kamala Sinha also chose the path of serving the people.

As a young student, she was inspired by the philosophy of Karl Marx. So she joined politics to work for the removal of economic and

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* For Profile of Smt. Kamala Sinha, please *see* p 874–75.

social disparities in the Indian society and also for the development of the oppressed and depressed class.

Among the political, social and religious leaders who have influenced and motivated her are: Gautam Buddha, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa Deva, Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi, Acharya Narendra Dev, Jayapakash Narain and Dr. Rammanohar Lohia.

A Socialist

Kamala Sinha recalls that she was in the Praja Socialist Party (since 1952) which later on merged with the Samyukta Socialist Party and the merged party came to be known as the Socialist Party. As a young socialist, she was Actively involved in the student and youth movement. She was President of Samajwadi Yuwak Sabha (India) from 1970 to 1976. In 1974, she was elected member of the National Executive of the Socialist Party. In May 1977, all opposition parties including the Socialist Party merged together to form the Janata Party and so she was in the Janata Party. In October, 1988, Janata Party merged with Jana Morcha and other parties; and the merged party came to be known as the Janata Dal. Thus, she has been in the Janata Dal from the very first day. She has deep faith in the philosophy of the party which, she firmly believes, represents the aspirations of the poor and deprived of the country. She states that the Party stands for social justice and social change and its leaders are committed to its philosophy.

Problems of Constituency and National Levels

Kamala Sinha represents the people of Bihar in Rajya Sabha. Having been involved in social welfare activities for a long time, she is aware of their problems. She feels that three major problems of Bihar are : economic backwardness, illiteracy and inadequacy of developmental infrastructure. She is of the opinion that one cannot solve these problems individually. Adequate planned support from the Union Government is necessary. However, as a member of Parliament, she has been raising these problems/issues on the floor of the House to draw the attention of the Government as often as she can.

She says that for the very survival of a multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-religious, multi-lingual and democratic country like India, secularism is the most essential factor. She further observes that India is facing a number of problems at present. Of these, five problems which should be attended to on priority basis are: develop-

mental backwardness, population explosion, threats to the unity and integrity of the country, terrorism and communal violence. Striking a hopeful note she adds that in spite of all the problems, democracy has gone to the grassroot level in India. Indian people have shown immense political and collective wisdom. It is the chosen representatives who denigrate democratic and moral values by their fickle behaviour of defections.

Concern for Women and Downtrodden

She feels that violence against women is the biggest problem faced by the Indian women. Some of their other serious problems are: harassment of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe women, dowry and bride-burning, illiteracy of women and inequality of wages between men and women. No society can be called civilised, advanced and developed where women have such problems. She wants that 30 per cent of the seats may be reserved for women in all bodies from Panchayats to Parliament and feels that if this is done women would be in a position to share power and protect their social and constitutional rights.

Kamala Sinha is sad that women of India are not well aware of the social legislations passed for their welfare and also observes, that in practice, these laws are not properly implemented. It is essential to start a massive awareness generation campaign through mass-media and television. Free and compulsory education up to matriculation and informal and adult education will also go a long way in awareness-generation. Gradually, attitude of the families towards girls and women will also change. Above all, economic independence of women is the most essential factor for their development.

Commenting on the role and powers of the recently constituted National Commission for women, she says that this Commission does not have a statutory status. It has not been able to achieve any mileage since the last few months of its existence. It needs more power and must have statutory status. She also feels that a Parliamentary Committee for the Welfare of women and children will be very helpful and demands that such a Committee should be constituted.

Replying to a question about her personal contribution for the amelioration of the conditions of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and other backward classes, Kamala Sinha states that as a socialist, Janata Party, Janata Dal and trade union activist, (she is the President, Hind Mazdoor Sabha—India) she has always fought for the oppressed

and depressed classes of society. She has been to jail more than a dozen time including the period of national Emergency when she was a MISA prisoner.

As a Member in Parliament

Expressing her views on the working of Parliamentary Committees she observes that as a member of the Public Undertakings Committee and Coal Consultative Committee, she has seen that the members take their responsibilities very seriously and discharge their duties properly.

Being a woman in politics, she has not faced any obstacle in discharging her functions as party and a social worker and also as a trade unionist. In the House, however, she faces a great obstacle, *i.e.* paucity of time; and adds that this is an obstacle for almost all the members. She specifically makes a mention about the Zero Hour and complains that women members' voice gets drowned in the din during that period.

Kamala Sinha is of the opinion that basic understanding of the socio-political and human affairs is most important for a member of Parliament and certain educational level does help to promote his or her efficiency and alertness.

Coming to international issues, she says that as a member of International Confederation of Free Trade Union's Women Committee and Vice-President of International Confederation of Free Trade Union's Asia-Pacific region, she has been raising issues of working women, *e.g.* discrimination in employment opportunities, inequal treatment, sexual harassment at work place, atrocities on women, retrenchment, etc. These issues are in real sense global issues. Among the children's issues, specifically those of child labour and abuse of girl child are also very important. She observes that the SAARC year of the girl child has brought into focus the plight of the girl child.

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MALINI BHATTACHARYA'S SEARCH FOR REAL DEMOCRACY*

"... Through a democratic process that the struggle against exploitation can be strengthened...." It is this passionate commitment to struggling against exploitation that motivated Prof. Malini Bhattacharya to enter public life.

A believer in Marxian ideology, she has been actively involved in the work of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)—CPI(M), since 1975. A teacher and an educationist, she has participated enthusiastically, in the activities of the Teachers' and Cultural Wings of the Jadavpur University.

It was after nearly thirteen years of being a Party member that Prof. Bhattacharya was asked to contest the Lok Sabha election, in 1989, from Jadavpur constituency in West Bengal which she won. She was re-elected to the Tenth Lok Sabha from the same constituency in 1991.

Entering politics was purely her own ideological decision. She says that joining politics was a matter of participation in a great social struggle. Carefully analysing the existing social atmosphere and through her efforts to understand various political philosophies, she decided to be active in politics. She is convinced that the right kind of politics which can lead India ahead is the kind of politics that the CPI (M) offers and feels that here party's

* For Profile of Prof. Malini Bhattacharya, please *see* p 467

programmes are capable of solving the most urgent problems of our country. In reply to a question regarding her decision to become a parliamentarion, she says:

> "I don't think, as a Communist, that merely by joining parliamentary politics I can curb exploitation in our society. However, it is through a democratic process that the struggle against exploitation can be strengthened and that is why I joined parliamentary politics."

Since she joined direct politics only in 1989, she came into contact with political leaders personally quite late in her life. Her source of inspiration were the founders of her Party and also those who fought for the oppressed. Some of the great works, *viz.* Autobiography of Muzzaffar Ahmad, Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, writings of Mao Zedong and Life of 'Lenin' by his wife, had also cast influence upon her.

A Non-believer

In a multi-religious society like ours, it is but natural that one develops some faith in one religion or the other. But, Prof. Bhattacharya points out: "I am non-religious and I am a non-believer." She thinks that India is a secular State, but observes that in our country religion has been used time and again as an instrument of exploitation and at the same time it has been associated with the cultural values of particular communities. It is only through discarding the exploitational aspect of religion like caste and by allowing an atmosphere where harmonious relations may be maintained among different religions, that a strong and secular India can be built.

Search for Real Democracy

Prof. Malini Bhattacharya, expressing her views on 'Democracy' says that India has a parliamentary democratic system. It is the biggest democracy in the world. In spite of several drawbacks, the values of democracy are understood in our nation.

But she thinks that a democracy in which a few people have the freedom to become richer and richer, is no democracy at all. She explains that the attainment of real political, economic and cultural equality of all the people, particularly of the most exploited and most

backward, is the real democracy. So, for her, the question is: *'How to achieve this real democracy?'*

Sensitive to the environment presently existing in the country, Prof. Malini Bhattacharya considers poverty and unemployment as the foremost national problem to be taken care of immediately. Some of the other problems, which she thinks should be tackled on priority basis are: education, threats to the sovereignty of the country, problems of women and communal disharmony.

Urgent Problems of Constituents

Prof. Bhattacharya, is very much anxious about the problems of her constituency and constituents. One of the acute problems of her constituency, Jadavpur, an urbanised and industrial area, is the closing down of sick industries leading to 'unemployment'. She says that the economic position in the rural areas, has improved marginally during the last ten years. The credit for whatever improvement that has taken place goes to the 'Land Reforms' undertaken by the government of West Bengal and the successful implementation of the 'Panchayat System'.

Since Independence, some improvement has taken place in the rural constituencies. Yet, there are myriad problems which remain unresolved even today. In urban areas' Load-shedding' is one of problems actually felt by her constituents. In spite of increased supply of electricity, the government has been unable to meet the ever-rising demand for it. Another problem is the inadequacy of infrastructural facilities available to commuters; Lakhs of people commute to Calcutta every day from nearby areas without even getting adequate facilities on the way; this needs to be given due attention by the government urgently.

Prof. Malini Bhattacharya says that steps have been taken to solve the problems of her constituency. 'Unemployment', the most serious problem, has been taken up on a priority basis. Special attention is being paid to women's employment by introducing self-employment schemes through the government. Sincere efforts are being made to revive sick factories through the Corporation Wards. Some new factories are also being established. She adds that important project like big flyovers have been taken up and their construction in Jadavpur will ease the traffic problems, to a great extent.

Emphasis on Economic Issues Relating to Women

Dwelling on the women's problems she says that women are the weaker section of the society and, therefore, unemployment, which is a general problem, affects them more. On another issue, namely, recognition of household jobs of housewives as productive work, she observes:

> "Household work is very important. I do think that household work is social work. However Home is not the women's job alone but society is also responsible for it. Both the State and the society should do something to lighten the burden of house work that women have to do. We cannot say, 'pay the wages to women for house work'. Now the question is, 'who is to pay the wages'? I do not think it can be solved in that way. But they must have equal opportunities to do other kind of things."

Prof. Bhattacharya insists that the first step toward solving women's problems, which cause social inequalities between men and women, should be to remove 'economic inequality'. Women must not be illiterate. They must be trained. They must have the equal opportunity of employment. Instead of being an economic burden, women must be able to earn their livelihood. Women are seen as socially weak and their social oppression could be removed only if women were able to participate actively in the development of the economy.

She thinks that for providing opportunities to women reservation is necessary, but it alone is not enough. Alongwith this, steps should be taken to provide equal opportunities in employment, eradicate illiteracy and decentralise administration.

Prof. Bhattacharya agrees that women in India have limited knowledge of the legislations passed for their betterment from time to time. Efforts can be made through cultural activities like songs, dance and drama, to create consciousness among the people. Prof. Bhattachaya and her troupe under the banner of *Sachetna*, enacted plays against dowry, the Muslim Women Act, communalism, etc. She herself wrote some anti-dowry plays. The cultural activities of the troupe were not restricted to the cities only but nearby villages were also covered. Over and above this, it is a must to spread literacy. In West Bengal efforts for spreading literacy are being made in big way and women are the most enthusiastic participants.

The recently founded National Commission for Women, she observes, is a monitoring body which will keep a watch on the implementation and working of the laws relating to women. She

hopes that the powers granted to the Commission, if utilised properly, may bring some fruitful results in the near future.

Prof. Malini Bhattacharya favours reservation of seats for women in representative bodies. She adds after a thought that every government department should be concerned about women's issues. The Department of Women and Child Development should work as a nodal agency. Bigger and wider role should be played by the existing women's organisations.

Being a social worker, she has been taking part in various movements against caste and has been making efforts to ameliorate the lot of SC/ST and other backward classes.

Role in Parliament

Expressing her views on the working of the existing Parliamentary Committees, she says that though the government is not bound to accept the observations/suggestions made by various Committees, the Committees have been useful in exerting pressure on the government.

In Parliament, she does face problems like the complexity of parliamentary procedure, pandemonium, etc., but she adds that such problems are not restricted to women only. Many of her male colleagues also face them in day-to-day proceedings. She says that sometimes there is a feeling that women are not taken seriously. Even in the present environment, they are expected to raise issues pertaining to women's problems only. She thinks that some minimum educational qualification is necessary for the membership of Parliament to promote efficiency and promptness.

In the international arena, Prof. Malini Bhattacharya has been raising matters related to women and also other urgent pressing issues *viz.*, international trafficking in women, malnutrition of women and children in the third world countries, environmental issues, etc., and thinks that women can play a useful role in promoting international co-operation.

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Woman Is The Base Of Any Society, Avers Renuka Chowdhury*

"Woman has a very vital role since she is the base of any society. The development and upliftment of women shall be the foundation for a better society internationally."

This is how Renuka Chowdhury, member, Rajya Sabha from Andhra Pradesh, thinks.

Existing social evils and exploitation in society have motivated her to plunge into politics at the age of 30. She has also been influenced by our late Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri. However, the ultimate decision to join politics was her own.

In 1986, she joined Telegu Desam Party and her reason for joining it was purely its philosophy. At that time, she also felt that the Central Government then was trying to topple her party's government in the state.

Renuka feels that the concept of a secular State in India just remains on paper.

Stating the condition of her home constituency in Andhra Pradesh, she says that the State is lagging-behind in development in all areas including law and order.

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* For Profile of Smt. Renuka Chowdhury, please *see* p 522.

At the national level, she attaches equal priorities to the problems like terrorism, threat to the unity and integrity of the country, communal violence, population-explosion and price-rise.

Renuka Chowdhury feels that special attention should be paid to women's problems like violence against women, infanticide, particularly female infanticide/foeticide; dowry and bride-burning; inheritance of property; illiteracy of women; recognition of household jobs of housewives as 'productive work'; malnutrition of children and nursing mothers; plight of women in unorganised sector; inequality of wages between men and women and child labour.

She favours constitutional amendment for providing specific opportunities to women and children, reservation of seats in Parliament and other State Assemblies. She also thinks that there is need for the Constitution of a Parliamentary Committees for the welfare of women and children. She feels that women in India have limited awareness of the social legislation passed for their welfare. Women's education and their exposure to media may help to improve the situation. For effectiveness of the National Commission for Women for the sucessful implementation of legislations for women, she says that there should be follow-up action the basis of the decisions taken in the Commission.

As a Parliamentarian, she is in favour of reservation of seats for women in Parliament and other State Assemblies as also prescribing some educational qualification for membership to Parliament to promote efficiency and promptness. She feels that the working of various Parliamentary Committees is not very satisfactory. Inside Parliament, the obstacles which come in her way are the complexity of Parliamentary procedures, pandemonium in the House, lengthy speeches by other members and party decision to allocate subjects. Sometimes, she is unable to raise matter in the House due to paucity of time. She is concerned about the prevailing social and political circumstances outside Parliament which create problems for her.

Specifying the role of women members in promoting international cooperation, Renuka Chowdhury says that woman has a vital role since she is the base of any society. The development and upliftment of the women shall be the foundation for a better society internationally.

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Women Are Good Managers, Says Prof. Rita Verma*

"For women, public life has the reputation of being hazardous, if not a forbidden land altogether. And before I took the plunge into politics, the knowns of hazardous life, based on conventional wisdom, and the unknowns of the challenges of public life, were to me, certainly awful deterrents. But what proved more persuasive was the powerful urge to let my potential unfold further, which is not only self-fulfilling but socially purposive too."

This is what Prof. Rita Verma, a first-timer in Parliament, elected from Dhanbad constituency of Bihar, says about the crucial decision of her life of entering the political field.

Born in a middle class urbane family, Prof. Rita Verma, grew up with the values of this class to be a conformist and conventional. At such a young age, in her late thirties, she lost her beloved husband. For any ordinary Indian woman, this could have been a sufficient ground to lead a pitied life. But she proved to be of a different mould. She boldly faced the unfortunate reality and decided to prove her worth in the society. What she is today, is largely the unfolding of the potential which she discovered she had.

During the 1991 Lok Sabha elections, all political parties were looking for a winnable candidate, from Dhanbad. As she

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* For Profile of Prof. Rita Verma, please *see* p 924.

was the widow of a dedicated and known public servant, they all thought of her and offered her to be their candidate. Ultimately, after careful consideration she decided to opt in favour of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). She honestly admits that she was not fully familiar with the ideology of the party or its programmes in the early days of her political career. However, she was impressed by the missionary zeal and the discipline of its cadre on the one hand and its impressive national leadership on the other. She adds that she personally shares some of the basic values which the BJP is trying to articulate for making India a better nation. Mentioning the motivation behind her decision to join politics, she says:

> "Whether I succeeded or failed in election was one thing, but, the fact that I was exhorted to stand up to public expectations and throw my lot in favour of a national exercise in renaissance were sufficient to encourage me to take a plunge in the electoral arena."

Two memorable female characters of modern India, Smt. Rukmini Devi Arundale and Smt. Sarojini Naidu, cast a strong influence in shaping her personal and political life. Both of them have provided Prof. Verma with the basic inspiration and a guiding factor in her life. They both embodied the courage to breakdown the shackles of the rotten orthodoxy of the Indian society and always tried to free women from the prevalent fundamentalism, giving a new definition to womanhood in the modern world. Smt. Sarojini Naidu's views that the concept of reservation for woman was in itself an impediment and contrary to the idea of equality between men and women, is supported by Prof. Verma.

Another woman personality who inspired Prof. Verma most was Smt. Indira Gandhi. Describing Indira Gandhi as 'a perfect woman' she adds that Smt. Gandhi used to manipulate her concerns just the way any intelligent woman in a large joint family does to safeguard her own interests. In her opinion, Smt. Gandhi was clever enough to imbibe the so-called "Manly values" in our world and she would also simultaneously manage to get the treatment due to a lady.

Communalism —A Great Danger

Expressing her views frankly on secularism Prof. Rita Verma says:

> "Secularism means equal treatment to all the religions and similar laws for all the countrymen.... We should not appease any classes.... For me, Communalism of any sort is a great danger.

> Whether the communalism starts from the minority community or from the majority community, it makes no difference at all. And I believe that all the citizens of India should be guided by only one set of laws—personal or otherwise. There should be no Muslim code or Hindu code. The minority community treats its personal law to be a 'holy cow' whereas they want their property cases especially the ceiling cases to be decided by the Hindu Undivided Family (HUF) laws. One cannot pick and choose like this if one is honest in one's life."

In spite of the existing unstable conditions, Prof. Verma believes that India is a vibrant and 'kicking' democracy. She perceives no danger to it. Even then, she is not against the idea of 'Presidential Democracy'. She says that previously, there was a danger of one dynasty ruling the country but we have now many leaders of eminence and maturity, who can adore the post of 'President of India' most suitably.

Prof. Rita Verma is very well aware of the various national problems which should be attended to immediately. She accords top most priority to dealing with the danger to the unity and integrity of the country; and thereafter, come population explosion and price-rise. Her fourth priority goes to Mass awareness programmes in different fields, like education and the fifth priority is every type of violence which has to be shaded out.

Concern for Constituents

Coming from a predominently rural area, Prof. Rita Verma observes that the people of Dhanbad have been suffering for years together due to the shortage of drinking water and lack of civic amenities. Besides these, grave problems arising out of the hazardous task of coal-mining are faced by them everyday. She has been working in close cooperation and coordination with the Minister of coal for solving the problems of coal-mining workers of Dhanbad. Efforts on a war-footing have been made to reduce the problem of shortage of water through the project '*Operation Varun*'.

Problems of Women

When asked to specify some of the issues and problems of women and children which should get priority over other, she observes that the issue of securing better conditions for orphaned children and

separated women, should be given top priority. Thereafter she gives priority to the following problems and issues: harassment of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes women, violence against women, dowry and bride-burning, divorce and related issues, plight of women in unorganised sector, inequality of wages between men and women, malnutrition of children and nursing mothers and recognition of household jobs of housewives as productive work.

Prof. Verma opines that social evils against women existing in our society for centuries cannot be removed by social legislation alone. She thinks that this is more a social issue than a governmental one. Mass awareness about these legislations must be spread and it should be a continuous process. Women have to fight their own battles. Our women have been suffering from inferiority complex for centuries. They only know how to be submissive and weak. She feels that self-effacement is not a great virtue for them. Instead, women should be taught to respect themselves. They should know how to protest and demand what is due to them. The voluntary organisations working in this field should come up to help them. She is not satisfied with the formation of the National Commission for women. She strongly feels that the Commission is only a farce in its present form. There is immediate need to give it more teeth by including the representatives of all the sections of the society. More legal powers should also be granted to the Commission. Even though, she is aware of low percentage of women members in the Parliament, she does not favour reservation of seats for women in Parliament and State Assemblies. She says that women should be encouraged to acquire higher qualifications but adds that competition should be equally tough for everyone, irrespective of one's sex.

Parliament and Its Committees

As a Parliamentarian, Prof. Verma favours prescribing of some minimum educational qualification for the membership of Parliament although she realises that having degrees does not mean having brains.

The working of Parliamentary Committee has not impressed Prof. Rita Verma. She says:

> "My experience has been rather frustrating. We do not have enough time for frank discussions. Not much attention is paid to our suggestions... meetings of the Committees are also not called at fixed intervals and more often, they are postponed. Still, in all fairness, I should admit that I have learnt a lot by being on those Committees. However, the differences is—I have learnt a lot but have not been able to contribute to my satisfaction."

Though not very satisfied with the functioning of existing Parliamentary Committees, Prof. Verma favours the constitution of a Parliamentary Committee for the welfare of women and children. However, she is quick to add that she does not have great hopes from such a Committee in the light of her past experience.

Prof. Verma admits candidly that as her family was very conservative, she had to face obstacles before entering politics. As a woman member, she did not face any problems in the House like complexity of Parliamentary procedure or seniority of other members, etc., while participating in the debates except one *i.e.* lengthy speeches by other members.

Speaking very high about the role of women in promoting international cooperation, Prof. Verma says that though more or less it is a man's world women because of their inherent qualities, can play an important part. She says:

> "Women are friendly creatures and good managers. Usually sensitive about others problems. Since more or less it is a man's world, so we must emphasize the suffering of women in any part of the world. I believe that they can be very good social ambassadors in bringing about closeness between various countries."

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SAROJ DUBEY PLEADS FOR BETTER DEAL FOR WOMEN

Allahabad has not only been a religious city of India but also one of the main centres of politics. Four former Prime Ministers of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Smt. Indira Gandhi, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Shri V.P. Singh belonged to Allahabad. Saroj Dubey has the honour of representing this constituency in the Tenth Lok Sabha. She started taking interest in politics when she was 20 years old. Influenced by her mother, Smt. Rajdulari Trivedi, and a great leader of the era—Smt. Indira Gandhi, Saroj Dubey entered politics when she turned 32.

She spent her childhood in Ranchi when it was entirely an Adivasi area. Her mother was presented a 'Khadi Saree' by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and this incident often filled the heart of little Saroj with pride. Her mother had taken part in the freedom struggle whole-heartedly. Inspired by such a mother, Saroj Dubey decided to contribute in the progress and rebuilding of India.

Remembering the former Prime Minister of India, Smt. Indira Gandhi, Saroj Dubey says that Smt.Gandhi had a multi-faceted personality. During the freedom struggle, she as a child and daughter of Pt. Nehru used to give lectures on patriotism to her servants in the huge Anand Bhawan and also act as leader of the *'Vanar Sena'* delivering secret messages. On the one hand, she in her childhood nursed her mother with full dedication during her long illness and on

* For Profile of Smt. Saroj Dubey Please see p 898.

the other, looked after and accompanied her father who became the Prime Minister after independence as a shadow and shared his tensions. These glimpses of Smt. Indira Gandhi's life influenced the personality of Saroj Dubey. At that time Saroj Dubey was not taking part in active politics but she was always anxious to know about every moment of Smt. Gandhi's life. She told that once Lohiaji called Indiraji a 'mute doll'. But with the passage of time this 'mute doll' drove off the seventh fleet of a super-power like U.S.A. Smt. Gandhi was honoured for India's victory over Pakistan also. She was described as the incarnation of Durga. Her role as a mother and a Prime Minister, after the sudden death of Shri Sanjay Gandhi, left an indelible impression on her mind. Saroj Dubey says that whenever she faced a crisis, she drew strength to overcome it from Indiraji's life. Saroj Dubey believes that one who draws inspiration from that self-reliant and graceful lady and most powerful political leader, cannot be stopped for marching on the path of the country's advancement.

Secular and Democratic India

Saroj Dubey says that India is a secular country. Here, language and way of life, etc., change after every two hundred miles. There are many diversities in language, religion and caste. But the inherent unity in diversity ties us to a single strong thread. Freedom struggle for the country was fought by Hindu, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians collectively. The blood shed by the people to liberate Mother India from shackles of British bondage was not of a Hindu, a Muslim, a Sikh or a Christian, but of true martyrs. It was of every patriotic Indian. Keeping this in mind, India has been declared a secular State where all citizens enjoy equal rights irrespective of their religions. It is sad that sometimes communal riots break out. In fact India is a vast garden with multi-coloured flowers. Let no flower wither or fade. Every flower can bloom only when it is given full opportunity. Only then this country can be unite into a strong bond and face all the challenges. She thinks that the Red Fort of Delhi is not a symbol of any Mughal emperor but a witness of freedom struggle. If the poetry of Meera and Tagore is the pride of our literature, the poetry of Kabir and Rahim is its soul. It has been a centuries old tradition to go on pilgrimage from Kashmir to Madras and from Madras to Kashmir.

Saroj Dubey feels that our Parliamentary system is functioning properly. But it is regrettable that the election process has been criminalised to a great extent. She thinks that elections are not free and fair and capitalists have overpowered the system by funding the

elections. Booth capturing is another problem which is quite common in elections these days.

Problems of Constituency

Saroj Dubey was elected to Tenth Lok Sabha on a ticket of Janata Dal which she joined in 1988. She has been much inspired by the movement launched by Shri V.P. Singh against corruption. Increasing foreign exchange burden on the country, ideology of Janata Dal and the leadership of former Prime Minister, Shri V.P. Singh paved the way for her joining the Janata Dal.

Having been associated with the people of Allahabad for a long time, she is very well familiar with their problems. She assigns topmost priority to the problem of drinking water in her constituency and points out that in many areas women have to cover many kilometers to bring drinking water everyday. Her second priority goes to the problem of unemployment and the Huird to the construction of a new bridge over the river Yamuna. So far as the problem of drinking water is concerned, Saroj Dubey has been negotiating with the State Government to provide more facilities of hand- pipes and the wells.

Problems at National Level

At national level she wants more attention to be paid to education. She invites special attention to girl's education. It is sad to note that even middle-level schools have not been set up in many of the areas. In her opinion, the prevalent system of adult education is also a fraud. She assigns second priority, to the health facilities. While visiting villages, she has observed that most of the health schemes are total failures in rural areas as superstitions dominate the scene there. Generally, doctors, medicines and maternity homes are not available. Health workers are not found to be sincere and infants' deaths are also common. Then population explosion is also posing tremendous pressures. Many of the sterilisation cases are not genuine. There is a high rate of sterilisation among women whereas men are usually reluctant to undergo the operation. Understanding the implications of population explosion, she calls for popularisation of population education in the country. Poverty is another problem which should be dealt with scientifically, says Saroj Dubey. Prices of essential commodities have been rising at such a pace that the availability of minimum quantity of food for survival is difficult. Proper storage facility is not available in villages under Public Distribution System.

Practices of making bogus ration cards, distribution of inferior quality of grains, especially wheat and rice, are the signs of improper functioning of the Public distribution system.

Problems of Women in Indian Society

She says that our is an agricultural country. Most of the women in our society lead the life of a slave. They are considered second class citizens. A woman is treated as an outsider in her own home. Since childhood, she is treated no better than a bonded labour. Neither can she get higher education nor she has the right to take up a job on her own.

Saroj-Dubey thinks that women have not been given justice even in literature. Even the heroine of *Ramayana* Sita, was expelled from the palace when she was pregnant. RajKavi Jay Shankar Prasad said, "*Nari Tum Kewal Shraddha ho*" (women can be reverred only); and Suri Maithily Sharan Gupta said "*Ablajiwan hai tumhari yahi kahani, aanchal mein hai dudh aur aankhon mein pani.*" (women, you are born only to produce children and suffer till death).

Saroj Dubey's study of the literature makes her feel that Justice has not been done to even educated women in this male dominated society. She considers literatures to be the mirror of society, wherein women's deplorable plight is reflected. Fully self-confident and self-reliant women trying to move forward, are rarely seen. Saroj Dubey is of the view that since she was not a writer, she could do nothing in the field of literature. She says that the call which Mahatma Gandhi gave to women to participate in the freedom struggle gives us the confidence that women are in no way inferior to men.

Coming to women's issues, Saroj Dubey feels most concerned about the plight of women in unorganised sector. Her heart goes for the poor conditions of child labour. Frequent cases of bride-burning must be tackled more seriously. Illiteracy among women must be given due attention. Lastly, being a social worker and wife of a Justice she calls for removal of inequality between the wages of men and women.

Lamenting the limited awareness of social legislation passed so far for the welfare of women, she says that the social and voluntary organizations should work together in villages for the improvement of the situation.

She firmly believes that the 'National Commission for Women' will be a failure. It is also very much politicised. It is not possible to

improve the situation in villages just by sitting in Delhi. It is desirable to associate social organisations with it.

On the issue of reservation for women, Saroj Dubey says that 30 per cent of the seats should be reserved for women in Parliament and also in other legislative bodies. Besides, 30 per cent jobs should also be reserved for women.

In Indian society, the conditions of women are generally very pathetic. In view of their sad conditions, she demands constitution of a Parliamentary Committee for the welfare of women and children.

Experiences in the Country's Biggest Panchayat

Saroj Dubey has entered 'the country's biggest Panchayat' (Parliament) for the first time. Recollecting her experiences she says that it is very educative to see the seasoned leaders of the opposition putting forth their points fluently and pointing out the short-comings and weaknesses of Government, and the Ministers presenting their stand, besotted with power but in a civilised manner, in this very House. One also notices members of the ruling party invariably supporting all the government proposals even if they may not be proper.

On the one hand, a member of Parliament elected for the first time, feels overawed in a somewhat new atmosphere and is at a loss as to what to do in the new surroundings. However, on the other, he or she feels elated too. A member of Parliament, walking across the alert white turbaned attendants and impressed by the dignity of Parliament, soon realizes that unless he or she makes himself or herself familiar with the procedures, he or she would not be able to make any headway. Sometimes, despite having adequate knowledge of the subject, on which questions are asked by senior members, a newcomer's reservations keep him or her quiet.

A member gets disappointed when denied a chance to speak on critical issues, particularly, when there is a strong desire to do so. A member may not be allowed to speak sometimes due to discipline of the party; and sometimes, he or she may not be permitted by the Speaker due to constraints of time, etc. In such a case the member spends most of the time in the work relating to the constituency.

It is natural that a lady member's voice might set drawned in the din of the House. But the problem is automatically solved when the issue is grave then her voice also becomes a roar.

She feels that some minimum educational qualification for the membership of Parliament would be better though it should not be a must. Some standard of education is necessary for the members to understand the problems of the people.

Regarding the working of Parliamentary Committees, Saroj Dubey observes that various views are exchanged during the discussion in Committees. Government is generally able to present complete facts and figures before the Committees. However, after the meetings are over, initiatives are hardly taken.

She finds rural people very affectionate and innocent. She has faced no problem there but when she is unable to do something she feels frustrated. However, when she is surrounded by the people, she regains enthusiasm.

Speaking on the role of women members in promoting international cooperation in tackling global problems, particularly those affecting women and children, Saroj Dubey says that World should be considered as a family while discussing the problems of women. She demands a respectable position for women in the society. Special efforts should be made in the developing countries for ameliorating the conditions of women.

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Introduce Reservation For Women In Parliament And State Legislatures, Says Savithri Lakshmanan*

A teacher, an educationist and a participant in women's liberation movement, Savithri Lakshmanan belongs to the tiny State of Kerala situated in the Southern part of India.

She has entered politics very recently. She was elected to Ninth Lok Sabha on a Congress (I) ticket from Mukundapuram constituency in Kerala.

Those who have influenced her most in life were leaders and saints like Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Vivekananda, Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Chinmayananda, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. She says that motivation to join politics came from her party, the Congress, especially from the chief Minister of Kerala Shri K. Karunakaran.

She is presently member of the Tenth Lok Sabha representing once again the people of Mukundapuram. Highlighting the problems of her constituents, she demands that poverty, unemployment and scarcity of water especially water for irrigation and drinking need immediate solution. At the national level, terrorism must be tackled strongly.

* For Profile of Smt. Savithri Lakshmanan, please *see* p. 969

Savithri Lakshmanan says that India is a secular State, and well-known for its non-alignment policy. Religion is a way of life in India and all religions are respected equally in the country.

She thinks that Parliamentary democracy is successfully functioning in India.

Coming to women's issues, she demands 5–10 per cent more reservation for women especially in higher education and employment. For more awareness of social legislation among women, she feels that conferences should be organised from time to time by the Government and social organisations to convey the meaning of legislation for women.

She thinks that the constitution of the National Commission for Women will be effective enough for ensuring successful implementation of legislations for women.

She is of the view that the representation of women in Parliament and State Legislatures is inadequate as compared to their composition in the total population (nearly 50 per cent). She suggests that at least 33 per cent reservation for women should be introduced in Parliament and State Assemblies on the lines of reservations in Panchayats (33 per cent) introduced by former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi. The country should follow the example of Kerala where the number of women's representatives has increased in the past as seats have been reserved for them in the Panchayats and Municipalities of the Kerala State.

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SHEELA GAUTAM* STRESSES FOR ENCOURAGEMENT OF WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS IN INDIA

Sheela Gautam, a Bharatiya Janata Party member, represents Aligarh constituency of Uttar Pradesh in the Tenth Lok Sabha. Right from her early childhood, she was exposed to politics. She recalls that her father, late Shri Mohan Lal Gautam, a freedom-fighter, used to remain underground during the Quit India Movement (1942); and he sometimes, visited the family for a few days only. Her family had to face police harassment in Aligarh due to her father's political activities.

Her father has a pride place in her life. As a member of the Constituent Assembly, a Minister in Uttar Pradesh, a General-Secretary of A.I.C.C., a member of Rajya Sabha, and Chairman of the Coal Commission and member of Finance Commission and the Police Commission, Shri Mohan Lal Gautam made significant contributions. Other renowned freedom-fighters, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Lala Lajpat Rai, Shri Puroshottam Das Tandon and Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant also influenced her tremendously.

The atmosphere in her family, the inspiration from her father, and the lives of renowned freedom-fighters motivated her to be in a position to do something concrete for the betterment of the people and eradicate social evils. She, therefore, decided to plunge herself into

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* For Profile of Smt. Sheela Gautam, please *see*. p. 559

the political field. Giving reasons for joining the Bharatiya Janata Party in April, 1991, she states that she joined the Party because she liked its philosophy—the salient features of which are discipline, nationalism, fraternity, liberty, integrity and unity.

National and Local Issues

Representing a constituency where Hindus and Muslims have been living together for centuries, Sheela Gautam is clear in her thoughts on the secular nature of the Indian State. She says, "According to the Constitution, we are a secular State with liberty to practise our faith. But it should be in such a manner so as not to encroach upon other's faith or affect the social life." She adds that there is no distinction between a Hindu family and a Muslim family in Aligarh. People meet and greet one another on various national festivals like *Id*, *Holi* and *Deepawali*. In our national set-up, minorities are also assigned respectable positions. Their members have been elected to the office of the President and also inducted as Ministers in government right from the beginning.

She confirms her faith in the functioning of Parliamentary democracy. She says that she fully believes in the system but would like the literacy to go up for the efficient working of this system.

At the national level, Sheela Gautam assigns top-most priority to the problem of terrorism, and wants emphasis to be laid on checking the price-rise and population-explosion, eliminating the threats to the unity and integrity and rooting out the communal violence.

Aligarh has been her home since childhood. She is very well-acquainted with the people of her constituency. Unemployment, lack of electricity and drinking and irrigation water facilities and also educational facilities (in rural areas) are the prime problems of her constituency. She calls for coordination between the Government and the people to solve these problems and proposes that Government servants should also come forward to participate in this task. Being an entrepreneur, she has floated the idea of flatted-factories and has also established *Mahila Udhyami Sangathan* to solve the unemployment problem to some extent. She wishes that women should take initiative to join business and industry and stresses that women entrepreneurs should be given encouragement. But before that they should develop the quality of dedication to work and should be honest in work and money matters.

Women's Problems

Coming to the women's issues, she feels perturbed over the sad conditions of our women folk. The incidences of violence against women, problem of dowry and bride-burning, illiteracy of women, divorce and related issues and finally the problem of child labour—all are matters of great concern for her. She is of the view that it is better to increase the literacy rate and enforce family planning methods more strictly than to bring about constitutional amendments for providing specific opportunities to women. These steps may help to solve women's problems to some extent. In her opinion, the National Commission for Women would not be very effective. She says that women in India do have limited awareness of social legislation and favours the constitution of a Parliamentary Committee for the welfare of women and children. The idea of reservation of seats for women in Parliament and State Assemblies does not get her favour.

She advocates the idea that there should be some minimum educational qualification for members to promote efficiency and promptness in Parliament and State Assemblies. She opines that the functioning of various Parliamentary Committees is satisfactory.

Commenting upon the role of women members in promoting international cooperation in tackling the problems, particularly affecting women and children, Sheela Gautam says that as women are more sensitive to certain issues, they should be made members of delegations and exchange teams to discuss these issues and ultimately find solutions.

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EDUCATION SHOULD BE GIVEN PRIORITY, SAYS SUMITRA MAHAJAN*

Sumitra Mahajan, representing the people of Indore in the Tenth Lok Sabha belongs to the Bharatiya Janata Party.

At the age of 32, she took a decision of her own to join politics. Before joining B.J.P., she was a member of the Jan Sangh. The philosophy of the party its dynamic leadership and her family's faith in the party impressed her to join B.J.P. She was pained at the persistence of social evils, exploitation and economic backwardness in our society. In 1975, the unexpected events which occurred during the emergency also motivated her to enter the political arena with a hope to do something fruitful for the people.

Sumitra Mahajan is a religious woman who draws her inspiration from many religious saints and savants like Lord Rama, Swami Vivekananda, Guruji Goalvarkar and late Shri Savarkar. She makes special mention of eminent females who have made their place in history like Jijabai and Ahilyabai.

Sumitra Mahajan believes in the philosophy of "*Sarvadharma Sambhav*" and considers India a secular State.

As a zealous party worker, she is very close to her constituents. She says that construction of the Indore Dewas by-pass, providing for

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* For Profile of Smt. Sumitra Mahajan, please *see*. p 676.

water drainage and better industrial and railways facilities are some of the major problems in her constituency.

At the national level, she thinks that the country is currently faced with burning issues like the lack of a nationalistic sentiment, corruption, educational problems such as lack of character-building and job-oriented education, etc. She wants education to be given priority.

As a woman member, she thinks that the problems relating to women like violence against women; discrimination in the family btween the male child and female child both in upbringing and education; dowry and bride-burning illiteracy of women, child education marriage should be tackled on a priority basis.

She feels that as a Parliamentarian, her soft voice, pandemonium in the House and shouting by other members create problems for her while discharging her duties in the House.

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SUSHMA SWARAJ* CALLS FOR ERADICATION OF ILLITERACY AMONG WOMEN

"A woman should try to project herself as an individual. She should not suffer from a complex that she is a woman. It is a universal fact that we are women--- By entering public service, women should not think of losing themselves; they are opening up the ways for others."

Sushma Swaraj, a B.J.P. member of Rajya Sabha from Haryana urges her sisters to develop such attitude as would ensure them equality in the real sense in society. She joined politics as a student. She obtained a degree in Law and started practising before Supreme Court of India in the year 1973. She resolved to fight emergency imposed on the country in 1975 and entered politics. Since then she has come a long way. She was elected to the Haryana State Legislative Assembly and became a Cabinet Minister in 1977. She had the distinction of being the youngest Cabinet Minister in India. On her re-election to the State Assembly, she became the Education Minister. She was elected to Rajya Sabha in April, 1990.

She was asked, "why is she in politics?" Her belief is that politics is the most powerful instrument of social change. In her view, it is the responsibility of young and educated people to enter the democratic politics of the country and assume responsibility of Government. The women in this country have equal political rights

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* For Profile of Smt. Sushma Swaraj, please *see* p 898

as men. They should, therefore, come forward and have equal participation in the democratic process.

Sushma Swaraj considers Shri Jayaprakash Narain to be her "*Marg Darshak*". Just after taking oath as a Minister in Haryana, she sought his blessings in Patna before formally undertaking her responsibilities. She recalls vividly even today his words: "The power one gets is meant for serving the people and looking after their welfare. Remember this and serve the people." She says that this has been the motto of her life. This is exemplified by the incident that she took hardly a minute for resigning from the Cabinet in Haryana. She says that 'Lord Krishna' has always remained her ideal and that she always takes politics as a duty without desiring anything in return.

Asked what made her join the Bharatiya Janata Party in 1984*, her answer was unique but categoric. "In my view, the Bharatiya Janata Party provides an ideal environment and opportunities for women. This is the party in which there is no margin for manipulations. It is your merit and merit alone, that counts and most important of all is the attitude of the cadres towards women. I have found them all very respectful towards women. And then it goes with my thinking. For me country is above everything. Our traditions, our culture is very dear to me. Our party values them in full measure."

Service as a Minister in Haryana

While serving as Minister of Social Welfare in Haryana, Sushma Swaraj aimed to educate the poorest of the poor. As a Minister, she visited personally all the welfare organisations for which government was granting aid. During her personal visits, she, for the first time, investigated personally all the organizations which used to ask for money from the government and directed that no money should be granted without paying personal visits to them.

As Minister of Food and Civil Supplies, she constituted a five-member Committee including 3 women, 1 ex-serviceman and 1 youth, to ensure that everything be available to the poor. She took the initiative of introducing mobile vans for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes following a pre-decided schedule. Accordingly, the quota of various items of retail-shopkeepers was also reduced.

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* Earlier she was associated with the Janata Party.

As Labour Minister, Sushma Swaraj used to meet the families of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes at their homes. She was shocked to listen to their views. They told her that if a girl was educated, she would write to them about her in-laws' nature and condition. In fact, the parents at such places wanted their daughters to die at in-law's place rather than to help them. During one of her visits to district Jind in Haryana, Sushma Swaraj asked one of the girls about her daily routine. The main occupation of these girls was to take care of their brothers and sisters and also feed the animals. She tried her best to help women realize the importance of education during her visits to the rural areas of Haryana.

As the Minister of Education in Haryana, Sushma Swaraj realized that 'illiteracy among women' was the most important problem to be worked upon. Multi-millionaires in our country donate money for construction of hospitals, etc. During her tenure as Minister, she requested them to contribute liberally for construction of schools. On her part, she said that the government would also share the burden but the management of the school would be by the government. To promote literacy among the tribal people, she also introduced a scheme, which provided incentives to children; she gave the slogan "Come School Everyday, Get one Rupee". Her aim was to promote both child education and his/her earning. Under the scheme, all facilities like school bags, uniforms, etc., were provided free to children. Enrolment of the child was the responsibility of the *Sarpanch*.

Naturally, among the problems of her State, she gives top priority to the problem of illiteracy among women. She assigns second priority to providing water for irrigation to the farmers of Haryana. Presently, proper irrigation facilities are not there. There is a need for speeding up construction of the Sutlej Yamuna Link (SYL) canal in the region. She says that drinking water facilities should also be provided by government as women generally spend a number of hours in arranging drinking water for the family.

Democracy in India

She observes feelingly that India is a secular State precisely because it is a Hindu dominated State. A secular State does not mean a State where religion does not exist but it is a State where the government gives equal treatment to all religions. She views India as a 'democracy in infancy' but adds that we are growing as a democracy very well. If we review the election results from the period of emergency and subsequently, people of this great nation have uprooted

many eminent personalities from the political scene. In her opinion, if one wishes sucessful functioning of democracy, it is desirable to give more democracy to the people and for this reason, she does not believe in 'nomination' of members by party.

Expressing her views on national problems she says, "It is corruption that hurts me the most. Corruption destroys all human values. As a result, you have a society devoid of compassion and thought. The entire human living becomes a frustrating experience. Under a corrupt system, merit has no meaning. So, the entire human endeavour is not for acquisition of perfection, expertise or merit but something artificial called wealth. As a result you have a society that is bankrupt of all human values.

The second thing which disturbs her the most is peculiar to the Indian sub-continent and that is the caste-structure. She believes that the untouchability which is the result of the caste system is the biggest offence against the humanity. The gradation of human beings on the basis of their birth and not individual achievement cannot be the criteria in a just society.

The third thing which disturbs her is the plight of women and children. The entire basis of which is the lack of humane approach towards them.

Her agenda before the society today is (1) eradication of corruption and (2) illiteacy among women. When asked if fighting communalism is not her priority, she answers that in India, this can only be a bogey. This need not be the national agenda. It's only few people, who try to create passion here and there, while there is no cause for alarm. The structure of a society is determined by the character of a majority community. In India the Hindu character is by itself secular. This will by itself provide inbuilt safeguards towards the minorities.

Women's Problems and Issues

Expressing her views about the problems of women, Sushma Swaraj stresses that illiteracy among women is a major problems. This and other serious problems, namely, infanticide, particularly female infanticide/foeticide, discrimination in family between male child and famale child, both in upbringing and education, plight of women in unorganised sector and violence against women should be all tackled with a sense of urgency. She also points out the hardships of working women. In her opinion, if a working woman has the stamina to work efficiently at both the places—at home and in office—

only in that situation, she will be getting the cooperation from her family.

She thinks that there is no need to make any amendment to the constitution with a view to providing specific opportunities to women. We already have many laws for the welfare of women. These laws are not implemented properly. Though the anti-dowry Act is very much there in the Statute Book, the problem of dowry is still existing in our society. The same is the case with other issues like Sati, Child-Marriage, etc. As per the Constitution, equality of wages is guaranteed to every worker irrespective of sex but the wage differene in child workers on the basis of sex is very common in our society.

She says that the media is a very powerful medium for spreading awareness of social legislation among women. Media, Drama and Dance should be taken up seriously. More and more tele-serials and serials through Akashvani must be effciently used. To start with, mobile-vans can also be introduced by State governments. The popular folk dance of Haryana (*Suang*) should take up themes related to social legislations which may be shown through video-cassettes in Mohallas and on the streets.

Sushma Swaraj welcomes the constitution of the National Commission for Women. She oberves that the organisation and institution as such is never effective. Actually, its success will depend on those who head it.

She is not in favour of reservation of seats for women in legislatures. In India, women constitute about 50 per cent of the population but sadly their representation in Parliament is approximately 8 per cent. She thinks that the male-counterparts in politics mostly deal with women on parity. She would never prefer to take advantage of reservation just because she is a woman. However, this can be powerful weapon to bridge the gap between the percentage of their population and seats held. In her opinion, male counterparts in politics have always respected them as fine competitors.

Sushma Swaraj does not feel any need for constituting a new Parliamentary Committee for the welfare of women and children as she does not have any faith in Committees and Commissions. She instead advises that the existing Committees be made more active and stronger.

Job Satisfaction in Committees Work

She was member of the Committee on Government Assurances and also of pre-natal Select Committee. She says that she had job-

satisfaction in these Committees. Initially, she had thought that these Committees were meant only for leisure. However, in course of time, she realised that they had to do a lot of work in the Committee. They generally meant business in the Committee. While on tour, they did not have time for sightseeing, etc.

When asked wheather she had faced any problem being a woman. Her answer was categoric No. She came to politics at the age, which is considered to be an age of responsibility for a lady. Today at the age of 40, she has had a varied career as a Legislator, Minister, Parliamentarian, Party organiser and so on. She never faced any problem on account of being a woman.

Speaking from her experience, she advises that woman should try to project herself as an 'individual'. A woman should not suffer from any complex because she is a woman. She says that it is important that no finger should be raised on the character of women working in public services. By entering public service, women should not think losing themselves but should feel that they are opening up the way for others. Sushma Swaraj has been working with men for a long time but has never felt any discrimination from her male colleagues.

She does not believe in introducing any minimum educational qualifications for membership of Parliament and State Legislatures. She feels that even uneducated persons can function well. Every MP's interest in his/her parliamentary work is much more important than his/her educational qualifications. Even if an M.P. has obtained Ph.D. and does not have any interest in politics and if he never speaks for the interest of people, then he cannot deliver the goods.

Women are considered to be soft-spoken, simple and courteous. She thinks that if we send a woman representative with a delegation abroad, it would have a positive effect. So far as international matters are concerned, she feels that women respresentatives are more effective. During the 90s 'Girl Child Decade' has been declared at the international level. Slowly and gradually, we are thinking of helping them. Now, we actually have the opportunity to help them. Her message to her fellow sisters is "Never ask for anything as a matter of concession and suffer from no complex. Ask for everything on merit. Stay firm and resolute, I am sure, you will get it."

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India Is A Large And United Family, Says Vasundhara Raje*

"Politics is a natural extention for me", says Vasundhara Raje who represents the people of Jhalawar Constituency (Rajasthan) in the Tenth Lok Sabha. Undaunted by the challenges of a political career, she is determined to follow the example of her mother, *Rajmata* Vijaya Raje Scindia who, incidentally, is also a member of the Tenth Lok Sabha.

Descended from the royal family of Gwalior and married to the *Maharaja* of Dholpur, Vasundhara Raje naturally inherited many qualities of public service from her forebears. Born and brought up in an environment which permeated political activism, she was inevitably drawn into the hub and din of political activity. Right from the age of 15, she was associated with politics in one way or the other. Both her father, who was the *Raj Pramukh* and her mother, the *Rajmata*, to whom she always looked up to for guidance, made no distinction between their family and the people of Gwalior. Her mother has been working zealously for uplifting the status of women by eradicating social evils like the *purdah* system and establishing educational institutions for women, etc.

For a few years, Vasundhara Raje thought she would not join politics feeling that her husband and her mother-in-law perhaps would not support her step. However, the decision eventually came

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* For Profile of Smt. Vasundhara Raje, please *see* p 794

in 1978; she decided that she should be in active politics and formally joined the *Yuva Morcha* the same year. Besides her family's faith in the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to which she belongs, and its philosophy has also been an influential factor in her life. She felt that the BJP, was a party that would try to remove social evils and that the party was prepared to go right down to the grass-roots level for work.

Concern for Constituents

Today, after having been in politics for over a decade, and having been a member of the Legislative Assembly once and of the Lok Sabha twice, she has a first-hand knowledge of the problems faced by various sections of the society, especially by her constituents. This experience makes her look at the rich and the poor with equanimity and she can easily relate to the plight of the poor. No wonder that the doors of her palace in Dholpur are open to visitors from all walks of life.

Jhalawar, her constituency, is inhabited predominently by rural and not so well-off people. For her, poor are poor, irrespective of their caste or creed. She feels that people suffering from the curse of deprivation need to be helped and uplifted to a certain level from where they could work on their own and lead a meaningful existence. She spends nearly 20 days on the road touring the constituency.

Vasundhara Raje is acutely aware of the various problems faced by her constituents. Scarcity of water, lack of adequate medical aid, health and educational facilities are major problems. Besides impressing upon the government to initiate policies and programmes to ameliorate their conditions, she herself is very much involve in her own ways in helping to solve the problems. Through her team she has put in major efforts towards solving these problems though a lot more remains to be done. If necessary even a voluntary organization is requested for aid. She and her team highlight difficulties of the people through *melas* and festivals, and at times, even by inviting Ministers to review the situation. She is convinced that sheer perseverance and persuasion will help to improve the situation.

At the macro-level, she thinks that the root cause of all the problems of the nation is the tremendous increase in population. Everything India gains is lost by its population growth. The other problem areas which should be attended to on a priority basis are: health and medicare, education and price-rise. She feels that women's education is a must even if it needs to be subsidised—it is of

utmost importance as educated women can bring down the growth of population. She attaches importance to the maintenance of a steady price-line and wants the government to give an assurance to the people in this regard.

National Priorities

To Vasundhara Raje, India is one large and united family. This is not surprising at all, for even as a child, she was made to understand that one should look upon the people around as one family. In her own words:

> "The family I was born into had a very close relationship with the people of that area (Gwalior State). We were brought up as children to believe that our family did not exist of mother, father and five children. Our family was a large family and all the State was part of it. There was no question of religion. All were our family members. We attended all religious functions. As kids, I remember once asking my mother why she did not spend time with us as other mothers do as she was always on tour. Her explanation was different and I still remember: "Please understand that very few people are as lucky as you and I. Ours is not just a nuclear family. It was the advice she gave to everybody.... We can do more as a united family than otherwise. I fought my election in Dholpur. We got all love and affection from the people of Dholpur and Gwalior. It is like repaying Barson Ka Karja—debt—to those who gave me so much. My example is my home and my State."

Naturally, Vasundhara Raje fervently hopes that this example of her own home and her State would be followed by the whole of the country..

Alive to Women Problems

All through her political life, Vasundhara Raje has been alive to the problems faced by women in our society. Of the various problems and issues relating to women, she gives top priority to the problem of illiteracy of women, followed by discrimination in family between the male-child and the female-child both in upbringing and education, divorce and related issues, orphaned children and separated women, inheritance of property, malnutrition of children and nursing mothers, inequality of wages between men and women

and child labour. Coming specifically to social welfare measures, she strongly pleads for legislation to ban child labour.

She is of the opinion that women in India have very limited awareness of social legislation passed for their welfare, primarily because of illiteracy. Besides promoting the cause of women's education, by encouraging parents to educate their daughters, emphasis should be laid on vocational education. In the matter of social legislation, it is essential to ensure that the relevant laws are amended suitably from time to time to cope with the emerging realities and situations. For example, she feels that laws relating to divorce are presently loaded in favour of the male. Divorce cases have been pending in the courts for years together. Some time-limit should be there to settle each case, she observes.

Vasundhara Raje is not in favour of reservation of seats for women in Parliament and State Assemblies. Women should be given opportunities by their parties to stand as candidates in the elections on merit rather than reserving seats for them. Women members have been elected to Parliament due to their qualities. She feels that there should be fair representation in the recently constituted National Commission for Women for its successful working. Time-bound programmes should be framed after detailed discussions.

Experiences in Parliament

Vasundhara Raje does not, however, favour constitution of a Parliamentary Committee for the welfare of women and children. In her opinion, we already have a sufficient number of Committees and we should make them more effective before setting up new ones. As member of the Committee on Environment and Forests, she feels that Parliamentary Committees should meet frequently, must be taken more seriously and must have more teeth.

She believes that education is absolutely a must for MPs. If MPs are not educated, they are likely to be dictated to by bureaucrats. Nobody is initially trained to work in Parliament. So when members come to Parliament for the first time, whether men or women, they face some problems. In reply to a question whether lengthy speeches by other members pose any problem, she says in a lighter vein that it is an occupational hazard and one can do nothing about it. Otherwise, being a woman is more advantageous. Outside Parliament also, she does not face any problem—social, political or religious, while campaigning or touring in the con-

stituency. She feels the imperative need for reviewing parliamentary procedure from time to time.

Specifying the role of women members in promoting international cooperation in tackling global problems, particularly those affecting women and children, she says that because of better awareness and education more and more women are now involved in politics, social welfare, etc. Women have started coming out. However, more efforts must be made by women to work collectively here in India and abroad to address themselves to the problems faced by women in general.

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IMPART LEGAL EDUCATION FOR INDIAN WOMEN, SAYS JAYANTI PATNAIK*

Jayanti Patnaik represented the people of Cuttack in the Seventh and Eighth Lok Sabhas as a Congress member. Born and brought up in a freedom-fighter's family, she has dedicated her life in the service of people for a long-time. As a student of social science, she always thought of fighting social evils and exploitation. Later, her husband also motivated her to join politics. She is indebted to our former Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi who herself worked for the tribal and oppressed women. She draws inspiration from her to work hard for their welfare.

Jayanti Patnaik, expressing her views on 'India as secular State' says that every religion should be encouraged in our country and it should not have any influence on politics. She does not believe in mixing religion with politics.

She feels that as a Parliamentary democracy, India should be able to put an end to the growing violence and rigging during elections. There is need to introduce electoral reforms in the present environment. More and more people should be educated for proper functioning of the democratic set-up.

As an experienced woman in politics, she is well-versed with the national problems. The problems to be tackled on priority-basis, according to her, are population explosion, threat to the unity and

* For Profile of Smt. Jayanti Patnaik, please *see* p 787.

integrity of the country, communal violence, exploitation and oppression, problems related to women and lack of educational and employment opportunities.

Presently, Jayanti Patnaik is the Chairperson of the recently constituted National Commission for Women. As a woman activist, she thinks that programme for the removal of illiteracy of women should be given the highest priority. Next comes the problem of dowry and bride-burning. Other problems relating to women like plight of women in unorganised sector and inequality of wages between men and women, recognition of household jobs of housewives as 'productive work' and 'violence against women' should be tackled in order to improve the status of women in our society.

Jayanti Patnaik opines that besides formal and non-formal education, legal education should also be imparted to women in Indian society. Those women who are working in voluntary organizations to bring 'adult literacy' in this country should also work at the grassroot level. Perhaps, these steps may create more awareness among women of social legislations passed for their welfare.

Regarding reservation of seats for women in Parliament and other State Assemblies, she thinks that there should be 30 per cent reservation for women at the Panchayat level. Reservation right from the Panchayat level may increase the number of women members in Parliament also. At other places, she recommends at least 20–30 per cent reservation for women. As women in India constitute nearly half of the population, she is positively for the constitution of a Parliamentary Committee for the Welfare of Women and Children as both of them are inseparable.

As a Parliamentarian, Jayanti Patnaik was a member of Public Accounts Committee and Consultative Committees. She feels that these Committees should be more effective and Committee work should be taken up more seriously. She favours the fixing of minimum educational qualifications for membership to Parliament in order to better understand the procedural aspects of the working of Parliament. She also recommends training programmes for members.

Specifying the role of women members, she says that her past experience shows that most of the women are working at lower and middle levels. At the highest level as Ministers, etc., their number is meagre. Working women have their own problems. Though sexually harassed at their work place, they cannot complain against it because of the fear of losing their jobs. We have to work hard to improve the conditions of women in society.

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Parliamentary Democracy Has Stood The Test Of Time, Says Rajendra Kumari Bajpai*

"You are a politician in the making". This was the compliment received by Rajendra Kumari Bajpai during her college days from one of the most learned personalities of India—Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Nostaligically recalling the beginning of her political career, she proudly says that she first participated in the Quit India Movement in 1942 when she was in class Eighth. At the young age of 16, she took the following oath and also wrote it with her blood:"I will dedicate my whole life for the cause of the nation. Long live the revolution"**

She actively participated in revolutionary activities while studying in school and in 1942 hoisted the Indian Flag there, discarding the Union Jack. She had to pay six hundred and fifty rupees as fine for this act and later was also rusticated from the school. At that time, she was studying matriculation.

Thereafter, she went for higher studies to the Banaras Hindu University (BHU). She was quite achive during college days. She became the General-Secreatry of the hostel union of BHU. It was there that Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the then Vice-Chancellor of the B.H.U. had predicted that she was 'politician in the making.' After-

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*For Profile of Dr. (Smt.) Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, please see p 440

**आजन्म देश को तन-मन, धन अर्पित करुगा, क्रांति अमर हो

wards, whenever she came to Delhi to meet him, when he became President, she used to send a note to him saying," I am the girl whom you predicted to be a politician" and immediately got an interview.

She says, "Politics is in my blood". India was under the British rule during her childhood days. Her father and mother both were participating in the freedom struggle. Therefore, she learnt saying, '*Bharat Mata Ki Jai*' when she was of very tender age. As a child, she used to play games like '*Vande Matram*', Trial of Englishman, etc. Her grandfather (*nana*) Pt. Ravishankar Shukla and her maternal uncles (*mama*) Shri Shyama Charan Shukla and Shri Vidya Charan Shukla were well known activists during the freedom struggle. They inspired her to participate in the freedom movement. She also drew inspiration to join politics from Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose. She especially mentions the 1939 session of the Indian National Congress at Ramgarh where Netaji spoke and left an everlasting impact on her personality. She also used to read Gandhiji's articles which appeared in the '*Harijan*'. During the later years of her life, she was very much impressed by the late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Rajendra Kumari Bajpai has been associated with the Congress Party for more than forty years. A vetern Parliamentarian, she was member of the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly from 1962 to 1977 and also of the Seventh and the Eighth and Ninth Lok Sabhas. In Lok Sabha she served on the Panel of Chairmen also from 1982—84 before she was inducted into the Union Council of Ministers. She served in Assurance Committee, Committee on Papers laid on the Table of the House and Anti-Dowry Committee to bring Bill.

Welfare of Women and Children

As Minister of State in the Ministry of Welfare independent charge, she concentrated her attention on the betterment of weaker sections and especially on the welfare of children and youth. She also expressed her views effectively on many important issues in the House. Participating in the debate in Lok Sabha on 5 May, 1986 on the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Bill, she said,

> "...The principle of secularism which we have adopted in our country does not recognise any uniform religion for the State. The people of different religions live here and all of them have been granted the right to follow their own religions, customs and marriage rituals. This Bill has removed the shortcomings in relation to the Muslim women whose marriages are performed under the

Shariat and with view to the fact whether the provisions of maintenance after divorce should be according to Shariat or not. This makes it a Bill for the protection and welfare of the Mulsim women."

"...If the husband has not paid the promised amount of *Mehr* after the marriage, then this Bill helps the wife in getting Mehr at the time of divorce as also the property which is given to her by the relatives at the time of marriage. Aftrer divorce, she can get all the proerty to which she is entitled to. This Bill provide protection to the women."

"...For the first time, under the provisions of this Bill, the Magistrate will issue orders within one month that her husband has to obey and comply. If he does not obey then there is provision for punishment and imprisonment. When a wife has been deserted or divorced, she in in this state of confusion and does not know what she should do for the children. At that time, according to the religion, law and Shariat, she is to be maintained by her relatives, but in reality nothing of this type happens. Today this Bill imposes a duty on the resourceful relatives to maintain her and they can't ignore this provision.....This Bill in every way provides protection to the women. It imposes a duty and women cannot suffer in the society and they are to be paid maintenance. I know everything about Waqf...I myself deal with the matters of the Waqf Property and my Ministry is directly connected with it. I know that the Waqf has property worth lakhs of rupees. I know how that property is being misused and the people are deriving illegal benefits by using it. If the property of Waqf is used for the protection of such women, who do not have any place to live and are facing a problem of earning their livelihood, and are forced to adopt prostitution, then what is wrong in providing such a protection?...And the unform Civil Code, about which our Government often talks, could also be made in this country with the acceptance of all.

She demands women's induction in various decision-making and other improtant bodies like U.P.S.C., State Service Commission, etc. She observes that most of the women are working at the lower cadres. She appeals to the Union and State Governments to open more and more polytechnics for women so that this section of the society may also do something concrete.

The practice of calling women a 'weaker section' should be resisted, says Rajendra Kumari Bajpai. She calls for urgent attention to their problems *viz.* the practice of *Sati*, plight of women in unor-

ganised sector, violence against women and immoral trafficking and pleads for giving property rights in the real sense to women. The attitude of the society towards women should be changed. We must inclucate political consciousness among women.

Expressing her views on reservation of seats for women, Rajendra Kumari Bajpai says that reservation of 30 per cent of the seats in panchayats is good for rural women. However, reservation of seats in Parliament and State Assemblies will not solve the problem. Adult franchise is enough. Once we ask for equality, the issue of reservation shows weakness and does not offer any solution. An all-round awakening among women will solve the problem.

Agreeing to the view that women in India have very limited aware ness of social legislation passed for their welfare, she shows her concern for the limited knowledge of women in rural areas than in urban areas.

Rajendra Kumari Bajpai expresses her full faith in the effectiveness of the National Commission for Women. She thinks that it is the beginning but the impact will be known in future only. The only hope for women is to create awareness and fight out on their own the injustice being done to them by the society.

The idea of constituting a Parliamentary Committee for the welfare of women and children is not favoured by her. She says that a number of bodies are already there for their benefit.

Being a woman, Rajendra Kumari Bajpai understands the miseries of woman. She says that problems relating to children directly affect their mothers. All measures relating to welfare of women should take note of this fact.

She recalls that as Minister of State in the Ministry of Welfare, she introduced in Lok Sabha the Juvenile Justice Bill, 1986. The Bill sought to provide ". . . . for the care, protection, treatment and rehabilitation of neglected or delinquent children and for the adjudication of matters relating to and disposal of delinquent juveniles." In her speech on 5 November, 1986 while moving the bill for consideration of the House, she said:

> "....A review of the Children's Acts show that there are certain lacunae and variations in the basic provisions in regard to the age group and the machinery for trial and processing. The age group of delinquent children or those children who commit some offence is not uniform and at the same time, the machinery for trial and processing are also not uniform. There are also very glaring differences in the penalities prescribed for offences against children

> under substantive law and special enactments. That is one important point. Thus, for the offences forcing children to beg, the penality prescribed under the Indian Panel Code and the Anti-Beggary Laws are more stringent than those under the various Children Acts. So we have to see both the sides that children's are not compelled to beg and those persons or groups of people who compel poor children to beg are taken to task and stringent punishment meted out to them. There is also no punishment is given to them. There is also no scientific system in classifying delinquent children on the basis of the nature of offences and other circumstances related to the offences. As a result all offenders whether they are guilty of very minor crime or very serious and heinous crime are treated at par, that is the cruel part, which the children are facing now-a-days. Chidren are kept with hardened criminals in jails. So, we have to see that those children who have only committed very minor offences, they are at least more not treated like criminals who are languishing in jails. So these are the points...You know that recently, the Supreme Court also passed a judgement that children should not be kept with hardened criminals. They should not also be kept in jails for more than three months. Their case should be disposed off within three months."

It has been felt that these children can best be taken care of, within their natural milieu of the family, school and neighbourhood. This awareness calls for a new concept of juvenile justice...

"This approach therefore, envisages the active involvement of the community-based welfare agencies. ....The Bill seeks to bring operation of Juvenile Justice System in the country in conformity with the United Nations Standard Minimum rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice....."

The bill was very much appreciated. Foreign countries and many embassies requested for its copies.

Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai says that handicapped children are not a burden upon the society but a part of it. As Minister, she showed concern for handicapped children. During one of her visits to Japan, she was surprised not to see any handicapped child.

Japanese authorities informed her about their polio eradication programme and their complete control over the disease. She was very much impressed. She gave polio drops for distribution on a very large scale to rehabilitation centres in the country. She also constituted Justice bahrul Committee to review the functioning of these rehabilitation Centres. Its report was also presented in the House.

District rehabilitation Centres for implementing programmes relating to handicapped children were also opened during her tenure on a mass scale. She asks for establishing rehabilitation Centres from the Panchayat level to District level.

She encouraged non-gvernmental agencies to participate in this venture. Artificial legs and hands were provided to handicapped children in the country. Women came out enthusiastically to participate in this noble task as they felt that the lives of innocent children should not be spoiled because of negligence.

Another problem in which she showed special interest as Minister was 'Drug Abuse'. De-addiction centres were opened. Mass awareness programmes were launched both at State and Union levels. She encouraged especially women to participate in these programmes. She also raised this issue during the International Conference.

Contributions Towards the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

In reply to a question about her personal contribution for improving the conditions of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward classes, Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai observes that the tribals are exploited and their product are sold at meagre rates. Mostly middle-man take major benefits of their products. As a Minister, she brought 'Tri-fed' Bill for the benefit of tribals. Cooperatives for tribals were set up so that all the forest products would be sold at reasonable rates and the poor tribals be benefitted.

She took keen interest in the development work of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes (SC/ST). Before she became Minister, the maximum limit for granting loans to the SC/ST was Rs.12,000/-. She raised the limit to Rs.50,000/- to Rs. 100,000. She was of the opinion that those who were trained by ITI should get genuine loan and should earn a monthly income between Rs.2000 /-to Rs.3000/-.

During her visits as Minister to vrious places she personally took interest in understanding the problems of people at the grassroot levels eventhough the reports of government officers were also with her.

The evil practice of bonded labour has been abolished by law. She is of the opinion that unless loan is granted to bonded labour, their conditions will not change. The idea of preparing plans in Delhi without visiting the places for which the plans are actual ly made and

without reviewing the implemntation of such plans, really depresses her.

Parliamentary Democracy in India

Rajendra Kumari Bajpai is a firm believer in secular ideas. Right from her childhood, Gandhiji's views on Hindu-Muslim unity have influenced her. She says: "India should remain secular. It is a multi-religious, multi-lingual country where people from various castes, religions are assimiliated. People from miniority comunities are also here. They are part of this country. No body can question their love for this country. In our Constitution, equal rights are provided to all the citizens. We firmly believe in 'the equality of all religions and also follow the precept 'live and let live'. This is the base of our democracy."

Rajendra Kumari Bajpai has distinguished herself as an able Parliamentarian. She has a great liking for our system of parliamentary democracy which, she says, has stood the test of time. Talking about the working of Parliament she says that sometimes the so-called 'Zero Hour' in Parliament is not properly utilized. That is creating unfavourable impression outside. Now Question Hour is telecast. This may improve the situation. Members and people will also understand what their representatives are doing. Question Hour is a very important part of a day's proceedings and it should not be wasted. It should be properly used and should be suspended very rarely. She says that Parliamentary System is the best to serve our people. We should see that the standards of this system are maintained.

Coming to the functioning of Parliamentary Committees she thinks that the Public Accounts Committee is the most effective Committee. It has produced results and has also exposed corruption and irregularities in the system. The Estimates Committee should go in for more details. She feels that the Committee on Government Assurances should be more assertive. It is important to safeguard democratic rights of people. If the government comes with an assurance and this is not fulfilled in stipulated time, the very purpose is defeated. More importance should be given to this Committee.

She thinks that women members sometimes feel handicapped in Parliament. They are generally quiet in the House and do not create much fuss. She herself faced problems like soft voice and paucity of time while participating in the debates of the House. She opines that lengthy speeches should be avoided so that more members may get time to speak.

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INTRODUCE UNIFORM POPULATION POLICY, SAYS PRABHAWATI GUPTA*

As an experienced politician both at the State and Central level and a fighter for women's cause, Prabhawati Gupta is well known. She representate Eighth Lok Sabha during 1985–89.

Hailing from a freedom-fighter's family, Prabhawati Gupta took her own decision of entering politics in the early fifties. She was inspired by our great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Nehruji, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad. She was also very much influenced by our former Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, in the later part of her life.

Prabhawati Gupta was elected to Bihar Legislative Assembly as early as in 1952 and continued to remain its member from 1952 to 1962 and also from 1977 to 1984. She was also chosen as a member of Bihar Legislative Council from 1972 to 1977. Besides having been a member, she held various portfolios as Minister and was in the Panel of Presiding Officers Chairperson of various Committees, etc., in Bihar Legislature.

Prabhawati Gupta is of the view that ours is a secular State with a sound Parliamentary democracy. Though problems like booth capturing have disturbed the roots of our Parliamentary system, she hopes

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* For Profile of Smt. Prabhawati Gupta, please *see* p. 581

that increase in literacy level may solve this problem. The system of Parliamentary democracy may improve in the years to come.

She feel concerned about the various national problems existing in society. Population exploision is the foremost problem for her. She demands a uniform population policy for the nation. Laws relating to this problem should be enacted and implemented. She feels that priority should be given to 'reservation issue' which has created misunderstanding in soceity. She is conerned very much about the 'Mandir-Masjid' issues. She does not favaour the recently introduced privatisation system in the economy and demands for the continuation of mixed economy. She also draws attention to the 'electricity problem' existing in our country.

Prabhawati Gupta has been taking active interest in the upliftment of women in our society. Regarding women's problems, she thinks that the discrimination in the family between the male child and female child both in upbrining and education should be tackled as the foremost problem.

The other problems like dowry and bride-burning harassment of tribal, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes women, inequality of wages between men and women and plight of women in the unorganised sector are the other issues which need to be tackled without fail.

She expresses her satisfaction at the constitution of the National Commission for Women and hopes that it may observe minutely the implementation of laws relating to women. She favours at least 20 per cent seats for women in Parliament and other State Assemblies.

As a member of Lok Sabha and also after remaining M.L.A. for nearly 30 years in Bihar, Prabhawati Gupta does not face any social and political problem inside and outside Parliament/Legislature. She has always found the Parliamentary Committees functioning very well. She thinks that they should broaden their parameters and should work more minutely. In that way, these Committees can serve the purpose in a better way. For members, she feels that educational qualification should be there. However, she does not believe in suggesting any constitutional amendment for providing specific opportunities to women and children.

Prabhawati Gupta opines that besides those women who are in politics, women in journalism, education, research, medicine and law should also be sent abroad in sufficient number. They can be good observers and may help in tackling global problems, particularly those affecting women and children in their own way.

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SECULARISM IS THE FIRST STEP OF HUMANITARIANISM, SAYS PRAMILA DANDAVATE*

Pramila Dandavate, a former member of Parliament, is a fine example of a modern Indian woman. A staunch fighter for women's rights, she started her public life by joining a voluntary organisation, Rashtra Seva Dal, when she was just 16 years old. Her friends—Kumari Kusum Mahale, Kumari Kusum Kulkarni and Smt. Mangla Parekh, used to tell her many stories about the jail life. She also keenly observed the lives and experiences of renowned political leaders of those days particularly of Shri S.M. Joshi and Shri N.G. Gore. Besides them, the philosophies of great thinkers *viz.*, Karl Marx, Mahatma Gandhi and Lenin also inspired her to join politics. She says that the motivation behind her decision to enter the political arena was to eradicate social evils and wipe out exploitation. She considers herself to be the product of Rashtra Seya Dal.

Firm in her convictions and effective in her work, Pramila Dandavate has all along been an unfailing champion of the weaker and downtrodden sections. After joining the Rashtra Seva Dal (R.S.D.), she devoted herself whole-heartedly for the betterment of the common people and resolving their problems. Deep rooted social evils like the dowry system, social disparity between the female child and the male child, untouchability and the exploitation of poor people always moved her heart and soul.

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* For Profile of Smt. Pramila Dandavate, please *see* p 526

In early years of her life, she and her friends started serving the poor and the deprived with earnestness and zeal. Their frequent visits to harijan *bastis* and slums made them realise the hardships of these people. They collectively organised *shramadan* in *bastis* where harijans and others used to sit together and share their meals and labour. This was the beginning of their efforts for securing for them their rightful place in the society.

She recalls that Shri S.M. Joshi, a well-known social worker and her leader who shaped her personality was the pioneer in starting the 'Work Camps' for youth by digging wells and constructing roads in underdeveloped areas. Seeing the sufferings of people due to their economic backwardness, Pramila Dandavate also actively participated in such 'Work Camp's'. She and her colleagues used to attend 'study circles' organised by R.S.D. where lectures and discussions were held. She remembers several thought-provoking revolutionary 'songs' they used to sing which touched their hearts and inspired them to dedicate themselves for the cause of oppressed and depressed.

Replying to a question about the personalities who influenced her most in life, Pramila Dandavate mentions the names of Smt. Anutai Limaye, who was head of the women's wing of Rashtra Seva Dal and who influenced her as a woman, and of the well-known leaders, Shri Jayaprakash Narain, Shri S.M. Joshi and Shri N.G. Gorey. She adds that in later life her husband, Shri Madhu Ramachandra Dandavate's ideals and personal behaviour have been motivating her.

Needs of Secularism and Electoral Reforms

Reflecting on the present national scene, she talks of the need of secularism in India. She emphatically says:

> "Personally I believe in secularism. It is my faith and I feel that if India is to remain united, it must pursue secularism. In a theocratic State, we can't remain united. Even for survival, secularism is the first step of humanitarianism. For me, I feel secularism should not be in words only.... Secularism means that religion should not have any place in politics. It should be individual's faith. It should not interfere, motivate or influence the politics. It is one of the basic instincts of a human being. I stand by secular State. I feel that India immediately after independence should have pursued secular policies... I feel that after independence instead of passing the Hindu Code Bill, we should have passed a Common Civil Code."

Well-acquainted with the functioning of Democratic system in India and abroad, Pramila Dandavate says that Parliamentary Democracy is the only way by which we can progress but we should go in for some electoral reforms. She observes :

> "I feel that there is nothing wrong with the Parliamentary Democracy. The Parliamentary Democracy is the only way by which we can progress. To remove defects in the present system we must have electoral reforms.

Instead of the present system of direct election of all the seats to legislatures, we should follow West German pattern, according to which only fifty per cent of the seats are filled up by direct elections and fifty per cent are left to the political parties which are expected to fill them up on the basis of the percentage of votes the party has polled. The list for filling in order of preference is to be submitted to the Election Commission earlier. This would improve the quality of members too.

State funding of the elections is another major reform which would help to loosen the stranglehold of money and muscle power on elections. State should fund elections of only those parties which have secured minimum prescribed votes in the previous elections. By state funding, honest, dedicated women as well as persons of humble financial status can contest elections. This will curb the process of criminalisation of politics to a certain extent.

The present Anti-Defection Law should be scrapped. Definition of "Split" and "Defection" has only encouraged corruption. There should be total ban on floor-crossing and individual member should be made accountable for his action by making it mandatory for him to resign from his seat before crossing and to seek re-election.

A well-known political and social activist, Pramila Dandavate understands the people of India and their problems. According to her, unity and integrity is the foremost issue in our country at present. Next comes sovereignty—economic and political. Population explosion is another major problem and it has been responsible for aggravating the problem of unemployment. Last but not the least priority, she attaches to the current situation of communal violence.

Emancipation of Women

Dynamic as she is, Pramila Dandavate has always been working for the cause of emancipation of women. She supports the demand for giving them greater opportunities of living fuller and more useful

lives. She condemns "Violence against Women" and wants a curb on it in the society. Other issues related to women in India which she thinks demand immediate attention of the government and the society are : discrimination in family between male child and female child, inheritance of property by daughters, recognition of domestic work of housewives as productive work, and plight of women in the un-organised sector. She supports the ratification of the United Nations Charter of Rights for Women and Children as it seems to her a bright hope for improving the conditions of this group.

She remembers her efforts in introducing a number of private member's bills in the House to improve the lot of women and enhance their position which were later introduced by the Government as official bills. Dowry Prohibition Amendment Bill was one of the many bills which she had introduced. She also remembered how she had organised signature campaign all over the country for demanding National Commissin for Women with statutory powers and petition she had filed before the Petition Committee for the purpose. She wonders why Smt. Indira Gandhi, the late Prime Minister, refused to set up National Commission for Women and instead appointed the National Committee.

The government's initiative of setting up the National Commission for Women has given great satisfaction to her. She thinks that some kind of accountability has been created for the first time and hopes that if it really starts functioning earnestly, a number of things can be done. She, however, adds that members of the Commission should be political and impartial. No doubt, the success of this Commission, ultimately depends upon the conviction, understanding and will of its members. Their commitment to the women's case must be deep as this Commission is an autonomous body.

Agreeing that Indian women have limited knowledge of laws enacted for their welfare, she appeals that there should be a massive awareness programme for those women who live in backward areas. Right from the childhood, our education must inculcate the sense of equality between men and women. In her opinion, television can be a positive media of spreading information and awareness.

Reservation for Women in Legislatures

Pramila Dandavate is in favour of reservation.of seats for women in Parliament and State Assemblies and wants that this should be made constitutionally possible. In our political structure, various questions are raised while giving a party ticket to a woman. The more

common are—Is she going to open her mouth in the Parliament? Is she going to be elected? or what about her character? She has a feeling that more and more men at the helm of power are reluctant to share the power with women. She proposes her own scheme of reservation. She suggests that 30 per cent seats may be reserved for men and another 30 per cent for women; and the remaining 40 per cent seats may be open to both men and women. Further, constituencies should not be permanently reserved for women. Instead, they should be kept in rotation.

Being the wife of a distinguished parliamentarian, Pramila Dandavate, is well-known and well-connected. But being a dynamic woman herself, she has made her presence felt both in Parliament —when she was a member—and outside the Parliament. Sharing her experiences in the House, she says:

> "As a woman member, I did not face any obstacle in the House. We were in Parliament not because we were women. Party wanted us to contest. Basically, women are mentally stronger than men. Though more sincere, they are doubly burdened. They cannot ignore the responsibility of looking after the domestic chores and children. I feel, men should be encouraged to take interest in home and raising up of children. If motherhood is glorified, why not glorify fatherhood?"

One of the main handicaps for a woman M.P. in discharging her duties effectively is that she has no wife who would shoulder her family responsibilities and help her in nursing the constituency.

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BARONESS FLATHER'S CONCERN FOR DOWRY PROBLEM IN INDIA

"In the British society, women are trying to combine both family and career. There is no family support for them. Women have to balance and see both the sides. It is difficult to get servants there. Older people think that taking up of jobs by women is wrong. Ultimately, women have to reconcile with such situations and work."

This is how Baroness Flather explains the position of women in United Kingdom, one of the most developed and advanced countries of the world. Born in Lahore (British India), Flather is now a member of the House of Lords and appears to be very well-versed with the social structures of the Indian and the British societies.

Aptitude for Social Service

Recalling the early days of her life, she explains that initially she was not engaged in anything important. She studied Law at University College, London and got married to Mr. Gary Flather. In the beginning, she used to spend most of her time with her two sons. She took to teaching as a part time job in a school only after her two sons started attending school. The family moved to Maidenhead in 1967. Despite training in Law, Lady Flather began her career as a teacher. She worked as an infant teacher with ILEA from 1965 to 1967 and later taught English as a second language at Altwood Comprehensive School, Maidenhead. In Maidenhead, she became active in voluntary and community work and thus got an opportunity to see

at first hand the unhappy situation of immigrants. It made her realize how great the need was to help them.

In 1968, Lady Flather set up a club called Maidenhead Ladies' Asian Club and served as its Secretary/Organiser for nearly a decade. Those were the days when Pakistani women were not allowed to come out freely from their houses. Restrictions were imposed on them. They could not participate in the activities of the club. She visited them personally and reassured them that nothing would be done in the club which might adversely affect them. She also mobilised the support of English women and got them involved in the project to make it more successful and effective. Her voluntary work in the Asian community came to be recognised soon, and in 1969 she became the Vice-Chairman of the Maidenhead Community Relations Council.

Serving the People

Lady Flather has been active in the Conservative Party throughout her life. A Justice of Peace since 1971, she proudly says that she was the first ethnic minority woman in the United Kingdom to become a Councillor in 1976; and later the first Asian woman Mayor of the Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead in 1986. During 1985-86, she served as Deputy Mayor.

A dynamic and talented personality, she has served in different capacities on numerous local and national bodies, including the West Metropolitan Conciliation Committee of the Race Relations Board, the Commission for Racial Equality, the Police Complaints Board, the Lord Chancellor's Legal Aid Advisory Committee, Servite Houses Committee of Management, Berkshire Family Practitioner Committee, Citizens Advice Bureau, Board of Visitors of Holloway Prison, HRH The Duke of Edinburgh's Committee of Enquiry into British Housing the League of Friends of Broadmoor Hospital, Social Security Advisory Board, Carnegie Inquiry into the Third Age, Building Societies Association, Estates and Amenities and Leisure Committees of the Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead, LWT Programme Advisory Board, the Hillingdon Hospital Trust, Daytime Television Ltd., the Thames Valley Enterprises, Meridian Broadcasting (MAI), Community Council for Berkshire and the Commonwealth Countries League.

Lady Flather has been involved in the educational field. She was member of Committee of Inquiry into Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (the Swann Committee), Governor of Slough

College of Higher Education and Altwood Comprehensive School, Maidenhead. In 1992, she became trustee, Borlase School, Marlow.

Association with Conservative Party

Lady Flather has been taking a keen interest in the activities of the Conservative Party and has held various positions in the Party organisation. For over a decade, she was a member of the Conservative Women's National Committee. Later she also served as a member of the National Union Executive Committee of the Conservative Party.

Lady Flather remembers that the Conservative Party, after coming into power in 1979, offered her many public appointments.

As a Member of the House of Lords

Raised to the Peerage in June 1990, Lady Flather is a Conservative Life Peer. A woman with an Indian background, she has been very conscious of her responsibilities. It is her endeavour to ensure that people do not think of her only as a 'token' member from the minority community. She does not want to project her image as only a race-relations lady. She wants that people should respect and recognise her for her contributions, ability and worth. With such feelings in her heart, Lady Flather made her maiden speech on 'Vocational Training of the Youth' and not on race-relations. Her second speech related to a Bill on social security of disabled persons. Her next speech in the House was against the separate religious schools, especially run by the State itself. This was a Private Member's Bill. She strongly feels that the State should not provide such separate schools and is quick to point out that such schools are not successful in bringing out anything ; instead they are creating problems in the society.

As a Parliamentarian, Lady Flather has been expressing her views in the House effectively.

She made efforts to get the report on the conditions of immigrants (in the European context) in the House of Lords. The main emphasis of the report is on various aspects of racism and immigration in the European Community. The credit for a crucial amendment in the 'Criminal Justice Act, 1990' goes to Lady Flather. The Act is related to discrimination. As a result of the amendment, Lady Flather feels that one can appeal in the Court and can ask for a judicial review.

She thinks that every new member faces problems in parliamentary work. As a beginner, she also sought advice on important issues like how to prepare an amendment and always had somebody to guide her. She is not very much concerned about the procedural matters and says that what one speaks is more important and hence one should not feel discouraged by the mistakes committed in the procedural aspects.

Replying to a question as to how much time does she devote to parliamentary work everyday, Lady Flather says that it depends on the business before the House. If there is a Bill one is interested in, one has to devote time and discuss its various aspects.

She also writes her own speeches when the bills are discussed. In her opinion, the speech should read well and should also sound all right. She normally notes down important points and collects material. However, she has spoken twice on the spot. She feels that speaking on the spot is quite challenging as one does not know what the other person is going to ask.

In less busy times, she attends group meetings of different types in the premises of Parliament where they have rooms for meetings. She prefers to be in the premises so that she can be contacted if there is any need.

Lady Flather is an Executive Committee member of Population and Development Group, Treasurer of Indo-British Parliamentary Group, and also member of European Communities Committee C (Social Affairs), House of Lords.

Women in British Parliament

Lady Flather thinks that women are well-represented in the House of Lords. At present, there are three women Ministers holding the charge of Education, Trade and Industry, and Health. One woman Whip is also there. The Leader of the Lords was a lady before 1987. Women are well-represented on the Committees. Their number is also on the increase in the House of Lords over the years. Today, women life peers are very active. They participate in social issues actively and with great zeal. It is seen that they do not talk much about economic affairs. She observes that women were prepared to debate on micro-economic issues in the 1950s and 1960s. Today, the younger generation is prepared to speak even on macro-economic issues.

Women in British Society

Speaking about women's problems in the British society, Lady Flather points out that women face three major problems: combining career and family; single parenthood; and huge unemployment. In the British society, women are trying to combine both family and career. There is no family support for them. Women have to balance and see both the sides. It is difficult to get servants there. Older people think that taking up of jobs by women is wrong. Ultimately, women have to reconcile such situations and work. The other problem is of single parents. In case of divorce and separation, the child goes to its mother. This is an addition to the problems already faced by women. If the mother is not working, both of them have to live on State support which is just enough to survive, not to live nicely or properly. The third problem is the high rate of unemployment. Mostly, women are engaged in low paid jobs or in part-time jobs which are unprotected by legislation. There are few women in business or in higher positions in Civil Services, Judiciary, etc. Many women are now there in trade unions, but they have not reached the top positions so far.

Lady Flather observes that women in Britain have more liberty and they are more open. They are much less hypocritical about their social behaviour. The women lobby is strong there. Efforts should be made to encourage them.

She says that women's problems are always being discussed in the House of Lords. Minority women in U.K. face more problems. They have to face a combination of difficulties faced by the 'White Women' and 'Brown Women'. Being the first woman from Asian Community in British Parliament and also belonging to a minority, she has to present herself as a 'Role-Model'.

Expressing her views on the conditions of women in India, Lady Flather seems perturbed by the dowry problem which has ruined the lives of women, especially of young girls here. However, she thinks that the general condition of women is improving. There is deep down sense among women of becoming independent. If there were no dowry system and girls would not be considered as a burden and things may improve.

PART IV

PROFILES OF WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS

ABDULLAH, BEGUM AKBAR JAHAN

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Sheikh Ghulam Hussain
Date and Place of Birth	:	24 March, 1917; Srinagar
Marital Status	:	Married Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah (since deceased) in 1934
Children	:	Two daughters and three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Senior Cambridge
Positions held		
1977–79	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Sixth) (N.C., Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir)
1982	:	Patron, Jammu and Kashmir National Conference
1984	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth), (N.C., Anantnag, Jammu and Kashmir)
Travels Abroad	:	Iraq, Saudi Arabia and other West Asian Countries

Other Information : Organized Peace Committees in Srinagar in 1946; Patron, Abindananda Home for Blind; First President, State Branch of Indian Red Cross Society; Former President, (i) All India Women's Conference, State Branch, (ii) All India Family Welfare Association, State Branch, (iii) State Council for Child Welfare; Former Chairman, (i) State Level Committee, International Year for Women and (ii) Sher-i-Kashmir Memorial Committee; Former Vice-Chairman (i) State Social Welfare Board and (ii) Gujjar and Bakarwal Advisory Board; Former Member, Executive of Central Social Welfare Board.

ADIVAREKAR, SMT. SUSHILA SHANKAR

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Mansukhlal Desai
Date and Place of Birth	:	20 June, 1923; Bombay
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Shankar Adivarekar on 19 June, 1972
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1971–72	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Maharashtra)
1972–78	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong.,Maharashtra)
April, 1978	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong., (I), Maharashtra]
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, (i) D.C.C., Executive, A and D Wards, Bombay and (ii) Congress Seva Dal

Literary Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Wrote novels and short stories in Gujarati and articles in English; Former Managing Editor of '*Sevika*'—a monthly magazine of women; and Former Sub Chief Editor of '*Saheli*'—a quarterly

Travels Abroad : Czechoslovakia, East and West Germany, France, Italy, Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and U.K.

Other Information : Actively associated with various organizations in the fields of Politics, Literature, Culture, Cooperative activities, Child Welfare, Women's Welfare, Education, Relief and Charitable Trust; Former President, Mahila Milan; Former Chairman, (i) Maharashtra Sahakari Udyogini Ltd., (ii) Shramik Mahila Sangh, (iii) Mahila Nagar Nigam, (iv) Udyogini, and (v) Educational Committee, Dadar Mahila Kala Kendra; Former Vice-Chairman, Governing Body, Institute of Agriculture, Anand; was Hony. Treasurer, Bombay R.C.C. and Chairman, Mahila Vibhag; Former Member, (i) Advisory Board, State-Cooperative Board, (ii) National Small Savings, Maharashtra State, (iii) Executive Committee, International Amity Centre, (iv) Bhartiya Gramin Mahila Sangh, (v) Moral and Social Hygiene Association of Maharashtra State, (vi) Executive Committee, Gandhi Centenary Committee, Maharashtra, (vii) Senate, S.N.D.T. University for Women, (viii) Board of Gujarat Agricultural University, (ix) Maharashtra State Youth Welfare Board, (x) Maharashtra State Prohibition Board, and (xi) Citizens' Defence Committees, Maharashtra, during Chinese and Pakistani aggressions; Former Managing Trustee, Santa Cruz Stree Mandal and Amrapali Working Women's Hostel and of several Charitable Trusts; was active worker of (i) All India Women's Conference, (ii) United Women's Organization Committee, and (iii) Maharashtra State Women's Council.

AHMED, BEGAM ABIDA

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Mohammad Sultan Hyder 'Josh'

Date and Place of Birth : 17 July, 1923; Distt, Hardoi (Uttar Pradesh)

Marital Status : Married Janab Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed (since deceased) on 9 November, 1945

Children : One daughter and two sons

Educatinal Qualifications : B.A.

Profession : Political and Social Worker

Positions held

1981–84 : Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong. (I), Bareilly Uttar Pradesh]

1983–84 : Member, Estimates Committee

1984 : Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh]

Other Positions held : Former Member, National Integration Council, New Delhi

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Arranged and Participated in International Women Artists Exhibition in New Delhi, One-person Bamboo Creations, Art Exhibition
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Leader of the Indian Women's Delegation to World Conference on the "Year of the Child" held in Moscow, 1979
Other Information	:	Former Patron, India-Tunisia Friendship Association; Former Chairman, (i) Ghalib Institute and Museum, (ii) Indo-Bhutan Friendship Association, New Delhi, (iii) Indo-Czechoslovakia Cultural Association, (iv) Unity International, (v) Hakim Ajmal Khan Girls School, Daryaganj, New Delhi, (vi) Governing Body of Kalindi College, New Delhi, (vii) South Delhi Polytechnic for Women, New Delhi and (viii) 'Roshni' (Society for Welfare of Women and Children); Former Founder Chairman, (i) Mahila Imdad Committee, (ii) Balika Chaman (Home for destitute girls), (iii) *Hum-Sub* Drama Group, Ghalib Institute; Former Deputy Director-General, All India Women's Voluntary Services.

AHMED, SMT. MOFIDA

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Md. Barua Ali

Date and Place of Birth : November, 1921; Jorhat Town

Marital Status : Married Shri Asanuddin Ahmed on 11 December,1940

Educational Qualifications : Educated privately

Positions held

1953–56 : Convener, Women's Department of the Congress, Golaghat

1957 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Jorhat, Assam)

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Publication, *Biswadip — Bapuji* and *Bharatar-Nehru* (in Assamese) and also contributed articles to Assamese Journals

Other Information : Worked for the National Saving Scheme in an honorary capacity; took special interest in politics, maternity welfare and rescue of fallen women; Former Joint Secretary, Red Cross Society, Jorhat; Former Assistant Secretary, Tezpur District Mahila Samiti.

AIZAZ RASUL, BEGUM

[Member, C.A. And Ex – Member R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan
Date and Place of Birth	:	2 April, 1909; Lahore
Marital Status	:	Married Nawab Syed Aizaz Rasul on 12 April, 1929
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at Convent of Jesus and Mary, Simla and Queen Mary's College, Lahore
Positions held		
1937–40	:	Dy. President, U.P. Legislative Council
1937–52	:	Member, U.P. Legislative Council
1946–50	:	Member, Constituent Assembly (Muslim League, United Provinces)
1950–52	:	Leader of the Opposition, U.P. Legislative Council
1952–56	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)

Other Information : Former Vice-President, (i) Uttar Pradesh Women's Food Council and (ii) Indian Red Cross Society, Former Member, (i) Central and Executive Committees of (a) Tuberculosis Association of India and (b) St. John's Ambulance, (ii) Central Haj Committee, (iii) U.P. Children's Committee, (iv) U.P. State Dufferin Fund Committee, (v) U.P. Zamindari Abolition Committee, (vi) U.P. Medical and Public Health Reorganization Committee, (vii) Primary and Secondary Education Committee and (viii) U.P. Control Enquiry Committee.

AKKAMMA DEVI, SMT.

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri M.K. Motha Gowder
Date and Place of Birth	:	5 September, 1918; Bearhutty, Coonoor, Taluk, Nilgiris
Marital Status	:	Married Shri H.B. Joghi Gowder on 16 June, 1943
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1962	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Nilgiris, Madras)
Other Information	:	Worked for spreading girl's education in villages; Former President, All India Women's Conference Branch, Otacamund; Former Chairman, (i) District Project Implementing Committee, Niligiris Welfare Extension Projects of Central Social Welfare Board and (ii) District Level

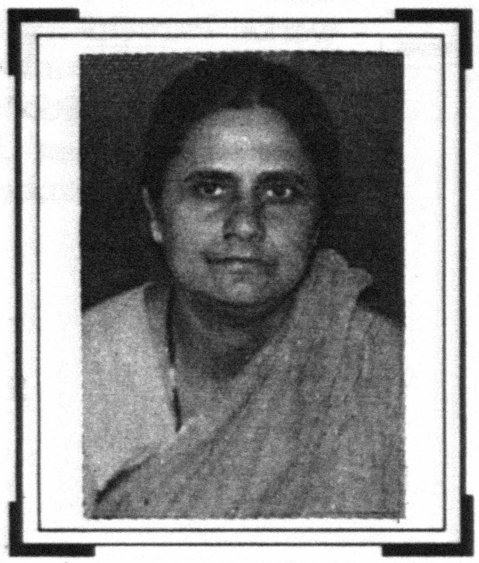
Committee for Women and Children's Programmes, Nilgiris; Former Member, (i) State Social Welfare Advisory Board, Madras, 1956 – March 1961, (ii) State Advisory Board, Women's Savings Campaign and (iii) Standing Committee AIWC.

ALI, SMT. SUBHASHINI

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Prem Kumar Sahgal
Date and Place of Birth	:	29 December, 1947; Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Muzaffar Ali on 28 January, 1971
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Profession	:	Social and Political Worker, Trade Unionist
Positions held		
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) [C.P.I.(M), Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh]
1990	:	Member, Committee on Government Assurances Consultative Committee, Ministry of Labour and Welfare
Travels Abroad	:	France, Japan, Switzerland, U.K., U.S.A., West Germany

Other Information : Actively associated with women's organizations; Specially interested in historical works; Participated in (i) Students' movements, (ii) trade union agitations, (iii) working class agitations, and also in (iv) movement against US aggression on Vietnam; Former Member, Court, AMU.



ALIA, MS.

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Dr. Mahboob Hussain
Date and Place of Birth	:	15 December, 1953; Faizabad
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., Ph.D.
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Positions held		
October, 1989	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong. (I), Uttar Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	Former Vice-President, District Congress Committee, Faizabad; Former Convener, Divisional and District Mahila Congress (I), Faizabad, Uttar Pradesh; Former Executive Member, Minority Cell, Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee (I); Former Member, Executive Committee, PCC, Uttar Pradesh
Travels Abroad	:	Nepal, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia

Other Information : Took special interest in Women and Labour Welfare, Trade Union activities and Agriculture; participated in a number of demonstrations, *gheraos*, etc., Organised Relief Fund Campaign for flood and drought in Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh; Former Member, Qaumi Ekta, Uttar Pradesh, (ii) 20-Point Programme, Uttar Pradesh and (iii) Bidi Workers Welfare Organisation, Uttar Pradesh.

ALVA, SMT. MARGARET

[Member, R.S.]

Father's Name : Shri P.A. Nazareth

Date and Place of Birth : 14 April, 1942; Mangalore

Marital Status : Married Shri Niranjan Alva on 24 May, 1964

Children : One daughter and three sons

Educational Qualifications : B.A., B.L.

Profession : Advocate

Positions held

1972–73 : State Convener, Congress Women's Front, Karnataka

April, 1974 : Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Karnataka)

1975–76 : (i) Convener, Congress Party Standing Committee on Information and Broadcasting

(ii) Member, Congress Parliamentary Party Executive

1975–77 : Joint Secretary, A.I.C.C

1978–80	:	General Secretary, P.C.C., Karnataka
April, 1980	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Karnataka]
1983–84 and 1984–85	:	Member, General Purposes Committee and Nominated to the Panel of Vice-Chairmen, Rajya Sabha
1983–88	:	National Convener, Mahila Congress
1984–85	:	Member, Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings
December, 1984 to September 1985	:	Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs
September, 1985 to November, 1989	:	Minister of State, for Youth Affairs and Sports, and Women and Child Development
April, 1986	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Karnataka]
1990-91	:	(i) Member, Congress Parliamentary Party Executive, and (ii) Chairperson, Committee on Papers Laid on the Table, Rajya Sabha
Since June 1991	:	Minister of State in the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions
April 1992	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Karnataka]
Other Positions held	:	Member, A.I.C.C.
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Done Courses in Oil painting, Interior decoration and Ikebana
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Member, (i) Indian Committee for International Women's Year at Mexico, 1975, (ii) Indian Delegation to U.N. Conference for International Women's Year at Mexico, 1975 and (iii) Indian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, 1976
Honours and Awards	:	Conferred (i) The Honorary Degree of Doctorate of Literature by University of Mysore, 1989, (ii) Mahila Siromani Award 1991, (iii)

Rajiv Gandhi Excellence Award 1991, and (iv) Dr. T.M.A. Pai Foundation Outstanding Konkani Award, 1991

Other Information : Founder President, (i) Karuna, (ii) Y.W.C.A., (iii) Federation of Women Lawyers and (iv) World Women Parliamentarians for Peace; Former President, (i) Delhi Foundation of Deaf Women, (ii) World Women Parliamentarians for Peace, and (iii) Delhi Y.W.C.A.; Former Chairperson, Foreign Students Welfare Committee of Indian Council of Cultural Relations; Former General Secretary, All India Catholic University Federation; Former Joint Secretary, Govt. Law College Students' Union; Former Member, (i) International Federation of Women Lawyers, (ii) Central Youth Advisory Board, (iii) National Children's Board, (iv) National Committee on Child Labour, (v) Governing Council of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations, (vi) Coir Board, (vii) National Adult Education Board, (viii) Bar Council of India, (ix) World Women Parliamentarians for Peace and (x) Central Youth Advisory Board.

ALVA, SMT. VIOLET*

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Date of Birth	:	24 April, 1908
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Joachim Alva
Children	:	One daughter and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., LL.B., Social Service Diploma
Profession	:	Journalist and Advocate
Positions held		
1946–47	:	Municipal Corporator, Bombay
1947–52	:	Member, Legislative Council, Bombay
1952	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Bombay)
1953–54	:	Member, Panel of Vice-Chairmen, Rajya Sabha

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* Died, ob it. on 20-11-1969.

1953-54 and 1955–56	: Member Executive Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament
May 1954–June 1956	: Member, Public Accounts Committee
1957–62	: Union Deputy Minister, Ministry of Home Affairs
April 1960	: Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Mysore)
1962	: Elected Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha
1965	: Nominated delegate to the A.I.C.C.
April, 1966	: Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Mysore)
1966	: Re-elected Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	: Founded and Edited *'The Begum'* later *Indian Woman'*
Travels Abroad	: Widely travelled; Member, Indian Press Delegation to Egypt, 1950; Observer to the United Nations Seminar in Asia and the Far East on Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, Rangoon, 1954; acted as Secretary to the Women's Cultural Delegation to the Soviet Union, 1954; sole representative of Government of India to U.N. Seminar on Human Rights, Ceylon, 1959; sole delegate of the Government of India to the U.N. Seminar on Human Rights, New Zealand 1961; Member, Indian Delegation to the C.P.C., Nigeria, 1962; invited by the U.S. Department of State to a tour of U.S.A. sponsored by the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate, 1962; attended the Convention of I.F.W.L., Mexico, 1964; Member, Indian Parliamentary Delegations to U.S.A., 1963, West Germany and U.K., 1964 and Philippines, 1965; Member, Indian Delegation to the Commonwealth and Empire Law Conference, Australia, 1965; visited U.S.S.R. on an invitation from the

Chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R., 1965; Leader of the Indian Delegation to the I.P.U. Conference, Teheran, 1966.

Other Information : Jailed with her 5 months' old child in the Quit India Movement, 1943; first woman advocate in India to have successfully argued a case before a full Bench of a High Court, 1944; first woman elected as Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha; Hony. Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, 1947; Member over Juvenile Courts, Bombay, 1948–54; was Justice of Peace; Former President, (i) Agripada Rehawasi Seva Mandal, Bombay, (ii) I.F.W.L., (iii) Business and Professional Women's Association, Delhi and (iv) Y.W.C.A. of India; Former Vice-President, All India Christian Conference; Former Vice-President for India of I.F.W.L. Former Regional Vice-President of I.F.W.L. and Former Parliamentarian of I.F.W.L.; was Liaison Representative of I.F.W.L. to Ninth Session of UNESCO Field Office, New Delhi, and first woman to be elected to the Standing Committee of the All India Newspapers Editiors' Conference (1952).

AMARJIT KAUR, SMT.

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Late Col. Raghbir Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	13 September, 1939; Patiala
Marital Status	:	Married Kanwar Divindra Singh on 12 May, 1964
Children	:	One daughter and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	F.A. (Intermediate Arts)
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Positions held		
April, 1976	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Punjab)
1978–80	:	Member, Committee on Government Assurances
1980—81	:	Member, Committee on Rules
1980–82	:	Member, Committee on Petitions
April, 1982	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Punjab]

1982–84 : Member, Commitee of Privileges,

1984–85 : Member, Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts

Other Positions held : Former Municipal Commissioner, Patiala; Former Joint Secretary, A.I.C.C.; Former Joint Convener, Cong. (I) Women's Front, Punjab; Former Member, (i) A.I.C.C., (ii) P.C.C., Executive, Punjab and (iii) D.C.C. (U), Executive, Patiala

Travels Abroad : Went to China as a Member of Indian Parliamentary Delegation to U.N. Conference on Population Control, Represented India at world bodies like the United Nations from 1975 to 1989 at International Women's Conference, Nairobi, Kenya, China and the International Women's Conference on "Solidarity as a Foundation of Peace" at Rome, Italy

Other Information : Took special intersts in the problems of small farmers, extension of road building, educational and drinking water facilities in villages, uplift of village women and harijans, Former Member, (i) Improvement Trust, Patiala, (ii) District Road Development and Agriculture Crash Programme Committee, Patiala, (iii) Bhartiya Gramin Sangh, Red Cross Guards, Patiala, (iv) Governing Body of the I.C.A.R., (v) Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi and (vi) Steering Group of the Minority Commission for establishment of the Central Minorities Development and Finance Corporation.

AMMANNA RAJA, SMT. G.

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Gandham Veerayya Naidu
Date and Place of Birth	:	2 June, 1909; Masulipatnam, Distt. Krishna, Andhra Pradesh
Marital Status	:	Married Shri C. Janardana Rao (since deceased) on 27 August, 1940
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., L.T.
Positions held		
1937–39, 1946–52	:	Member, Madras Legislative Assembly
1946–52	:	Dy. Speaker, Madras Legislative Assembly
1955–62	:	Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly
April, 1962	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Andhra Pradesh)
Other Information	:	Former Chairman, State Council for Women's Education, Andhra Pradesh; Life

Member, Andhra Mahila Sabha, Madras; Former Member, (i) Andhra State Social Welfare Advisory Board, (ii) National Council for Women's Education, (iii) Divisional Railway Users' Consultative Committee for Vijayawada, (iv) Zonal Railway Users' Consultative Committee, (v) All India Women's Conference and (vi) All India Women's Association, Andhra Branch.

AMRIT KAUR, MS. RAJ KUMARI*

[Member, C.A. & P.P. And Ex – Member L.S. & R.S.]

Father's Name : Raja Sir Harnam Singh

Date and Place of Birth : 2 February, 1889; Kapurthala Palace, Lucknow

Marital Status : Unmarried

Educational Qualifications : Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters, Honorary Degree of Letters, Law and Human Letters from the Universities of Delhi and Princeton, Smith College, Western College, Macmurray College, U.SA.

Profession : Social Worker

Positions held

1946–50 : Member, Constituent Assembly (Cong., C.P.)

1950–52 : Member, Provisional Parliament (Cong., Madhya Pradesh)

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* Died on 6 February, 1964; ob. ref. in R.S. on 10 Feburary, 1964.

1947–57 : Union Minister of Health; held additional charge of Communications Portfolio during 1951-52

1952—57 : Member, Lok Sabha (First)
(Cong., Mandi-Mahasu, Himachal Praesh)

April, 1957 : Elected to Rajya Sabha
(Cong., Punjab)

April, 1958 : Re-elected to Rajya Sabha
(Cong., Punjab)

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accmplishments : Hony. Fellow, American Public Health Association

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; Dy. Leader Indian Delegation to UNESCO in London (1945) and Paris (1946), and Leader of Indian Delegation to WHO Annual meetings in 1948, 1949, 1951 and 1953

Honours and Awards : Was awarded, (i) Count Bernadottee Gold Medals by the League of Red Cross societies in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Ethopia, France, German Federal Republic, Greece, Iran, Japan, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Sweden and USSR, (ii) Dame Grand Cross of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; was recipient of several medals of International Union for Health Education in 1959; was the recipient of the Rene Sand Memorial Award from International Conference of Social work, Rome; and, received certificate of Recongnition for services rendered from University of Wisconsin

Other Information : Was Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi for 16 years; gave evidence on behalf of All India Women's Conference and other Indian Women's Organisations before, (i) Lord Lothian's Franchise Committeee in 1932 and Joint Select Committee of the British Parliament in London in 1933; was one of the first members of advisory Board of Education of the Govt. of India served on it for many years; was President, (i) World

Health Assembly, (ii) All India Conference of Social work, International Red Cross Conference, New Delhi, (iii) Tuberculosis Association of India, National Association for the Prevention of Blindness, (v) All Indian Lawn Tennis Association of India, (vi) YWCA of Delhi and (vii) Indian National Committee for UNAC; was Chairman Governing Body of the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh (ii) Board of Governors, National Institute of Sports, (iii) was the XIXth Chairman, Executive Committee of St. John Ambulance Brigade in India and (iv) AIW Fund Association; was Founder-President, (i) Indian Council of Child Welfare, (ii) National Sports Club of India, (iii) Delhi Music Society and (iv) the Abraham Lincoln Society of India; was Founder and Chairman, Rajkumari Sports Coaching Scheme; was Founder-Member, (i) All India Women's Conference (had been its Chairman and President as well) and (ii) Managing Body of Indian Red Cross Society (was its Chairman also) (iii) All India Women's Education Fund Association (and its Chairman and President also) was Vice-President, (i) International Union for Health Education, (ii) All India Council of Sports, and (iii) National YWCA of India; was Vice-Chairman, Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies; was Trustec, (i) Nankana Saheb Education Trust, (ii) Cheshire Homes and (iii) All India Committee, Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Fund; was Chief Commissioner, St. John Ambulance Brigade in India; was member, (i) Board of Trustees of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and of its Executive Committee, (ii) Jallianwala Bagh National Memorial Trust and (iii) All India Spinners Association and Board of Hindustani Talim Sangh.

AMRITA PRITAM, SMT.

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Sardar Kartar Singh Hitkari
Date and Place of Birth	:	31 August, 1919; Gujranwala (now in Pakistan)
Marital Status	:	Married
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	D. Litt. (Honoris Causa, Conferred by Viswa Bharti, Delhi, Jabalpur and Punjab Universities) also conferred degree of "officer dans/order des arts et des Letters" by French Government
Profession	:	Writer and Author
Positions held		
12 May, 1986	:	Nominated to Rajya Sabha
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Editing a Punjabi monthly since 1966, Author of more than 50 books which include novels, collections of short stories; collections of poems and prose works including her Autobiography entitled *'Rasidi*

Ticket'—most of the books have been translated in different languages of the world; two Hindi films namely, 'Kadambari' and 'Daku' based on her novels '*Dharti Sagar Te Sipian*' and '*Unah Di Kahani*' have been made; a T.V. serial 'Zindagi' based on her novels and a book of poems published in Spanish in 1988

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; represented India at the Republic Day Celebrations in Nepal, 1960; Invited by, (i) Writers, Union, Uzbekistan, at Tashkent, Tajkistan and Moscow in 1961, (ii) Bulgarian Committee for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in 1966, (iii) Soviet Writers' Union and National Committee which was set up to celebrate the 800th anniversary of the Georgian poet Shora Rustaveli at Moscow, Georgia and Armenia in 1966, (iv) Under the Cultural Exchange Programme of the Govt. of India in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Romania in 1967, (v) Nepal in 1967 on the 5th Birth Centenary celebrations of Guru Nanak , (vi) France and Czechoslovakia under the Indo-Yugoslav Cultural Exchange Programme in Yugolavia, 1972, (vii) World Peace Congress at Moscow, in 1973, (viii) Visva Hindi Sammelan at Mauritus in 1976, (ix) Committee of Arts and Culture, People's Republic of Bulgaria in 1977, (x) World Writer's Conference (invited by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bulgaria), in 1980, (xi) Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture (by the Committee for Culture, Bulgaria) in 1983, (xii) International Forum of world's Leading Intellectuals and Humanists (By the Prime Minister of France) in 1985, (xiii) International Poetry Festival, Norway, at Oslo in 1985, and (xiv) attended International Peace Conference in Moscow, in 1987

Honours and Awards : Recipient of Sahitya Akademi Award, 1956; 'Sanman- Patter' by Punjab Govt. 1958; 'Man- Patter', by Bhartiya Mahila

Federation, Delhi 1965 ; Padma Shree 1969; 'Sanman' by Vishva Hindi Sammelan, Nagpur, 1975; National Investment and Finance Award, 1976; 'Souvenir' as a distinguished broadcaster at the time of 50th Anniversary of Broad-casting in India, 1978; 'Sanman' by Kannad Literary Conference, 1978; 'International Vaptsarove' Award by the Republic of Bulgaria, 1979; 'Cyril and Methodius' Award by Bulgaria, 1980; 'Bhartiya Jnanpith' Award, 1982.

Other Information : Special interest in writing.

ANGELINA TIGA, SMT.

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Junas Tiga
Date and Place of Birth	:	3 August,1909; Ranchi
Marital Status	:	Married Shri George Tiga on 20 December, 1939
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated up to College level
Profession	:	Welfare activities of Adivasis
Positions held		
1952	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Jharkhand Party, Bihar)
Other Information	:	Former President of the Advasi Mahila Sangh; Former Member, Executive Committee of Bihar Council of Women; Former Captain of Guides and Rangers Co. and conducted Blind Girls' Guide Company.

ANJAIAH, SMT. TANGUTURI MANEMMA

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri K. Shankar Reddy

Date and Place of Birth : 29 April, 1942; Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh)

Marital Status : Married to Shri Anjaiah Tanguturi in May, 1960

Children : Four daughters and one son

Educational Qualifications : Class 10th

Profession : Political and Social Worker

Positions held

1986–89 : Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth)
[Cong (1), Secunderabad, Andhra Pradesh]

1986–89 : Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare

1988–89 : Member, House Committee

1989 : Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth)
[Cong. (I), Secunderabad, Andhra Praesh]

1990	:	Member, Committee on Absence of Members from the Sittings of the House
1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
Travels Abroad	:	Italy, U.S.A., Member, I.P.D. to Italy, France, West Germany and Dubai.

ARUNDALE, SMT. RUKMINI DEVI*

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri A. Nilakanta Sastri
Date and Place of Birth	:	29 February ,1904; Mathurai, Madras
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Dr. George S. Arundale
Profession	:	Artist, Educationist
Positions held		
1952	:	Nominated to Rajya Sabha
April, 1956	:	Re-nominated to Rajya Sabha
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Dancer, musician, student of Arts and Philosophy and Composer and teacher of dances and producer of dance-dramas and plays. Associated with Dr. Annie Besant from early age and worked for Indian cultural renaissance through art and education

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* Died. on 24 February, 1986; Ob. ref. in R.S. on 25 February, 1986.

Honours and Awards

Was awarded Padma Bhushan in 1956; received Sangeet Natak Akademi's award for Bharata Natya in 1957

Other Information

Was President, (i) Besant Centenary Trust, Adyar, Madras, (ii) World Federation of Young Theosophists, (iii) Madras Natya Sangh; was Adhyaksha, Maha-Mahapadyaya Dr. U.V. Swaminatha Aiyar Research Library of Tamil Manuscripts; was Founder-President, kalakshetra Adyar, Madras; was Director, (i) Besant Theosophical High School and (ii) Arundale (Montessori) Training Centre for Teachers, Adyar, Madras; was Member, (i) Samsad (Court) of the Viswa Bharati and of the Banaras Hindu University, (ii) Governing Body, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, (iii) Executive Board, Indian National Commission, UNESCO, (iv) Executive Committee, Sangeet Natak Akadmi, New Delhi and (v) Madras State Sangita Nataka Sangam.

ATCHAMAMBA, DR. SMT. KOMARRAJU*

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri K.V. Lakshmana Rao
Date and Place of Birth	:	6 September, 1906; Guntur
Marital Status	:	Married Shri V. Venkatarama Sastry in 1940
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	L.R.C.P. & S. (Edin) and L.M. (Dublin)
Profession	:	Obstetrician and Gynaecologist
Positions Held		
1943–48	:	Vice-President, Communist Party,
1948	:	Member, Congress Party
1957–62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh)

* Died on 20 October, 1964; ob. ref. in L.S. on 25. November 1964.

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published, *Prasuthi—Sisu—Poshana* (in Telegu)

Travels Abroad : British Isles and France

Other Information : Took special interest in sponsoring of women's movements in Andhra; was Student leader of girl volunteers at Kakinada Congress Session; was Leader of Black Flag Demonstration of lady students against Simon Commission in Madras took a prominent part in freedom struggle; was Hony. Magistrate, Juvenile Court, Vijaywada; was Vice-President, (i) Andhra Provincial Medical Association, and (ii) Andhra Amateur Athletic Association, Vijaywada; was Hony. Secretary, Bharata Grameen Mahila Sangham, New Delhi; was Member, (i) Bharta Mahila Mandali, Vijaywada and (ii) Red Cross Society, Vijaywada.

BAHUGUNA, SMT. KAMALA

[Ex – Member L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Dr. R.P. Tripathi
Date and Place of Birth	:	30 December, 1923; Allahabad
Marital Status	:	Married Shri H.N. Bahuguna (since deceased) on 17 May, 1946
Children	:	One daughter and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Positions held		
1977	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth) (Janata Party, Phulpur, Uttar Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	Former Chairman, Zila Parishad Allahabad; and was previously associated with Congress
Travels Abroad	:	U.K., 1974, Rumania, 1975, as representative of Indian National Trade Union Congress to International Women's Year Berlin, 1975, as a member of Congress Women's Delegation to International Women's Year.

BAJPAI, DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Pt. S.K. Mishra
Date and Place of Birth	:	8 February, 1925 ; at Laluchak in Distt. Bhagalpur (Bihar)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri D.N. Bajpai on 4 May, 1947
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., Ph.D.
Profession	:	Teacher
Positions held		
1959–66	:	Member, Allahabad Corporation
1862–67	:	Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly
1970	:	Minister, Education, Uttar Pradesh
1971	:	Cabinet Minister, Health, Uttar Pradesh
1973–75	:	Cabinet Minister, Food and Civil Supplies, Uttar Pradesh
1976–77	:	Cabinet Minister, LSGD, Power and Labour, Uttar Pradesh
1980–84	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong.(I), Sitapur, Uttar Pradesh]

1980–82 : Chairman, Committee on Papers laid on the Table,
Member, General Purpose Committee
Member, Panel of Chairman

1984–89 : Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth)
[Cong. (I), Sitapur, Uttar Pradesh]

September, 1985 to Decembr, 1989 Union Minister of State (Independent Charge) Welfare

1989 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth)
[Cong. (I), Sitapur,Uttar Pradesh]

1990 : Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Human Resource Development

Other Positions held : Member, Committee on Government Assurances for 2 years; Member, House Committee for 4 years.

Travels Abroad : U.S.S.R. and Japan; Member, Indian Delegation to UNO, 1980; Leader, (i) Delegation to World Peace Conference at Prague, 1983 and (ii) Japan Social Rehabilitation World Conference twice

Other Information : Specially interested in Economics and actively involved in the welfare of the downtrodden women and children establishing educational institutions; participated in Quit India Movement, 1942; Former President, Uttar Pradesh Anti-Communalism Committee; Former Member, (i) All India Anti-Communalism Committee and (ii) Court, Banaras Hindu University.

BALI, SMT. VYJAYANTIMALA

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri M.D. Raman
Date and Place of Birth	:	13 August, 1933; Madras, Tamil Nadu
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Chaman Bali on 10 March, 1968
Children	:	One son
Profession	:	Artist, Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1984—89	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong.(I), Madras South, Tamil Nadu]
1989		Elected , Lok Sabha (Ninth) [Cong.(I), Madras South, Tamil Nadu]
1990		Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Human Resource Development
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Books Published, (i) *Navasandi Kautvam Rare Temple Ritual Dances*, (ii) *Mela Prapti*, and (iii) *Todaya Managalayam*; L.P. records on Bharata Natyam; Gave a good number of widely appreciated dance performances abroad

Travel Abroad : Widely travelled; Associated with delegations to Mauritius, Netherlands and France

Honours and Awards : Recipient of (i) 'Padma Shri' 1968, (ii) Sangeet Natak Academy Award, 1983, (iii) State Artist Award of Tamil Nadu Government and (iv) Three Film Fare awards for best actress; Conferred titles of (i) Nritya Shiromani, (ii) Natyakala Sikhamani and (iii) Nritya Nirupama Visarade

Other Information : Worked for rehabilitation of leprosy patients; organised blood donation Camps; Founder, (i) Dr. Bali Pharma Foundation, and (ii) Dr. Bali Medical Mobile Unit for rendering medical services to the poor and needy; Former Member, (i) Indian Parliamentary Group and (ii) International Airport Authority of India.

BANERJEE, MS. MAMATA

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Promileswar Banerjee
Date and Place of Birth	:	5 January, 1955; Calcutta, West Bengal
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., Ph.D., B.Ed., LL.B
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker and Trade Unionist
Positions		
1979–80	:	General Secretary, Mahila Congress (I), West Bengal
1980–85	:	Secretary, D.C.C.(I), South Calcutta
1984	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong.(I), Jadavpur, West Bengal]
1985	:	Member, Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
1985-87	:	General Secretary, All India Youth Congress (I)
1987 onwards	:	Member, National Council, All India Youth Congress (I)

1988	:	Member, Executive Committee, P.C.C. (I), West Bengal
1990 onwards	:	President, Pradesh Youth Congress (I), West Bengal
1991	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong. (I), Calcutta South, West Bengal]
21 June, 1991–17 Jan., 1993	:	Union Minister of State, Human Resource Development (Department of Youth Affairs and Sports) with additional charge of Department of Women and Child Development
1992	:	Member, P.C.C.(I), West Bengal
Travels Abroad	:	Angola, France, Malaysia, Thailand, U.K., U.S.S.R. and Vietnam; attended many international seminars of INTUC
Other Information	:	Connected with different social and religions organisations; organised free primary schools in slum areas; Former Member, Working Committee, West Bengal Chhatra Parishad; Former Secretary, (i) West Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress and (ii) INTUC Women's Wing.

BANERJEE, SMT. MUKUL*

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Anadi Charan Mukherjee
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 December, 1925; Varanasi
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Bhawani Prasad Banerjee on 17 January, 1963
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A. (Double), Post-Graduate Audit Course in Human Relations
Profession	:	Journalist and Social Worker
Positions held		
1971–77	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Cong., Delhi, New Delhi)
Other Positions held :		Was Secretary, Foreign Relations Department and Convener Congress Women's Front, A.I.C.C.; was actively associated with the Women Wing of the Congress
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Books Published; *"Our Countrymen Abroad"*; *"India China Problem in Retrospect"*, *"Tunisia, Women and Elec-*

* Died on 17 April, 1991; ob. ref. in L.S. on 11 July, 1991.

tions", "*Grow More Food Through Kitchen Gardens*", "*Dowry Banned*", "*Task Before the Congress Women*", "*Workers and National Savings Campaign*"; Editor "Women on the March" (English) and "Mahila Pragati Ke Path Par" (Hindi)

Travels Abroad : Widely Travelled; attended memorable SFAX convention of Tunisia in 1955; Represented (i) Indian National Congress at the Independence celebrations of Zambia and (ii) India at a U.N. Saminar on Women's Role in the Economic life of Developing Countries at Moscow, 1970.

Honours and Awards : Decorated with Nishan-e-Iftikhar"

Other Information : Took special interest in the welfare of the weaver sections of the population; the slum dwellers, the Women Workers, the Scheduled Castes and other minorities; was President, All India Women Voters Association; was Dy. Director-General, Women's Voluntary Services Citizen Central Council; was Secretary-General, Indian Society for International Friendship and Understanding; was Hony. Treasurer, (i) Institute of Democracy and Socialism and (ii) AINEC; was Member, Standing Committee, All India Newspapers Editor Conference.

BANERJEE, SMT. PURNIMA*

[Member, C.A.]

Profession : Social and Political Worker

Positions held

1946 : Elected to U.P. Legislative Assembly
Member, Constituent Assembly
(Cong., U.P.)

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* Died on 31 May, 1951; ob. ref. on 1June, 1951.

BARKATAKI, SMT. RENUKA DEVI

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Dr. Rudra Kanta Sarma
Date and Place of Birth	:	November, 1923; Guwahati
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Munindra Nath Barkataki on April, 1959
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	M.Sc.
Profession	:	Social worker
Positions held		
1962	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Barpeta, Assam)
1972–77	:	Member, Assam Legislative Assembly
1972–77	:	Dy. Leader of Opposition in the Assam Legislative Assembly
1977	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth) [Janata Party, Guwahati, Assam)
July–Aug., 1977	:	Member, Committee on Estimates, Lok Sabha
16 Aug., 1977 to20 July 1979	:	Minister of State in the Union Ministry of Education, Social Welfare and Culture

Other Positions held : Previously associated with United Congress. for 16 yrs. and Cong. (O) for 10 yrs.; Former President of about 10-12 Trade Unions; and Former Treasurer, I.N.T.U.C, Assam Branch

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Interested in higher mathematics and astronomy

Travels Abroad : Visited U.K. on Her Majesty's invitation; Visited U.S.A. on invitation from the States; also visited Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, U.S.S.R. and some other European countries

Other Information : Was detained under Maintenance of Internal Security Act from June, 1975 for 19 months; Former President, Assam State Govt. Employees Union; Former Vice-President, (i) Assam State Deaf and Dumb Association, and (ii) All-India Sports Council of the Deaf; Former General-Secretary, (i) State Food Relief Committee, (ii) Bharat seva Mission, (iii) Eastern India Women's Association, (iv) All-India Forum for University Women, Assam and (v) Assam Deaf Welfare Trust.

BARTHAKUR, SMT. USHA

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Lakshmi Prasad Baruah
Date and Place of Birth	:	1912; Gauhati
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Chandra Nath Barthakur (since deceased) on 6 April, 1924
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., B.T.
Profession	:	Educationist, Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1952–62	:	Member, Assam Legislative Assembly
1957–58	:	Deputy Minister in-charge of Social Welfare and Medical Care, Government of Assam
April, 1966	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Assam)
Other Positions held	:	Former President District Mahila Samiti; Former Vice-President, Assam Provincial Mahila Samiti; Former Convener, Congress Mahila Bibhag Nowgong

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published books, *Kasturba* and *Bapujir Atmakatha*

Other Information : Organised social welfare centres "Dhai" training classes; sewing classes and social education centres; Founded the Nowgong Government Girls Higher Secondary School, and served as its Principal; Former Member, (i) Assam State Women's Education, (ii) Assam State Social Education Board, (iii) Assam State Family Planning Board, (iv) Assam State Social Welfare Boards, (v) Gauhati University Court, (vi) Red Cross Society, and (vii) Assam State Social Advisory Board.

BASAVA RAJESWARI, SMT.

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri D. Veera Reddy
Date and Place of Birth	:	1928; Raidurga in District Anantapur (Andhra Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Sarana Basavaraj on 22 May, 1948
Children	:	Four daughters and four sons
Educational Qualifications	:	SSLC
Profession	:	Agriculturist, Educationist, Industrialist and Social Worker
Positions held		
1956	:	Member, I.N.C.
1957–77	:	Member, Karnataka Legislative Assembly Deputy Minister, Social Welfare and Minor Irrigation, Karnataka for about 5 years
1977–84	:	Member, Karnataka Legislative Council
1980	:	Chairman, Karnataka Legislative Council for about 3 years

1984	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong.(I), Bellary, Karnatak]
		Member, Consultative Committee, Steel and Mines for 5 years; Member, Panel of Chairmen in Eighth Lok Sabha
1986–89	:	Member, House Committee
1989	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) [Cong. (I), Bellary, Karnataka]
1991	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong. (I), Bellary, Karnataka]
Since Jan.1993	:	Union Minister of State, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Women and Child Development
Other Positions held	:	Member, AICC for two terms; Secretary, DCC, Raichur
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Report on the grievances of farmers in irrigated areas
Travels Abroad		Widely Travelled; Member, Indian Parliamentary Delegation to C.P.A., Conference at Lusaka; Leader, Farmers' Delegation to Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia; Member, Indian Parliamentary Delegation to Egypt; participated in Speakers' Conference at Zambia and Second World Telugu Conference in Kaulalumpur, Malaysia, April 1981
Other Information		Specially interested in farmers' problems, dairy development, social work and setting up of industries; Founder President, Tagore Memorial Education Society, Raichur; Executive President, Karnataka Krishak Samaj Bangalore; Former Chairman, Kalyan Keonics Ltd., Bedar; Founder Vice-President, Institute of Parliamentary Affairs; Former Managing Directore, Nava Karnataka Steels Ltd., Bellary, Karnatak; Member, (i) Senate, Karnataka University Board of Regent, Agriculture University, (ii) Central Social Welfare Board, and (iii) Executive Committee, Vijayanagar Engineering College, Bellary.

BENIWAL, SMT. VIDYA

[Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Arjun Ram
Date and Place of Birth	:	1944; Shergarh Village
Marital Status	:	Married Ch. Jagdish Kumar Beniwal in 1971
Children	:	Three daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	8th Standard (Hindi)
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Positions held		
1987–90	:	Member, Haryana Legislative Assembly
April, 1990	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [J.D. (S.), Haryana]
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, Lok Dal
Other Information	:	Engaged in social services like upliftment of women, help to the poor and downtrodden; organised social functions at village level; associated with political activities for

the last 15 years; Member, Central Committee of the Tuberculosis Association of India.

BHADAURIA, SMT. SARLA

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Thakur Suryabhakta Singh Chauhan
Date and Place of Birth	:	1921; Dhaniapur, Distt. Mainpuri
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Arjun Singh Bhadauria
Children	:	One daughter and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Vanita, Visharad, Sahitya Ratna and Diploma in Montessory
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Positions		
1948—55	:	Joined Socialist Party
1955—63	:	Joined P.S.P.
1963	:	Rejoined Socialist Party
April, 1964	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (S.S.P., Uttar Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	Former Joint Secretary, P.S.P. (U.P.) for two years; Former Members, (i) State Parliamentary Committee S.S.P., and (ii) National Executive, All India Socialist Party; Convener, All India S.S.P. Women

Panchayat; and Former Serpanch, Co-operative Society Luhia, Distt. Etawah

Other Information : Took part in Congress activities; Underwent imprisonment for an aggregate period of 2 years after Independence; Former Member, (i) Managing Committees of various Inter/Degree Educational Institutions and (ii) National Railway Consultatve Council.

BHANDARI, SMT. DIL KUMARI

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri N.B. Rai
Date and Place of Birth	:	14 May, 1949; Vill. Bana Puttabong in Distt. Darjeeling (West Bengal)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri N.B. Bhandari on 28 March, 1968
Children	:	Three daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Pre-University
Profession	:	Teacher, Social Worker and Journalist
Positions held		
1985	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) (U.A., Sikkim)
1985–89	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Home Affairs; Member, BOFOR's Committee; Member, Sikkim Sangram Parishad
1991	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (Sikkim Sangram Parishad, Sikkim)
Literary, Artistic and scientific Accomplishments	:	Editor, *'Aaj ko Sikkim'* (bi-weekly Newspaper) and *'Aadhar* (Quarterly

Magazine); Editor-in-Chief, *'Himalaya Today'* (An Indian Quarterly)

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled

Honours and Awards : Awarded Lok Shree Award for social service by Institute of Economic Studies of India, 1989

Other Information : Associated with social work in different fields, particularly relating to the welfare of women, children and handicapped people; Chairman, State Social Welfare Advisory Board, Sikkim, 1980—84; Chairperson, Sikkim Film Corporation; President, (i) NAB, ST Sikkim Branch, (ii) Academy of Fine Arts and (iii) ICCW Sikkim Branch; Patron, (i) Ashi Sikkim Branch, (ii) Sikkim Women's Sports Federation.

BHARGAVA, SMT. SHARDA

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Pt. Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 May, 1912; Jodhpur
Marital Status	:	Married Prof. Bhagwan Das Bhargava on 29 Jan. 1929
Children	:	One daughter and four sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Profession	:	Social Service
Positions held		
1945–49	:	Member, Jaipur Legislative Council
1948	:	Executive Committee of the Reception Committee, All India Congress Committee Session, Jaipur
1952–62	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Rajasthan)
1956-57	:	Member, Panel of Vice-Chairmen, Rajya Sabha
1957	:	Member, Executive Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament

1958 : Member, Advisory Committee, A.I.C.C. Women Department

1959 : Elected first women Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament

August, 1963–66 : Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Rajasthan)
Member, P.A.C. of Parliament

Other Positions held : Former President, Jaipur City Congress. Committee; Former Convener, Jaipur Distt. and Rajasthan Pradesh Congress Women's Department North Zone (Kashmir, Punjab, Himachal, Rajasthan and Delhi); Organiser, Women's Department of A.I.C.C.; Former Secretary Second Five-Year Plan Committee of the Rajasthan P.C.C.; Former Member, (i) Jaipur City Municipality, (ii) Zila Parishad (Jaipur), (iii) I.N.C., for over 30 years, (iv) Rajasthan P.C.C. since its inception, (v) Public Accounts Committee of the Parliament; Executive Committee, (i) Jaipur City District Committee and (ii) of the Reception Committee; All Indian Congress Session, Jaipur

Travels Abroad : Delegate to the Commonwealth Conference, Sydney 1959

Other Information : Founder and first President of Rajasthan Mahila Samiti, Jaipur; Founder and Former Working President, Ram Lila Committee, Jaipur; Founder and Former Organiser, Rajasthan Branch of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene; Former Vice-President, Rajasthan Branch of the Women's Food Council; Former Hony. Secretary, (i) Rajasthan State Women's Saving Campaign Committee and (ii) Rajasthan Mahila Samiti (was its organizer as well);

Former Convernor, (i) Fundamental Rights Organisation, Rajasthan, (ii) All India Convention of Representatives of Women's Organisations in New Delhi and (iii) Women's Conference during All India Congress Session; Former Member, (i) Central Advisory Council, Jaipur State, (ii) Adult Education

Central Board, Jaipur State, (iii) Jaipur State Railway Finance-*cum*-Advisory Committee, (iv) Rural Development Board, Jaipur State, (v) Sewa Sangh (Women's Social Service League) Jaipur, (vi) Indian Red Cross Society, Jaipur (vii) Jaipur Refugee Relief and Loan Committee (was its Vice- President also), (viii) State Social Welfare Board, (ix) Rajasthan Mahila Seva Sadan Committee, (x) Rajasthan Local self-Government board, (xi) Rajasthan Vikas Parishad, (xii) Senate and Syndicate of Rajasthan University, (xiii) Board of High School Education, University of Rajasthan and of the Finance and other Committees of the University, (xiv) Western Railway Time Table Committee and Work, Railway Catering Supervisory Committees, (xv) Advisory Panel Central Board of Film Censors, (xvi) Rajasthan Planning Board, (xvii) Rajasthan Development Board, (xviii) Rajasthan Women's Education Committee and Rajasthan State Council for Child Welfare, (xix) Telephone Advisory Committee, Rajasthan, (xx) Central and Rajasthan Salt Committees and (xxi) National Savings Central Advisory Board and Rajasthan Regional Committee; and Former Hony. Magistrate; Former Non-Official visitor, Central Jail, Jaipur and Hospitals; set up Mahila Matadhikar Samiti for restoration of women's organisations in New Delhi and was delegate to the Annual Conference of National Council for Child Welfare.

BHARTHI, SMT. UDAYBHANU

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri S. Kouchupilla Panikkar
Date and Place of Birth	:	2 August, 1913; Kayamkulam
Marital Status	:	Married Shri A.P. Uday Bhanu in March, 1938
Children	:	Four daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.Sc.
Positions held		
April, 1954	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Kerala)
April, 1958	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha, (Cong., Kerala)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Author of, *From Kitchen to Parliament* (in Malayalam) and various articles on Parliamentary life.
Honours and Awards	:	Recipient fo Kerala Sahitya Academy Award, 1960 for her above stated Publications.

BHATT, SMT. ELA RAMESH

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Suman Bhatt
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 September, 1933; Ahmedabad (Gujarat)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Ramesh Manilal Bhatt on 20 April, 1956
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., LL.B.; International Diploma in Labour and Cooperatives (Israel)
Profession	:	Social worker and Trade Unionist
Positions held		
May, 1986	:	Nominated to Rajya Sabha
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Published, (i) *Gujarat-Ni-Nari* (Gujarati), (ii) *Profiles of Self-Employed Women* and (iii) *Strini Manomoortinu–Roop–Image of Women in the Society* (Gujarati)
Travels Abroad	:	Former Director, Board of Directors, Women's World Banking, New York; Former Member, ILO Employment Mission for Afghanistan, 1978 and (ii) Government of India, Delegation, UNESCO Conference, Paris, 1978; Executive Council Member, As-

sociation Mondale de Prospective Sociale (AMPS), Geneva; Worked on (i) United Nation's University workshop on Global Village Network in Mali, 1982; (ii) United Nations University on Global Leadership in Rome, 1983; Former Consultant, (i) UNICEF, Women's Programme, Bangladesh, 1977, (ii) UNICEF, Afghanistan on Women's Employment, 1978, (iii) International Planned Parenthood Federation, Sri Lanka, 1979, (iv) ILO Skill, Development for Women of Asia, Bangkok, 1979, (v) Swissaid Geneva, 1981 on Women's Programme, (vi) Commonwealth Secretariate, Informal Sector, London, 1984, (vii) Invited as a Panelist on "Women at work" in International Women's year Conference, Tribune in Maxico, 1975, (viii) Women's World Banking Amsterdam, 1980, (ix) UN-Mid-Decade Women's Conferer:ce, Copenhagen, 1981, U.S.A., 1982, (x) Women's World Banking Manila, 1982 and (xi) ICFTU World Cong. Oslo, 1983

Honours and Awards : Awarded, (i) "Magsaysay Award, 1977" for Community leadership, (ii) "Susan B Anthony Award" for National Integration, 1983, (iii) 'Women Entrepreneur' Award for National Alliance of Young Entrepreneur, Delhi, 1984, (iv) 'Right Livelihood Award' (Alternative Nobel Prize), Sweden, 1984 (v) Padmashree 1985 and (vi) Padma Bhushan, 1986

Other Information : Former Chairman, Cooperative Bank of SEWA; Former General Secretary, (i) SEWA and (ii) SEWA Bharat ; Former Member of the State Advisory Boards on (i) Agriculture Labour, (ii) Unorganised Labour, (iii) Equal Remuneration Committee, (iv) Dolomite and Mine Workers, (v) Bidi Workers, (vi) Labour, (vii) Legal Aid, (viii) Contract Labour, (ix) Governing Council, Gandhi Labour Institute, Ahmedabad and (x) Governing Council, PADI, Delhi, (xi) National Integrations Council.

BHATTACHARYA, PROF. (SMT.) MALINI

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Akshayananda Bose
Date and Place of Birth	:	14 October, 1943; Dacca (Now in Bangladesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Mihir Bhattacharya on 6 May, 1967
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., Ph.D.
Profession	:	Teacher, Educationist, Writer and Artist
Positions held		
1975	:	Member, C.P.I. (M.), West Bengal
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) [C.P.I.(M), Jadavpur, West Bengal]
1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Human Resource Development
1991	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (C.P.I.(M), Jadavpur, West Bengal)

June, 1991	:	Member, Committee on Environment and Forests
1993	:	Member, Panel of Chairmen (Lok Sabha)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Edited short stories by Manik Bandyopadhyay in English, 'Gananatya Andolan of Natyaakatar', 'Rupantarbhaban' (1942—47); articles in English and Bengali in Journals; wrote and produced anti-dowry plays, plays against Muslim Women's Act and against communalism under the banner of 'Sachetana'
Travels Abroad	:	China and U.K.; Member, Delegation of C.P.I. (M) Social Scientists to China, 1985
Other Information	:	Specially interested in education 'women's issues and cultural issues; involved in teachers' movements and cultural movements in West Bengal; Member, (i) Court of JNU, (ii) Bangla Academy, (iii) Rajya Lok Sanskriti Parishad, West Bengal and (iv) Board of Secondary Education, West Bengal ; Former Member, Regional Advisory of the Film Certification Board.

BHATTACHARYA, SMT. ILA

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Jatindra Mohan Banerjee
Date and Place of Birth	:	25 September, 1921; Dibrugarh
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Narendra Nath Bhattacharya (since deceased) on 31 July, 1938
Children	:	Five daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A. (Hons.)
Profession	:	Teacher
Positions held		
April, 1980	:	Elected to the Rajya Sabha [CPI(M), Tripura]
1984-85	:	Member, House Committee, Rajya Sabha
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, State Committee of C.P.I. (M)
Travels Abroad	:	Bulgaria; attended World Peace Parliament in Sofia
Other Information	:	Organised many study circles and meetings to make women conscious about their social, political and economic backwardness; Former Chairman, Tripura State So-

BHONSLE, SMT. VIJAYAMALA RAJARAM CHHATRAPATI

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Sardar Rajshri Atmaram Sahib Mohte
Date and Place of Birth	:	2 July, 1908; Tanjore
Marital Status	:	Married His Highness Sir Rajaram Chhatrapati in 1925
Educational Qualifications	:	Studied Marathi, Tamil and English privately
1967	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Fourth) (U.A., Hatkanangale, Maharashtra)
Other Information	:	Took keen interest in women's education; Presided over numerous Women Conferences in the State, Donated a part of her old Palace to Shri Shantidev Home Science Institute to run Maharani Vijayamala Women's College, Kolhapur.

BIBHU KUMARI DEVI, MAHARANI

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Raja Lav Shah
Date and Place of Birth	:	28 June, 1944; Mussorrie (Uttar Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married King Vikram Kishore Dev Burman Manikya Bahadur
Children	:	Two daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1983	:	Member, A.I.C.C.(I)
1983–91	:	Member, Tripura Legislative Assembly
1988–91	:	Minister, Revenue and Local Self-Government, Tripura
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong.(I), Tripura East-ST, Tripura]
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Member, Delegation to Buddhist Conference with regard to Child Education in Japan, 1977; Chairman, Fes-

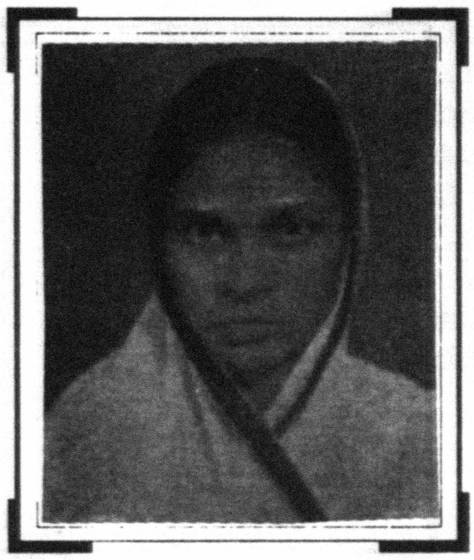
tival of India (North-East Region), London in 1982

Other Information : Specially Interested in rural problems; donated parts of the palace for child welfare and child education; Patron, Craft Council West Bengal; President and Patron Komino, Chubamah (social organisation of village service); Former Chairman, Tripura Handloom Handirafts; Vice-President, International Maha Buddhist Society, Calcutta, and Former Vice-President, Mahila Shakti.

BINDUMATI DEVI, SMT.

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Kunwar Maheshwar Vats Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	14 July, 1918; Beruu Garhi, Distt. Hardoi
Marital Status	:	Married Dr. R.B. Das on 2 February, 1940
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Positions held		
1957–62	:	Member , Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly
July, 1967	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	Former President, D.C.C., Barabanki, Uttar Pradesh; Former Member, P.C.C., Uttar Pradesh
Other Information	:	Former Member, State Social Welfare Advisory Board, Uttar Pradesh.



BORKAR, SMT. ANSUYABAI

Father's Name	:	Shri Shambhuji
Date and Place of Birth	:	1929; Kampti (Madhya Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Bhaurao Borkar (since deceased) in 1947
Children	:	Three daughters
Educational Qualifications:	:	Educated at Salem Girls' Hindi English Middle School, Raipur
Profession	:	Cultivator
Positions held		
1955-57	:	Member*, Lok Sabha (First) (Cong. Bhandara-SC, Madhya Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, D.C.C., Nagpur
Other Information	:	Imparted education to adult women at Indora in Nagpur city.

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* Elected in a by-election.

BOSE, DR. SMT. MAITREYEE

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Late Shri Sasibhusan Bose
Date amd Place of Birth	:	7 October, 1905; Giridih (Bihar)
Marital Status	:	Married Dr. Swadesh Basu (since deceased) on 29 August, 1937
Educational Qualifications		M.B. (Cal.), M.D. (Munich)
Profession	:	Medical Practitioner
Positions held		
1942–47	:	Associated with the Indian National Congress
1943–47	:	Connected with the A.I.T.U.C.
1948	:	Joined the I.N.T.U.C.
1954–67	:	Member, West Bengal Legislative Assembly
1955–62	:	President, Bengal Branch of the I.N.T.U.C.
1962–63	:	President, I.N.T.U.C.
1967–70	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Ind., Darjeeling, West Bengal)
Other Positions held	:	Former Vice-President, I.N.T.U.C.

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Written articles and books on Trade Union matters and medical subjects like infant feeding, childrens diseases, etc.
Travels Abroad	:	Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Switzerland and U.K.; attended (i) I.L.O. Committee, Geneva in 1949, (ii) I.L.O. Conference, Geneva 1951, (iii) I.C.F.T.U. Conference, London in 1949 and Milan in 1951, (iv) I.C.F.T.U. Committee ,Vienna and Munich in 1963 and (v) the Anti-Atom Bomb Conference, Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1964
Other Information	:	Former Hony. General Secretary, Save the Children Committee (India); Former Convener and Hony. General Secretary, Rural Ambulance service and Hispial for Women and Children near Calcutta.

BOSE, SMT. PRATIMA*

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Amarendra Nath Roy
Date and Place of Birth	:	18 June, 1923; Calcutta
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Radhabhusan Bose on 2 July, 1940
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Profession	:	Educationist
Positions held		
1957	:	Alderman, Calcutta Corporation
1972	:	Secretary, P.C.C., West Bengal
1974	:	Vice-Preident, P.C.C., West Bengal
July, 1975	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (U), West Bengal]

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* Died; ob. ref. in R.S. on 13 March 1985.

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Was Publisher of '*Natun Bangla*; a West Bengal Congress Paper

Travels Abroad : Made a study tour of England, France, Germany and Spain in 1953; Delegate to Moscow, 1972

Other Information : Was President, Bengiya Mahila Sangha; was Vice-President, Women's Coordination Council; was Chairman, (i) Jatiya Kalyan Parishad, (ii) West Bengal Khadi Board and (iii) West Bengal Social Welfare Board; was also connected with various social and Government Committees *i.e.* Zoo Garden, State Transport and Family Planning.

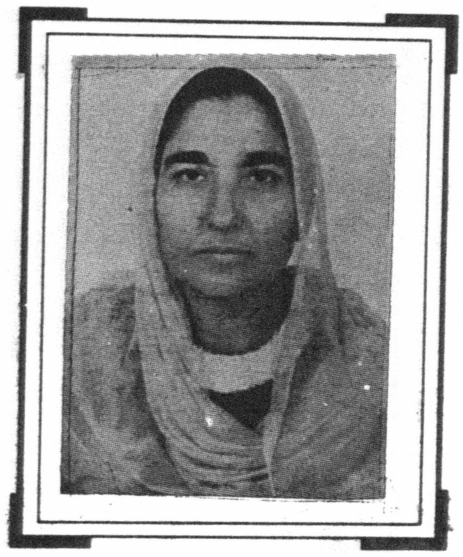
BRAR, SMT. GURBRINDER KAUR

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	S. Jaswant Singh
Date and Place of birth	:	12 August, 1922; Vill. Kairon, Distt. Amritsar
Marital Status	:	Married S. Harcharan Singh Brar on 24 Februray, 1948
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Profession	:	Housewife and social worker
Positions held		
1964–70	:	President, D.C.C., Ferozepur
1972–77	:	Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly
1973–77	:	Minister of State for Housing, Punjab
1980	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong. (I), Faridkot, Punjab]
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Attended the World Conference of Child Welfare in Tokyo, 1959 and Member, Govt. Delegation to attend the

Habitat Conference, Vancouver, Canada, 1976

Other Information : Former President, Rural Development Council, Haryana; Former Vice-President, (i) Indian Council for Child Welfare (for two terms), (ii) Bharatiya Grameen Mahila Sangh, and (iii) Social Health in India.



BULARA, SMT. RAJINDER KAUR

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Harsa Singh Sandhu
Date and Place of Birth	:	10 June, 1946; at Raja Jung in Distt. Lahore, Pakistan
Marital Status	:	Married S. Rajinder Pal Singh Gill on 17 November, 1967
Children	:	One datugher and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., B.Ed.
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Postitions held		
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) [S.A.D. (Mann), Ludhiana, Punjab]
1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Industry
Other Information	:	Fought for the implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

BURAGOHAIN, SMT. BEDAVATI

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Bapuram Baruah
Date and Place of Birth	:	19 November, 1911; North Lakhimpur, Assam
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Surendra Nath Buragohain on 25 January, 1932
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Read up to B.A.
Profession	:	Retd. Head Mistress
Positions held		
April, 1954	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Assam)
April, 1960	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Assam)
May, 1960	:	Elected Whip of the Congress Party in Parliament from Eastern Region
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, Executive Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament Re-elected

Whip of the Rajya Sabha, and Former Convener, Party Standing Committee on tribal Affairs.

Other Information : Former President, Tara Ramadhyani L.P. School; Former Member, (i) Central Social Welfare Board, (ii) B.R.R. U.C.C., (iii) Catering Committee of North-East Frontier Zone, and Tea Board; and Retired Head Mistress, Government Girls M.E. School, Jorhat.

CHAKRAVARTY, SMT. BIJOYA

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Beda Kanta Thakur
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 October, 1940; Baligaon, Distt. Jorhat, (Assam)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Jiten Chakravarty on 1 June, 1960
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A. (English)
Profession	:	Lecturer
Positions held		
1965–77	:	Associated with PSP
1977–78	:	District Secretary J.P., Mangaldai Branch
April, 1986	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Asom Gana Parishad, Assam)
July 1988–July 1990	:	Member, Committee on Rules, Rajya Sabha
July 1990	:	Member, Committee on Subordinate Legislation

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Wrote poems, short stories, novels, features, write-ups and light essays; Served as Columnist of *Assam Tribune* 1964 to 1968 under the pen name "B.C.", wrote as a regular columnist more than two hundred feature articles and write-ups on current affairs and published three novels in Assamese entitled "*Nazal Phiringathi*", "*Abhijan*" and "*Karagar*"; Former Joint Secretary, All Assam Women Writers Association.

Honours and Awards : Won best athlete trophy for two years, 1955—57.

Other Information : Actively involved in Students Union activities from School days; Actively involved in Assam movement against foreign nationals; Jailed on a number of occasions during 1980-82; Externed to the deep forest of Bhalukpung near Assam-Arunachal border for one month in 1981 and faced the danger to life with wild animals around; Former President, (i) District Moina Parijat, Mangaldai (ii) District Table Tennis Association, Mangaldai and (iii) International Youth Hostel Association of India, Assam Branch; Former District President, (i) Mangaldai Rickshaw Thela Association and (ii) Mangaldai Harijan Sanstha; Former Vice-President, All Assam Moina Prijat; Former General Secretary, Mahila Parishad Assam; Former Assistant General Secretary, J.B. College Students Union; Former Adviser, All Assam Mahila Parishad; Adviser, All Assam Mahila Parishad.

CHAKRAVARTTY, SMT. RENU

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Sadhan Chandra Roy
Date and Place of Birth	:	21 October, 1917; Calcutta, West Bengal
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Nikhil Chakravartty on 3 January, 1942
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A. (Cantab)
Profession	:	Teacher
Positions held		
1952–57	:	Member, Lok Sabha (First) (Comm., Basirhat, West Bengal)
1957–62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Comm., Basirhat, West Bengal)
1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Comm., Barrackpore, West Bengal)
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled
Other Information	:	Former President, (i) Colliery Mazdoor Sabha, West Bengal, (ii) United Mineral

Workers' Union, Gua, Bihar; Former Vice-President, (i) United Iron and Steel Workers' Union, Asansol and (ii) National Federation of Indian Women; Former Member, (i) Central Advisory Board of Education and (ii) National Council for Women's Education.

CHANDA, SMT. JYOTSNA*

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Mahesh Chandra Datta
Date and Place of Birth	:	28 March, 1904; Silchar
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Arun Kumar Chanda in 1927
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	House-wife and Social Worker
Positions held		
1957–61**	:	Member, Assam Legislative Assembly
1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong.,Cachar, Assam)
1967–70	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Cachar, Assam)
1971	:	Elected to Lok Saabha (Fifth) (Cong., Cachar, Assam)
Other Positions held	:	Was member, Silchar Municipal Board

* Died on 16 September, 1973; ob. ref. in L.S. on 12 November, 1973.

** Resigned in protest against police firing in Silcher on Satyagrehis on 9 May, 1961.

Travels Abroad : Belgium, East Berlin, Italy, Switzerland, U.K. and West Germany

Honours and Awards : First woman Jail visitor in Assam in 1931-32.

Other Information : Was associated with nearly all educational institutions and social welfare organizations of Silchar District; was President, (i) Bengali speaking People's Association of Assam, (ii) Silchar B.T. College Managing Committee, (iii) Srihatta Sammelan; New Delhi and (iv) All India Sri Sarada Sangha; was Chairman, (i) Silchar Schools Board, (ii) Silchar District Social Welfare Advisory Board, (iii) N.E.F. Railway Employees, Union and (iv) Tea Employees' Union; was Member, (i) Gauhati University Court, (ii) Assam State Text Book Committee, (iii) Assam State Advisory Board for Social Education; (iv) Assam State Advisory Board for Women's Education and (v) Governing Body of Guracharan College, Silchar.

CHANDRASEKHAR, SMT. MARAGATHAM

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Vidwan K. Munuswamy Pillai
Date and Place of Birth	:	11 November, 1917; Madras (Tamil Nadu)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri R. Chandrasekhar (since deceased) on 23 October, 1950
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.Sc., L.T., H. and S.S., Dip. in Journalism, Dip. in Domestic Science and Dip. in Dietetics
Profession	:	Teacher, Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1952	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (First) (Cong., Tiruvallur-SC, Madras)
Aug., 1952 to April, 1957	:	Union Deputy Minister, Ministry of Health
1962	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Mayuram-SC, Madras)
May, 1962 to May, 1964	:	Union Deputy Minister, Ministry of Home Affairs

1964–67	:	Union Deputy Minister, Ministry of Social Welfare
1970	:	Nominated to Rajya Sabha (Cong.)
1972	:	General Secretary, AICC (I)
1976	:	Re-nominated to Rajya Sabha (Cong.)
1978	:	Member, House Committee, Rajya Sabha
1978–80	:	Treasurer, AICC (I)
1982	:	Re-nominated to Rajya Sabha (Cong.)
Sept. 1983–Jan. 1985	:	Interim President, P.C.C. (I), Tamil Nadu
1984	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Sriperumbudur-SC, Tamil Nadu]
31 Dec, 1984 to 25 Sept., 1985	:	Union Minister of State (Independent Charge) Ministry of Women and Social Welfare
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) [Cong. (I), Sriperumbudur-SC, Tamil Nadu]
1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals Member, Committee of privileges
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong. (I), Sriperumbudur-SC, Tamil Nadu] Member, Committee on Science and Technology Member, Cong. (I) Parliamentary Board Member, Central Disciplinary Action Committee, AICC (I) Member, Appeals Committee, AICC (I) Organisational Elections, 1991
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Member, (i) Indian Cultural Delegation to USSR Czechoslovakia, Poland 1954, (ii) Trade Union Delegation to Sri Lanka 1957, Delegation to 25th Anniversary of IRRI, Manila, 1985; Delegate to (i) UN Seminar on Human Rights in Developing Countries at Kabul 1964, (ii)

13th International Conference of Social Work at Washington 1966, (iii) International Women's Conference in Mangolia and at Nairobi 1985

Other Information : Participated in freedom struggle; President, All India De-notified Tribes; Chairman, Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; Former Chairman, (i) National Small Industries Corporation, (ii) Commission for Linguistic Minorities of India; Former Member, (i) National Union of Students, (YMCA) London, (ii) Indian Students Bureau, London, (iii) Central Family Planning Board, (iv) Central Second Pay Commission, (v) Central Committee of State Film Awards, (vi) First Court of J.N.U., (vii) Governing Council, Indo-German Social Service Society, (viii) Standing Committee,I.C.C.W., (ix) Gandhi Sadan Committee and (x) National Shipping Board; Former Convener, (i) Bharat Sewak Samaj, Madras State, (ii) South Indian Women Legislative Conference, Bangalore; Life Member, (i) British University Society of South India and (ii) Indian Council of Child Welfare.

CHANDRAWATI, SMT.

(Ex- Member, L.S)

Father's Name	:	Choudhary Hazari Lal
Date and Place of Birth	:	3 Sept., 1928; Vill. Dalavas, Tehsil Charki Dadri, Distt. Bhiwani
Marital Status	:	Married
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., LL.B.
Profession	:	Lawyer
Positions held		
1954–57	:	Member, PEPSU Legislative Assembly
1954–57	:	Parliamentary Secretary, Govt. of PEPSU
1962–67	:	Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly
1962–63	:	Parliamentary Secretary, Govt. of Punjab
1963–64	:	Member, Estimates Committee, Punjab Legislative Assembly
1964-66	:	Dy. Minster, Govt. of Punjab
1968-72	:	Member, Haryana Pradesh Congress Election Committee
1968-77	:	Member, Haryana Legislative Assembly

1972-73	:	Chairman, Estimates Committee and Library Committee of Haryana Legislative Assembly
1973-74	:	Minister of State, Govt. of Haryana
1977	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth) (Janata Party, Bhiwani Haryana)
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, (i) Haryana P.C.C., (ii) Haryana Pradesh Congress Executive Committee, (iii) Commitee on Public Undertakings (Lok Sabha) and (iv) Committee on Papers Laid on the Table (Lok Sabha).

CHANDRESH KUMARI, SMT.

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Sri Hanuwant Singh; Jodhpur
Date and Place of Birth	:	1 April, 1944; Jodhpur
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Aditya Dev Katoch on 4 December, 1968
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	Undergraduate
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1972–77	:	Member, Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly
1977	:	Deputy Minister, Himachal Pradesh
1982 January, 1985	:	Member, Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly
1984-85	:	Minister of State, Tourism, Himachal Pradesh
1984	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Kangra, Himachal Pradesh]
Travels Abroad	:	Europe

Other Information : Former Patron, Maharaja Sansar Chand Memorial Degree College, Thural, Himachal Pradesh; Former Member, Kangra Mandir Jai Chand Charitable Trust Hardwar, Uttar Pradesh.

CHATTERJEE, PROF. (SMT.) ASIMA

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Dr. I.N. Mukherjee
Date and Place of Birth	:	23 September, 1917; Calcutta
Marital Status	:	Married Prof. B. Chatterjee on 14 August, 1945
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	D.Sc., M.Sc., P.R.S.
Profession	:	Teacher
Positions held		
April 1982—84	:	Nominated Member, Rajya Sabha
May 1984	:	Re-nominated to Rajya Sabha
1984-85	:	Member, Committee on Petitions, Rajya Sabha
1986-87	:	Member, Committee on Rules, Rajya Sabha
1988	:	Member, House Committee, Rajya Sabha
Honours and Awards	:	Awarded Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar Award, 1961; Padma Bhushan, 1975; C.V. Raman Award on Physical Sciences by UGC, 1982 in 1985
Other Information	:	Former Chairman, (i) Board of Directors, Calcutta Chemical Company Ltd., Calcutta

and (ii) Chemical Research Committee of CSIR; Former Dean, Faculty of Science, Calcutta University; Former Head, Department of Pure Chemistry, Calcutta University; Former Professor and Head of the Department of Chemistry, Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta; Former Reader in Chemistry, University, College of Science, Calcutta University; Consultant, Alkali Chemical Industries Bombay (branch of Imperial Chemical Industries, U.K.); Honorary Lecturer, Department of Pure Chemistry, Calcutta University; Sisir Kumar Mitra Lecturership (Prestigious position) of the Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi and Santanu Memorial Lecturership; Former Convener, Chemistry Panel, U.G.C.; Principal Co-ordinator, Regional Institute (Ayurveda) West Bengal, under Union Health Ministry; Former Project Co-ordinator, Special Assistance Programme sanctioned to the Department of Pure Chemistry to work on "Chemistry of Natural Products"; Former Programme Coordinator, Centre of Advanced Studies on the Chemistry of Natural Products, University of Calcutta, selected by U.G.C., New Delhi; Former Member, (i) SIGMA XI, USA, (ii) Indian Chemical Society, (iii) Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, (iv) Council of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, (v) Council of Indian Science Congress Association, (vi) Chemical Society, London, (vii) Council, Calcutta University, (viii) Indian National Science Academy, (ix) National Commission UNESCO, (x) Review Committee for studying poblems of Central Universities in India (selected by the University Grants Commission), (xi) Board of Directors, Organon, Research Centre, Calcutta, (xii) Governing Body, National Chemical Laboratories (CSIR), Pune, (xiii) Central Advisory Board of Education, (xiv) Committee

on DSA/CAS constituted by UGC, (xvii) Chemistry Panel, U.G.C. constituted in 1985, (xvi) Board of Directors, Infar (Organon), India, (xvii) Executive Council, Vishwa Bharati (Chancellor's Nominee), (xv) Executive Council, Jadavpur University (Chancellor's Nominee), (xix) Executive Council, Burdwan University (Chancellor's Nominee).

CHATURVEDI, SMT. VIDYAWATI

[Ex – Member, R.S. & L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Nathuramji Rawat
Date and Place of Birth	:	6 December, 1926; Vill. Kulpahar, Distt. Hamirpur (Uttar Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Babu Ram Chaturvedi (since deceased)
Children	:	One daughter and three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Sahitya Ratan and Vaid Visharad (privately)
Proession	:	Agriculturist and Teacher
Positions held		
1957–62	:	Member, Madhya Predesh Legislative Assembly Member, Estimates Committee Member; Panel of Chairmen, Legislative Assembly
1966–72	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Congress, Madhya Pradesh)
1972–1978	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Congress, Madhya Predesh) member, Petitions Committee; Member, Committee on Government Assurances

1980–84 : Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh)
[Congress (I), Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh]

1980–82 : Member, House committee

1982–84 : Member, Public Accounts Committee

1984 : Re-elected Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth)
[Cong.(I), Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh]

Other Positions held : Former President, (i) Women's Department of Vindhya Pradesh Congress and (ii) Madhya Pradesh Women Congress Committee; Former Chairman, All India Women's Congress; Former Vice-President, Madhya Pradesh, Pradesh Congress Committee; Former General Secretary, Chhatarpur Congress Committee

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; went to Berlin as a representive of Government of India during International Women's Year

Other Information : Former Headmistress in a Girl's School in Gurhi Malhara, Chhatarpur; Former President, (i) Workers' Union Khadi Gramodyog Bhavan and (ii) D.D.A. Draftman's Union; Former Member, (i) All India Women's Cooperative Union, (ii) Madhya Pradesh Women's Education Committee, (iii) Madhya Pradesh Social Welfare Committee and (iv) Madhya Pradesh Electricity Board.

CHAUDHRI, SMT. KAMALA*

(Member, C.A. & P.P. and Ex-Member L.S.)

Father's Name : Rai Manmohan Dayal

Date and Place of Birth : 22 February 1908; Lucknow

Marital Status : Married Dr. J.M. Chaudhri in May 1923

Children : One daughter and two sons

Educational Qualifications: Prabhakar

Positions held

1947–50 : Member, Constituent Assembly (Cong., United Provinces)

1950–52 : Member, Provisional Parliament (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)

1962–67 : Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Hapur, Uttar Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Was Member, (i) P.C.C., (ii) D.C.C., (iii) City Congress Committee and (iv) Provincial Mahila Congress Committee; worked as a

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* Died on 15 October, 1970; ob. ref. in L.S. on 9 November, 1970.

Senior Vice-Chairman of the 54th Session of the A.I.C.C.

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Short stories (in Hindi), Unmad, Picnic, Yatra, Balpatra, Hindi *Ki Chuni Hui* Kahaniyan, Prasadi Kamandal, Khayyaim Ka Jam, Apna Maran Jagat Ke Hansi, Chitron Main Lorian, Gandhi Ban Jaon

Other Information : Was connected with several education and other institutions; took special interest in girls, education in villages and backward areas and, in Khadi and village industries; active Congress worker since the Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930; went to jail several times; was President, (i) Sanatan Dharma Dharmarth Aushdhalaya, Meerut and (ii) Gram Kalyan Sangh, Jaipur and Kalina; was Member, State Social Welfare Advisory Board, Uttar Pradesh.

CHAVAN, SMT. PREMILABAI D.

[Ex – Member, R.S. & L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri M.N. Rao Jagdale
Date and Place of Birth	:	2 July, 1918; Distt. Baroda (Gujarat)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri D.R. Chavan (since deceased) on 27 April, 1942
Children	:	Two daughters and one son
Eucational Qualifications	:	Intermediate, Diploma in Montessory Education
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1952–60	:	Member, Peasants and Workers Party, Maharashtra
1971–77	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Cong., Karad, Maharashtra)
1977–79	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Sixth) (Cong., Karad Maharashtra)
1978	:	President, P.C.C. (I), Maharashtra
1980–84	:	Member, Rajya Sabha, (Cong. (I), Maharashtra)

1984–89 : Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth)
(Cong. (I), Karad, Maharashtra)

1985–87 : Member (i) Committee on Subordinate Legislation, (ii) Committee on Official Languages and (iii) Business Advisory Committee

1987–89 : Member, Rules Committee, Lok Sabha

1989 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth)
(Cong. (I), Karad, Maharashtra)

1990 : Member, Consultative Committee, Department of Atomic Energy, Space, Electronics, Ocean Development and Ministry of Science and Technology

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published short stories in Marathi

Travels Abroad : Finland, France, Holland, Singapore, Thailand, U.K. and West Germany

Other Information : Took interest in welfare of women and children and rural development; Founder President, All India Women's Cricket Association; Founder Polytechnic Engineering College, Karad; Started first Montessory School and Mahila. Mandal Movement in Karad.

CHAVDA, SMT. ZOHRABEN AKBARBHAI

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Jamiyatkhan Ummarkhan Pathan

Date and Place of Birth : 2 September, 1923; Prandij

Marital Status : Married Shri Akbarbhai Dalumiyan Chavda

Profession : Midwife and Health Visitor; Social Worker and Agriculturist

Positions held

1962 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Banaskantha, Gujarat)

Other Positions held : Former President, District Congress Committee, Banaskantha

Other Information : Stayed with Mahatma Gandhi for seven years; Former Chairman, District Social Welfare Project, Tharad.

CHENNUPATI, SMT. VIDYA

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Gora
Date and Place of Birth	:	5 June, 1934; Vijayanagram, Andhra Pradesh
Marital Status	:	Married Chennupati Seshagiri Rao on 22 February, 1950
Children	:	Three daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., Visarad (Hindi)
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Psitions held		
1962–66	:	Member, Panchayat Samiti, Gollapudi, Andhra Pradesh
1967–76	:	Member, Zilla Parishad, Krishna, Andhra Pradesh
1968–78	:	Convener, Women's Wing, Cong. (I), Andhra Pradesh
1979	:	Member, Executive Committee, DCC(I), Krishna, Andhra Pradesh
1980–84	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong.(I), Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh]

1989	:	Member, Executive Committee, PCC (I), Andhra Pradesh
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) [Cong.(I), Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh]
23 March 1990	:	Elected Member, Committee on Official Languages
1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Finance
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Delegate to International Humanist and Ethical Union Congress at Hanover, West Germany, August 1982; Member, IPD to GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria, France, Greece and Dubai in 1983
Honours and Awards	:	Recipient of Saraswati Award for Social Service by the Shikshit Samaj, Delhi, January, 1983
Other Information	:	Associated with Rotary movements and Lions Club; Former President, (i) Andhra Pradesh Harijan Sewak Sangh and (ii) Andhra Pradesh Kho-Kho Association; Former Director, All India Women's Voluntary Services, Andhra Pradesh; Former General Secretary, All India Kher Mazdoor Parishad; Former Member, (i) ICAR, (ii) Hindi Salahkar Samiti and (iii) International Women's Year Committee, Krishna District.

CHETTRY, SMT. MAYA DEVI

(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Kul Bahadur Chettry
Date and Place of Birth	:	March, 1921; Okhaldhunga (Nepal)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri D.B. Chettry in March, 1934
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated privately
Profession	:	Social and public worker
Positions held		
1946–52	:	President, Kurseong Sub-Divisional Congress Committee
1948–49	:	Municipal Commissioner, Kurseong
1951	:	General Secretary, Darjeeling Distt. Congress Committee
1952	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., West Bengal)
1954–57	:	Executive Committee, Congress Party in Parliament
April 1958	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., West Bengal)

1959	:	Nominated to the Panel of Vice-Chairmen, Rajya Sabha
1959	:	President Darjeeling , District Congress Committee.
1960	:	General Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, House Committee, Rajya Sabha and various other consultative committees in Parliament
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Author of (i) *Swatantra Sangram* (in Nepali), and (ii) *Madham Marg* (in Nepali); Publisher, *Sathi* (Nepali Magazine)
Travels Abroad	:	Belgium, Egypt, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and U.K.; Represented All India Gorkha Ex-servicemen's Association in the World Veterans' Federation held in Germany, 1957
Other Information	:	Former President, (i) Azad School for Muslim Children , (ii) Dukha Niwarak Sammelan, (iii) Nepali Sammelan, Delhi, and (iv) Sandhani Mahila Samity; Founder-President, National Pathshala; Former Chairman, All India Gorkha Backward Class Committee; Former Vice-President, (i) Mahila Sammelan, (ii) All India Women's Conference, Darjeeling Branch, (iii) Bharat Scouts and Guides, Darjeeling Branch and (iv) Cooperative Credit Society Ltd., Former Member, (i) T.B. Sanatorium Governing Body; Kurseong, (ii) Administrative Committee, Indian Gorkha Ex-Servicemen's Welfare Fund, New Delhi, (iii) District Development Council and Adult Education Board, (iv) Central Tea Board and (v) North Eastern Railway Zonal Railway Users' Committee; Former Public Jail Visitor; Former Distt. Commissioner, Bharat Scouts and Guides, and Former State Assistant Commissioner for Guides.

CHIKHALIA SMT. BHAVNABEN DEVRAJBHAI

[Member, L.S.]

Date and Place of Birth : 14 February, 1955; Devalki in Distt. Amreli Gujarat

Marital Status : Married Dr. Devrajbhai P. Chikhalia on 5 March, 1978

Children : One son

Educational Qualifications : B. Com., LL.B

Profession : Social Worker

Positions held

1991 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (B.J.P., Junagadh, Gujarat)

Travels Abroad : Hong Kong, Singapore, and Thailand

Other Information : Specially intersted in Cultural Activities, First Lady Rotarian, Rotary Club, Junagadh; Former President, Leuva Patel Mahila Mandal, Junagadh; Former Director, Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, Junagadh; Former Honorary Director, Bal Bawan, Junagadh; Former Adviser, (i) of Educational Activities in M.D.S. Arya

Kanya Vidyalaya, Junagadh, (ii) M.D.S. Arts and Commerce College, Junagadh, and (iii) Women's Cultural Activities M.D.S., B.Ed., College Junagadh; Former Trustee, (i) Ratubhai Adani Foundation Trust, Junagadh, (ii) Siddhashram Seva Trust Mendarda and (iii) Ushacharda Public Charitable Trust; Former Member, (i) Akhil Hind Mahila Parishad (State) Junagadh, (ii) Postal advisory Committee, Junagadh, (iii) Gujarat Women Protection Committee, Junagadh, (iv) Women's Economic Upliftment Committee Junagadh and (v) Observation Home, Junagadh.

CHOUDHARI, SMT. USHA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Date and Place of Birth	:	22 February, 1942; Amravati
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Prakash Choudhari on 2 January, 1959
Children	:	Two daughers and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., M.ED.
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1980–84	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Congress (I), Amravati, Maharashtra]
1980–82	:	Member, Committee on Government Assurances
1982–84	:	Member, Committee on Estimates
1984	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Amravati, Maharashtra]
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Nearly one hundred Poems published in magazines and newspapers

Honours and Awards : Obtained 'Bharat Samaj Unnyan Ratna' Upadhi from world Development Parliament Institution, Calcutta

Other Information : Contributed much to the progress and development of women folk in her district and State; Organised women camps all over the State; Former President, (i) Mahila Samta Mandal, (ii) Cancer Relief Society; Former Chairman, Amravati District Mahila Cooperative Bank.

CHOUDHURY, SMT MALATI*

[Member, C.A.]

Positions held : Member, Constituent Assembly (Cong., Orissa).

Other information not available.

CHOUDHURY, SMT. RASHIDA HAQUE
(Ex–Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Alhaj Nasib Ali Majumdar
Date and Place of Birth	:	24 April, 1926; Tezpur
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Moinul Haque, Choudhury (since deceased) on 28 December 1948
Children	:	Three daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
From 1950	:	Member, Congress Party
1977	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth) (Cong., Silchar, Assam)
30 July 1979–24 Aug.1979	:	Union Ministry of State in the Ministry of Education, Culture and Social welfare
24 Aug. 1979–14 Jan.1980	:	Union Minister of State in the Ministry of Education and Culture

Travels Abroad : Widely Travelled

Other Information : Former Member, (i) Bharatiya Gramin Mahila Samiti, New Delhi and (ii) Committee of Social Work for Bangla Desh Refugees.

CHOWDHARY, SMT. SANTOSH

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Roshan Lal

Date and Place of Birth : 14 October, 1942; Sanawar in Distt. Solan (Himachal Pradesh)

Marital Status : Married Shri R.L. Chowdhary on 23 November, 1968

Children : Four daughters

Educational Qualifications : M.A. (Prev.), B. Ed.

Profession : Social and Political Worker

Postitions held

1986 onwards : General Secretary, Mahila Congress, Punjab

1992 : Elected* to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong.(I), Phillaur-SC, Punjab]

Other Information : Specially interested in helping the poor; Former Chairman, Punjab Public Service Commission; Non-official Director, Pun-

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* Returned in the election held on 19 February, 1992.

jab and Sind Bank, 1989 onwards; Member, Aurobindo Society for 15 years; Former Member, (i) Punjab Public Service Commission and (ii) Senate, Panjabi University.

CHOWDHURY, SMT. RENUKA

[Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Air Commodor K.S. Rao (Retd.)
Date and Place of Birth	:	13 August, 1954; Visakhapatnam (Andhra Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Sreedhar Chowdhury on 7 October, 1974
Children	:	Two daughers
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A. (Industrial Psychology), Dip. in Marketing Management, Public Relations and Advertising
Profession	:	Social Service
Positions held		
April, 1986	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Telugu Desam, Andhra Pradesh)
1986-87 and 1988	:	Member, Committee of Privileges, Rajya Sabha
1992	:	Re-elected to Rajya Saba (Telugu Desam, Andhra Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	Member, Municipal Corporation, Banjara Hills, Hyderabad

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published articles, short stories, dramas and monoacts in various papers; translated plays from Hindi to English and monoacts Mime

Honours and Awards : Got certificate from Government of Tamil Nadu in recognition of service

Other Information : Special interests in tourism, social work, urban and slum organization, women's role and rights in society, broadcast of talks and programs from the AIR, promoting Consumer resistence and rehabilitation, programs for delinquents; College President and representative; Chairman Student Federation, Andhra Pradesh; Regional Organiser in Department of Women and Child Welfare, Andhra Pradesh; District Governer in Mahboob Nagar, and Ranga Reddy, Andhra Pradesh; Member, International Airports Authority; Adviser to a number of private sector trade unions.

CHUNDAWAT, SMT. LAKSHMI KUMARI

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Rawat Bijay Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	24 June, 1916; Deogarh, District Udaipur (Rajasthan)
Marital Status	:	Married Rawat Tej Singh of Ravatsar in Bikaner State in 1933
Children	:	Four daughters and two sons
Profession	:	Writer and Political Worker
Positions held		
1962—71	:	Member, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly
1972	:	First Women President, P.C.C., Rajasthan
April, 1972	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Rajasthan)
Other Positions held	:	Former Member of the Panel of Chairmen of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly and also of its Estimates Committee
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	A mature writer of the Rajasthani language, has nearly 30 books to her credit in Hindi and Rajasthani

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; attended (i) Anti-Atomic Armament Conference, Hiroshima, Japan, (ii) World Peace Conference, Helsinki, and (iii) The World Peace Congress held in Moscow

Honours and Award : Recipient of many awards in literary field

Other Information : First woman belonging to a Royal family in Rajasthan who gave up *Purdah* and entered politics; Former President, (i) All India Peace and Solidarity Organization, Rajasthan and (ii) Rajasthan Indo-G.D.R. Friendship Society; Former Vice-President, National Council of Indo-Soviet Society; Former Member, (i) Executive Committee of the Sahitya Academy; (ii) Sahitya Academy, Rajasthan, (iii) Lalit Kala Academy, Rajasthan, and (iv) Sangeet Natak Akademi, Rajasthan.

DANDAVATE, SMT. PRAMILA

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Dr. Janardan Narayan Karnade
Date and Place of Birth	:	27 August, 1928; Bombay
Marital Status	:	Married to Shri Madhu Ramchandra Dandavate on 22 October, 1953
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., G.D. Art (Painting)
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1945–53	:	Organizer Rastra Seva Dal—a Socialist Youth Organization
1968–73	:	Member, Bombay Municipal Corporation
1974–75	:	Joint Secretary, Socialist Party
1980	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh) (Janata Party, North Central, Bombay, Maharashtra)
Other Positions held	:	Previously associated with Socialist Party till it merged with Janata Party

Travels Abroad : Austria, Sri Lanka, Sweden and U.K.; Represented Socialist Party of India at (i) the Socialist International Conference at Vienna, 1954 and in Sweden, 1966, (ii) International Council of Social Democratic Women in London, 1966; Represented, Internatioanl Council of Social Democratic Women in the seminar on Adult Education in Ceylon, 1971.

Honours and Awards : Received UNESCO scholarship for Adult Education Course at Hill Craft College Surbiton, U.K.

Other Information : Courted arrest several times for participating in (i) Samyukta Maharashtra Movement, (ii) Land Liberation Movement, (iii) Anti- Price Rise Movement and (iv) Malvan Port Facilities Movement; detained under MISA for 18 months at Yerwada, Pune 1975-76; Organised Consumers' Resistance Movement in Bombay as Vice-President, Mahangai Pratikar Samyukta Mahila Samiti; Founder-Member, Samajwadi Mahila Sabha, Maharashtra; Founder Member and Secretary, Sunanda Sahakari Griha Udyog Society Ltd.; Former Secretary Mahila Dukshta Samiti; and Former Convener, National Coordination Committee of Consumers' Organisation.

DANG, SMT. SATYAWATI
(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Fater's Name	:	Shri Satya Nand Stokes
Date and Place of Birth	:	10 April, 1920; "Harmony Hall" Barubag (Kotgarh) District Mahasu
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Onkar Nath Dang (since deceased) on 21 November, 1938
Children	:	Two daughters
Educational Qualifications	:	Matric, Bhushan and Rattan
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Positions held		
1934–37	:	Member, Gram Panchayat
1957–59	:	Convener, Women Section, P.C.C., Himachal Pradesh
1958–64	:	(i) Nominated Member, AICC, (ii) General Secretary, D.C.C., Mahasu
1962–64	:	General Secretary, P.C.C., Himachal Pradesh
1964	:	President, P.C.C., Himachal Pradesh

1967 : Member, Zila Parishad

April 1968 : Elected to Rajya Sabha
(Cong., Himachal Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Former Member, Himachal Pradesh Territorial Council and worked as whip of Congress party therein

Travels Abroad : Canada, England, France, Germany, Switzerland and U.S.A.; Member, Himachal Pradesh Delegation which visited Germany ; France and Switzerland in 1964 in connection with the German Intensive Agriculture Programmes in Mandi District, Himachal Pradesh.

Other Information : Took special interest to help sick and downtrodden; Former President, Himachal Pradesh Financial Corporation; Former Vice-Chairman, Social Welfare Board, Himachal Pradesh; Former Executive Member, Jawahar Lal Nehru Memorial Fund Committee, Himachal Pradesh; Former Member, (i) A.I.R. Advisory Board, (ii) Tourists Advisory Committee, (iii) Lajpat Rai Centenary, Committee, (iv) Himachal Council for Women's Education, (v) Regional Sub-Committee for collection of funds for Jawahar Lal Nehru Memorial Fund and for Lal Bahadur Shastri National Trust and (vi) Governing Body, Bhartiya Gramin Mahila Sangh of India.

DAS, SMT. MIRA

[Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Padmacharan Mohanty
Date and Place of Birth	:	10 November, 1941; Village Jenapur, Distt. Puri (Orissa)
Marital tatus	:	Married Shri Bimal Das on1 May, 1958
Children	:	One daughter and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., LL.B.
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1989	:	President, State Women's Wing of J.D.
April, 1990	:	(Elected to Rajya Sabha (Janata Dal, Orissa)
Other Positions held	:	Previously Associated with (i) Janata Party and (ii) Lok Dal
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Contributed articles in different Oriya publications
Other Information	:	Working for upliftment of children and Women; President, Mahila Mahashakti Sangha; Founder, Mahila Mahashakti Sangha; Secretary, Sailabala Women's College Union.

DAS, MS. SHOILA BALA*

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Madhu Sudan Das
Date and Place of Birth	:	25 March, 1875; Calcutta
Marital Status	:	Spinster
Educational Qualifications	:	Studied up to College level
Profession	:	Social and Educational Worker
Positions held		
1924—30	:	Municipal Commissioner, Patna
1952	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Orissa)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Author of *Life of Madhsudan*
Other Information	:	Helped her father in organising the first Utkal Union Conference and Industrial Ex-

* Died; ob. ref. in R.S. on 29 April, 1968.

hibition; helped in starting of I.A. Classes in Ravenshaw Girls School (now Sholla Bala Women's College); started and organised Several Institutions, *e.g.*, the Utkal Young Men's Association, the Industrial School for Girls' the first Girls High School, the Hindu Widow's Training School, The Bihar and Orissa Council of Women, Maternity and Child Welfar Centres in Patna and Cuttack; Organised Village uplift and town cleaning work in Cuttack; rendered war-service in various department; interested in refugee work; and had worked for getting the legal practioner, Act amended in favour of women; gave evidence before Lothian Commission, Delimitation Committee; was President, (i) Assessment Committee, and (ii) Music Board and Domestic Science and Hygiene, Patna; was Vice-President, National Council of Women in India; was Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Council of Women; was Member, (i) Syndicate, Patna University, (ii) Board of Secondary Education and University delegacy Patna, and (iii) Governing Body, Prince of Wales Medical College. (now P.M.C.H.) Patna; was Fellow of the Patna University and the Utkal University; was Hony. Magistrate and Jail Visitor, Patna and Cuttack.

DAS, SMT. MONIKA

[Ex–Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Dr. Anukul Chandra Boral
Date and Place of Birth	:	1939; Dacca
Marital Status	:	Married Dr. C.R. Das (since deceased) in 1954
Children	:	Three daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
April, 1980	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Congress (I) Karnataka]
1982	:	Member, Committee on Papers Laid on the Table, Rajya Sabha
Other Positions held	:	Former Joint Convener, A.I.C.C.(I) Women's Wing; Former Member, Executive Committee, K.P.C.C., (ii) Executive Committee, PCC (I), Karnataka
Travels Abroad	:	Bangkok, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Nigeria, Singapore, South Korea; Participated as Indian Delegate in the Inter-

Parliamentary Spring Session at Lagos, Nigeria

Other Information : Took part in social work, public health activities and welfare of Harijans and downtrodden; Founder-President, Progressive Art Circle Hubli, Dharwar; Former President, (i) All India Railways Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Employees South Central Railways and (ii) Hubli Dharwar slum Dwellers Association; Former Director, South Range, All India Women's Voluntary Services; Former Member, (i) Labour Working Committee, Ministry of Labour, (ii) Marriage Law Committee, (iii) Cardamom Board and (iv) Bharat Guide Commission, Railway, trained at Sangam.

DAS, SMT. PUSHPA LATA

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri R. Saikia
Date and Place of Birth	:	27 March, 1915; North Lakhimpur, Assam
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Omeo Kumar Das
Children.	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Positions held		
1952	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Assam)
April, 1956	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Assam)
1956–58	:	Member, Public Accounts Committee.

DEORI, SMT. OMEN MOYONG

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Kuttik Moyong
Date and Place of Birth	:	2 July, 1943; Pasighat, East Siang Distt. (Arunachal Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri T.S. Deori on 15 October, 1962
Children	:	Two daughters and three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Studied up to B.A.
Profession	:	Social Worker and Entrepreneur
Positions held		
May, 1984	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong. (I), Arunachal Pradesh)
July, 1988	:	Member, Committee on Subordinate Legislation
Other Positions held	:	Former President, Arunachal Pradesh, Congress Commitee (I); Former Vice-President, Arunachal Pradesh Congress (I)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Wrote articles in magazines and souvenirs

Travels Abroad : Germany, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Nepal, Singapore, Thailand; attended the International Women's Conference in Berlin in 1975 in connection with the International Women's Year

Honours and Awards : Awarded (i) 'Gold Medal' by the Administrator of the Union Territory for dedicated social work for the emancipation of women and the down-trodden of the Territory, 1975 and (ii) Padma Shree for outstanding social service, 1984

Other Information : First Woman in Arunachal Pradesh to take up social and political work; rendered pioneering service for the then NEFA and the country as a whole; among the first batch of local tribal females to attend school and college; actively associated with Social Welfare Board both at the Centre and State; took a leading part in the establishment of Arunachal Pradesh Social Welfare Advisory Board, of which she was the first local member; First Woman M.P. from Arunachal Pradesh; was Chairman, (i) Arunachal Pradesh Social Welfare Advisory Board, (ii) Public Implementation Committee in Daporiji and Tezu; was Vice-President Mahila Imdad Committee, Itanagar; was Vice-Chairman Arunachal Pradesh, Social Welfare advisory Board; was Member, (i) National Children's Board, New Delhi, (ii) Telecommunications Board for North East region, (iii) North-East Cultural Zone, (iv) Implementation Committee for commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of India's Independence and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Centenary.

DESHMUKH, SMT. G. DURGABAI*

[Ex – Member, C.A. & P.P.]

Date and Place of Birth : 1909; Madras

Marital Status : Married Shri C.D. Deshmukh

Educational Qualifications : M.A.,LL.B.

Profession : Advocate

Positions held

1946–49 : Member, Constituent Assembly (Madras)

1950 : Member, Provisional Parliament (Cong., Madras)

Other Information : Suffered imprisonment for participating in Congress movements; was Founder, Balika Hindi Pathsala, Cocanada; was Secretary Andhra Mahila Sabha and its Trust Board; and was Secretary and Provincial Agent, Kasturba Memorial Committee.

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* Died on 9 May, 1981; ob ref. in L.S. on 17 August, 1981.

DESHMUKH, SMT. VIMAL PANJAB

(Ex-Member, R.S. & L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Jairam Nana Vaidya
Date and Place of Birth	:	24 October, 1906; Bombay
Marital Status	:	Married, Dr. P.S. Deshmukh (since deceased) 26 November, 1927
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., LL.B.
Profession		Advocate
Positions held		
June 1965 to March 1967	:	Member,* Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Amravati, Maharashra)
19April 1967 to 2 April 1977	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Congress, Mahrashtra)
Travels Abroad	:	Canada, Japan, Phillipines, U.K., U.S.A. and West Germany; Leader of Youth Group

* Elected in a by-election.

which represented India in the International Social Workers Conference held in Toronto in 1954

Honours and Awards : Won the first prize in All-India Women's Food Council in the Cheap and Balanced Diet Competition, February 1954

Other Information : Collected funds for Pandharpur Orphanage when a student; Former President, (i) All India Kurmi Kshatriya Mahasabha Silver Jubilee Session held in Calcutta, (ii) Bangle Merchants Association Conventions held in Madras and Patna; Former Vice-President, (i) Shivaji Education Society, Amravati, (ii) Bharatiya Gramin Mahila Sangh, (iii) All India Women's Food Council; Former Treasurer Bharatiya Gramin Mahila Sangh Founder Member, (i) Vanita Samaj Amravati, (ii) Vanita Samaj, New Delhi, and (iii) Bharatiy, Gramin Mahila Sangh Former Member (i) Ad Hoc Committee for Social and Moral Hygiene, (ii) Women's Small Savings Committee, (iii) All India Women's Conference, Vidarbha Branch (thrice).

DEVI, SMT. CHANDRA BHANU

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Jageshwar Prasad Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	18 November, 1947; Vill. Ramdiri., Distt. Begusarai
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Ramakant Choudhary in June 1962
Children	:	Two daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., B.Ed.
Profession	:	Professor, Educationist, Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
April, 1974 to July, 1977	:	Vice-Chairman, Zila Parishad, Begusarai
1984	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Balia, Bihar]
Other Information	:	Former Lecturer, Cooperation College, Begusarai and Former Principal, R.B.S. College, Teyai, Begusarai.

DIKSHIT, SMT. SHEILA

[Ex–Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Shrikrishna Kapoor

Date and Place of Birth : 31 March, 1938; Kapurthala (Punjab)

Marital Status : Married Shri Vinod Kumar Dikshit on 11 July,1962

Children : One daughter and one son

Educational Qualifications : M.A.

Profession : Political and Social Worker

Positions held

1984–89 : Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth)
Cong. (I), Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh]

1985–86 : Member, Estimates Committee

1986–89 : Member, Business Advisory Committee

1986–89 : Member, Rules Committee

1986–89 : Member, C.P.R.

12 May 1986–25 June 1988 : Union Minister of State of Parliamentary Affairs

25 June 1988–2 December 1989 : Union Minister of State of Parliamentary Affairs and in the PM's Office

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled

Other Information : Former Executive Secretary, Garments Exporter's Association

DIXIT, SMT. KALAWATI

[Member, P.P.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Shiva Datt Trivedi
Date and Place of Birth	:	16 May, 1918; Kanpur
Marital Status	:	Married Dr. Chandra Shekhar Dixit on 8 July, 1933
Children	:	One daughter and three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Vidushi (Hons.), Ayurveda Ratna
Profession	:	Ayurvedic Pysician
Positions held		
1950	:	Member, Provisional Parliament (Cong., Madhya Pradesh)
Other Information	:	Took keen interest in uplift of Harijans and women; Founder, Kasturba Dharmarth, Aushadhalya, Sagar; Former President, Health Committee of Janpad Sabha, Sagar; Former Member, Mahila Sangh, Sagar.

DUBEY, SMT. SAROJ

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Saryu Prasad Trivedi

Date and Place of Birth : 5 September, 1938; Faizabad (Uttar Pradesh)

Marital Status : Married (Dr.) Justice J.N. Dubey on 22 June, 1965

Children : One daughter and one son

Educational Qualifications : M.A. (Pol.Sc.), B.Ed.

Profession : Political and Social service

Positions held

1974 : President, City Women Congress, Allahabad; Organization Secretary, City Congress Committee, Allahabad

1982—85 : Member, Social Welfare Advisory Board, Uttar Pradesh; Member, Anti-Dowry Consultative Committee, Uttar Pradesh

1989 : President, Women Janata Dal, Uttar Pradesh Region

1991 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (Janata Dal, Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh)

Other Information : Specially interested in uniting different women's organisations and serving the people suffering from natural calamities and tragic accidents; raising voice against any kind of exploitation of women and getting the guilty punished, creating awareness among women about population control and helping the Harijans and unorganised women labourers to get justice, opening of shcools for children of poor and backward classes, etc.; Former President, (i) Women Welfare Council, Uttar Pradesh, (ii) Women and Child Development Committee, Uttar Pradesh.

DUTT, SMT. NARGIS*

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Abdul Rashid
Date and Place of Birth	:	1 June, 1929; Calcutta
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Sunil Dutt on 11 March, 1958
Children	:	Two daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Senior Cambridge
Profession	:	Film Actress and Social Worker
Positions held		
April, 1980	:	Nominated to Rajya Sabha
August, 1980	:	Member, Committee on Petitions
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Acted in more than 50 films
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; organised and participated in the show for Ghalib Centenary in London; put up shows to collect funds

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* Died; ob. ref. in R.S. on 4 May, 1981.

for Bihar flood victims in Kuwait and the United Kingdom

Honours and Awards : First lady of the film world to be awarded 'Padmashree' in 1959; received best actress award (i) for acting in "Mother India" from (a) Karlovy Vary Film Festival Czecholovakia, and (b) from Peru and Greece and (ii) "Urvashi" from President of India for acting in "Rat Aur Din"

Other Information : Organised Amber Flow Ball for Defence of India during Chinese aggression; organised and participated in the shows for Ghalib Centenary in India; was Patron, (i) The Spastic Society, Bombay and (ii) Rang Kala Manch, Bhopal; was President, Central Bombay Bharat Scouts and Guides District Association; was Chairman, Meena Kumari Charitable Trust for the Blind; was Vice-President, The Ajanta Arts Welfare Troupe—an Organization founded by Shri Sunil Dutt for entertaining Defence Personnel (including wounded Officers and Jawans) after the Indo-Chinese conflict in 1962; was Director, Uttar Pradesh Chal Chitra Nigam Limited, Lucknow; was Member, (i) Jury, Children's Films Moscow, (ii) Jury Karlovy Vary International Film Festival, (iii) Telephone Advisory Board Bombay, (iv) Film and Television Institute of India, Poona , (v) Reconstituted Children's Film Society, Delhi, (vi) Mahila Samaj Entertainment Wing, (vii) Society for Assistance, Rehabilitation, Relief and Aid, Maharashtra, (viii) War Widows Association, Bombay Branch; was Life Member, (i) Federation for the Welfare of the Mentally Retarded (India) New Delhi, (ii) Justice of Peace (Senior Executive Magistrate, for Maharashtra State; was Honorary Member, Bombay Panel for recommending entries to the International Film Festival 1975.

GANDHI, SMT. INDIRA*

[Ex – Member, R.S. & L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru

Date and Place of Birth : 19 November, 1917; Allahabad

Marital Status : Married Shri Feroze Gandhi (since deceased) on 26 March, 1942

Children : Two sons

Educational Qualifications : Educated at various schools and institutions like Ecole Nouvelle, Bex, Switzerland, Ecole Internationale, Geneva, Pupils' Own School, Poona and Bombay, Badminton School, Bristol, Visva Bharati Santiniketan and Colleges like Somerville College, Oxford; Honorary Doctoral Degrees Conferred by various universities; Andhra, Agra, Bangalore, Vikram, Punjab, Gurukul, Nagpur, Jamia Millia, Poona, EL Salvador of Buenos Aires,

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* Died on 31 October, 1984; ob. ref. in L.S. and R.S. on 17 January, 1985.

Waseda of Tokyo, Moscow State, Oxford, Charles of Prague, Mauritius, Baghdad and the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, D.Litt.(Honoris Causa, Andhra and Agra Universities)

Positions held

1955	:	Member, C.W.C. and Central Election Committee of the Party
1956	:	President, (i) All India Youth Congress, (ii) Women's Deptt., A.I.C.C.
1958	:	Member, Central Parliamentary Board of Congress
1959-60	:	President, I.N.C.
Jan., 1978	:	President, I.N.C.(I)
Aug., 1964–Feb., 1967	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)
2 July, 1964-11 Jan.,1966 11 Jan., 1966-24 Jan., 1966	:	Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting
24 Jan. 1966-13 March, 1967	:	Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy
9 Nov., 1966-13 Nov., 1966	:	Also held additional charge of Ministry of Home Affairs
1966–77	:	Chairman, Planning Commission
1967–70	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Rae-Barelli, Uttar Predesh)
1967–77	:	Leader, Congress Parliamentary Party
13 Jan., 1967–18 March, 1971	:	Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy
5 Sep., 1967–18 March, 1971	:	Also assumed the office of Minister of Planning
5 Sep., 1967–14 Feb., 1969	:	Also assumed the office of Minister of External Affairs
16 July, 1969–27 June, 1970	:	Also assumed charge of Minister of Finance
1971–77	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Cong., Rae-Barelli, Uttar Pradesh)

27 June, 1970–18 March, 1971	:	Also assumed temporary charge of Ministry of Home Affairs
18 March, 1971–24 **March, 1977**	:	Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy
18 March, 1971— 5 Feb., 1973	:	Also assumed the office of Minister of Home Affairs
18 March, 1971—8 Nov., 1973	:	Also assumed temporary charge of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
18 March, 1971–24 April, 1971	:	Also assumed temporary charge of Ministry of Planning
2 June, 1972–24 March, 1977	:	Also assumed the office of Minister of Space
17 June, 1971-5 Feb., 1973	:	Also assumed the charge as the Minister of Electronics
6 June, 1973—23 July, 1973	:	Also assumed temporary charge of Ministry of Steel and Mines
2 Jan, 1975–24 March, 1977	:	Also assumed temporary charge of Ministry of Planning Also assumed the office of Minister of Science and Technology
1 Dec., 1975–21 Dec., 1975	:	Assumed temporary charge of the Ministry of Defence
1978	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth)* [Cong. (I), Chickmaglur, Karnataka]
1980–1984	:	Member Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong. (I), Medak, A.P.]
Jan., 1980		Leader Cong. (I), Parliamentary Party
14 Jan., 1980–31 Oct., 1984	:	Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy
19 Oct., 1980–31 Oct., 1984	:	Also assumed the charge of the Departments of Electronics Science and Technology and Space

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* Eleted in a by-election.

14 Jan., 1980–15 Jan., 1982	:	Also held charge of Ministry of Defence
19 July, 1984–31 Oct., 1984	:	Held charge of Ministry of External Affairs
3 Aug., 1984–14 Aug., 1984	:	Held charge of Ministry of Industry
Other Positions held	:	Was Chairman, National Integration Council of A.I.C.C.; was Member (I), organs of (A.I.C.C.(I) Working Committee, (ii) Central Parliamentary Board, (iii) Central Election Committee, (iv) Central Disciplinary Action Committee, (v) Seven men Committee for General Elections, (vi) Fund Collection Committee, (vii) Programme Sub-Committee
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Citation of Distinction from Columbia University; Publications to her credit *The years of challenge* 1966–69; *The years of Endeavour* 1969–72; *India* (London) 1975; Inde (*Lausanne*) 1979; and numerous other collections of speeches and writing
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled all over the world, and had paid official visits to the following countries Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangla Desh, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Federal Republic of Germany, France, German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, NewZealand, Nigeria, Oman, Poland, Rumania, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobage, U.A.R., The United Kingdom, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia and United Nations Headquarters
Honours and Awards	:	Recipient of Bharat Ratna, 1972; Mexican Academy Award for Liberation of Bangla Desh, 1972; 2nd Annual Medal FAO, 1973; Sahitya Vachaspati (Hindi) by Nagari

Pracharani Sabha, 1976; also recipient of Mother's Award, U.S.A. 1953; Isibella d'-Este Award of Italy for outstanding work in diplomacy, Yale University's Howland Memorial Prize for two consecutive years in 1967 and 1968, was the woman most admired by the French according to a special Gallup Poll Survey in U.S.A., Diploma of Honour conferred by the Argentine Society in 1971 for the Protection of Animals

Other Information : Actively participated in the freedom struggle; In the early childhood founded Bal Charkha Sangh and in 1930, 'Vanar Sena' of children to help Congress Party during Non-Cooperation Movement; and also worked on Sundays and holidays in home for children of lepers in Naini, worked in slum areas amongst the untouchables when in boarding school in Poona, worked in riot-affected areas of Delhi under Gandhiji's direction, in 1947; Had been associated with a large number of organisations and institutions; was Chancellor, (i) Viswa Bharti University, (ii) Jawaharlal Nehru University and (iii) North-Eastern University; was Patron-in-Chief, Indian Council for Africa; was Life-Patron, Indian Council for Child Welfare; was Patron, (i) Foreign Students Association in India and (ii) Indian Society of International Law; was President, (i) Board of Trustees of Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, (ii) Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, (iii) Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, (iv) Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Society, (v) Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund; was Honorary President, Advisory Council of Education Centre, International Cooperative Alliance; was Vice-President International Council of Child Welfare; was Chairman, (i) Swaraj Bhavan Trust, (ii) Bal Bhavan Board and Children's National Museum, New Delhi, (iii) Citizen's Central Council and Sangeet Natak Akademi, (iv) New York World Fair

Advisory Committee of the Ministry of International trade, (v) Citizen's Central Council and (vi) Hindi Salahkar Samiti; was Founder and President, Kamla Nehru Vidyalaya, Allahabad; was Founder and Chairman, Bal Sahyog, New Delhi; was Vice-Chairman, Central Social Welfare Board; was Trustee, (i) Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and (ii) Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trutst; was Member, (i) Delhi University Court, (ii) Executive Board of UNESCO, (iii) National Defence Council, (iv) Executive Committee of National Defence Fund, (v) National Integration Council, (vi) Edwina Mountabatten Memorial Fund, (vii) Governing Body of Tibetan's Homes Foundation and (viii) All India Handicrafts Board; was associated with, (i) Federation of Film Societies of India, (ii) India International Centre, (iii) Children's Book Trust and (iv) the Associated Journals Ltd, Lucknow

GANDHI, SMT. MANEKA

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father' Name : Shri T.S. Anand

Date and Place of Birth : 26 August, 1956; Delhi

Marital Status : Married Shri Sanjay Gandhi (since deceased) on 29 September, 1974

Children : One son

Profession : Writer, Animal and Environmental Activist

Positions held

May, 1988 : Gen. Secratary, J.D.

1989 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) (J.D.,* Pilibhat, Uttar Pradesh)

1989–6 November 1990 : Union Minister of State, Environment and Forests

21 November 1990— 21 June, 1991 : Union Minister of State (Independent Charge) Environment and Forests

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Books published, (i) *Sanjay Gandhi* (1980), (ii) Stories for children (1988), (iii) 1001

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* Member, Janata Dal (S) with effect from January 11, 1991.

Animal Quiz (1989); and (iv) *Brahma's Hair* (1989) Edited, Surya Magazine; regular Columnist for magazines and newspapers

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; Delegate to (i) United Nations Environment Programme Consultations in Nairobi, Kenya, Jan. 1990, (ii) White House Conference on Science and Economic Research on Global Change, Washington D.C., April 1990 and (iii) discussions on Montreal Protocol, London, June 1990

Other Information : Specially interested in Indian mythology, animal welfare, environmental protection, consumer protection, vegetarianism; Former Managing Trustee, the Ruth Cowell Foundation which runs the Sanjay Gandhi Memorial Animal Care Hospital, the largest animal shelter in India; Sponsor, Friendicoes Animal Shelter; Former Member, (i) Animal Friend and (ii) Animal Protection Society; Organiser, (i) Self-Employment Schemes for Widows in Uttar Pradesh (ii) "Free a Bird Campaign", August 1989; Activist, Beauty without Cruelty.

GANGA DEVI, SMT.*

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's : Shri Chanda Lall

Date and Place of Birth : 10 December, 1916; Dehradun

Marital Status : Married Shri Jaipal Singh on 21 June, 1941

Children : One daughter and one son

Educational Qualifications : B.A. (Sahitya Shiromani)

Positions held

1952–57 : Member, Lok Sabha (First)
(Cong., Lucknow-*cum*-Barabanki-Res.SC, Uttar Pradesh)

1957–62 : Member, Lok Sabha (Second)
(Cong., Unnao,-Res. SC, Uttar Pradesh)

1962–67 : Member, Lok Sabha (Third)
(Cong., Mohanlalganj-Res. SC, Uttar Pradesh)

1962–64 : Member, Executive Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament

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* Died on 24 May, 1984; ob. ref. in L.S. on 23 July, 1984.

1963–64	:	Member, Estimates Committee
1967–70	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Mohanlalganj-Res. SC, Uttar Pradesh)
1967	:	Member, Executive Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament
1971 - 77	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Cong., Mohanlalganj-Res. SC, Uttar Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	Was Member, District Congress Committee, Unnao and Lucknow
Other Information	:	Took keen interest in the development of village industries, welfare of Harijans and other backward classes, eradication of casteism and communalism; was President and Founder, All India Depressed Classes League, Women's Section; was President, (i) Post and Telegraph Employees Union, Meerut, (ii) All India Scheduled Castes Uplift Union and (iii) Rashtriya Seva Sansthan; was Organiser, Rashtriya Seva Sangathan; was Member, (i) Scholarship Board for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes of India, (ii) Tea and Coffee Board, (iii) Central Social Welfare Board and (iv) Catering Committee, Northern Railway.

GAUTAM, SMT. SHEELA

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Mohan Lal Gautam

Date and Place of Birth : 15 November, 1931; Allahabad (Uttar Pradesh)

Marital Status : Married Lt. Col. H.S. Gautam (since deceased) on 21 February, 1951

Children : One daughter and one son

Educational Qualifications : B.A., B.Ed., Diploma in Management

Profession : Business and Agriculture

Positions held

1991 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth)
(B.J.P., Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh)
Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Health

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled

Other Information : Specially interested in social services; President, Upbhokta Salahkar Samiti, Agra Mandal; Former President, (i) Lucknow University Old Students, Association and (ii) Mahila Udyami Sangathan, Noida, U.P.; Chairperson and Managing Director, M/s Sheela Foam Pvt. Ltd., Vice-President, Gautam Shiksha

Samiti, Vrindawan, Vidyapeeth; Member (i) District Industries Samiti Salahakar Board, Aligarh (ii) ZURCC; Former Member, UP Harijan Samaj and Kalyan Board and (ii) UP State Samaj Kalyan Salahakar Board.

GAYATRI DEVI, RAJMATA OF JAIPUR

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : H.H. the Maharaja Shri Jitendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur of Cooch Bihar

Date and Place of Birth : 23 May, 1919; London

Marital Status : Married H.H. Maharaja Sawai Man Singhji Bahadur of Jaipur (since deceased) in 1940

Chidlren : One son

Educational Qualifications : Educated at Shantiniketan, Bolepur, Brilliamont Laussae, Switzerland, London School of Secretaries, London and Minkey Club, London

Positions held

1962–67 : Member, Lok Sabha (Third)
(Swatantra Party, Jaipur, Rajasthan)

1967–70. : Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth)
(Swatantra Party, Jaipur, Rajasthan)

1971–77 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth)
(Swatantra Party, Jaipur, Rajasthan)

Other Positions held : Former President, Rajasthan State Swatantra Party; Former Vice-President, All India Swatantra Party

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Book on *"A Gourmet's Gateway"*

Travels Abroad : America and Europe

Other Information : Former President, All India Badminton Association; former Chairman, (i) Governing Council of the Maharani Gayatri Devi Girls Public School, Jaipur, (ii) Board of Trustees of the Sawai Jai Singh Bluevolent Trust, (iii) Maharani Gayatri Devi Soldiers Welfare Fund, (iv) Board of Trustees of Sawai Ram Singh Shilpa Kala Mandir and (v) Maharaja of Jaipur Museum Advisory Council; Former Vice-President, All India Lawn Tennis Association; Former Member, (i) Sawai Man Club, Jaipur, (ii) Delhi Golf Club, Delhi and Trustee, Maharaja of Jaipur Museum.

GAYATRI DEVI, SMT.

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Ganga Ram
Date and Place of Birth	:	1905; Vill. Garh Kundal, Distt. Sonepat, Haryana
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Choudhary Charan Singh (since deceased) on 5 June, 1925
Children	:	Five daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Studied up to Tenth Standard
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1969 and 1974	:	Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly
1980	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh) (Janata (S), Kairana, Uttar Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	Previously associated with I.N.C., Bharatiya Kranti Dal and Bharatiya Lok Dal
Travels Abroad	:	U.S.A.
Other Information	:	Actively participated in freedom movement and was arrested in 1930; Former President, Arya Samaj, Ghaziabad for eleven years and (ii) Uttar Pradesh Women Association.

GHOSH GOSWAMI, SMT. BIBHA

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Banamali Goswami

Date and Place of Birth : 12 January, 1934; Hidia Vill. Jessore District, East Bengal (now Bangladesh)

Marital Status : Married Shri Santosh Kumar Ghosh in 1950

Children : Three daughters and three sons

Educational Qualifications : B.A. (Hons.), B.T.

Profession : Teacher

Positions held

1971–77 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth)
(CPI (M), Nabadwip-SC, West Bengal)

1977–79 : Member, Lok Sabha (Sixth)
(CPI (M), Nabadwip-SC, West Bengal)

1977–84 : Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Education, Social Welfare and Culture

1980–84 : Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh)
(CPI (M), Nabadwip-SC, West Bengal)

1984 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth)
(CPI(M), Nabadwip-SC, West Bengal)

Others Positions held : Served as Member, Joint Committee on Marriage Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1981

Other Information : Took special interest in education and history; Former President, West Bengal Democrate Women's Association, Nadia District; Former Vice-President, West Bengal Democratic Women's Association; Former Member, (i) Executive Committee of All India Democratic Women's Association, (ii) All Bengal Teacher's Associations and (iii) West Bengal State Welfare Advisory Committee.

GIRIJA DEVI, DR. (PROF.)

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Rajeshwari Prasad N. Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	1 January, 1941; Chhapra in District Saran (Bihar)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Baidya Nath Pandey on 10 June, 1962
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., M.Mus., D. Litt.
Profession	:	Musician, Teacher and Educationist
Positions held		
1991	:	Eleted to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (J.D., Maharajganj, Bihar)
Travels Abroad	:	Nepal
Other Information	:	Specially interested in instrumental music (Indian Classical), service for the destitutes, poor and downtrodden people; Chairperson, Chandravati Seva Sansthan, Chhapra; Secretary, Kala Vihar, Patna; Member, (i) AIR Audition Board, Patna, (ii) Executive Committee, Bihar Sangeet Kala Akademi and (iii) Governing Body, Gandharva Mahavidyalaya Mandal, Bombay.

GIRJA KUMARI, SMT.

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Vijai Bahadur Singh

Date and Place of Birth : Born at Emlai, Distt. Jabalpur

Marital Status : Married Shri Laxman Singh in 1952

Children : One daughter and one son

Educational Qualifications : Educated at Emlai School

Profession : Agriculturist

Positions held

1959 - 67 : Member, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly

1967 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Shadol-Res. S.T., Madhya Pradesh)

Other Information : Took special interest in the welfare of the people; former President, Village Cooperative Society, Munda, Distt. Shadol; Former Member, (i) State Social Welfare Board, Madhya Pradesh, (ii) Shahdol District Advisory Committee and (iii) Tribal Welfare Board, Madhya Pradesh.

GODFREY, SMT. MARJORIE

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Victor Collins
Date and Place of Birth	:	29 March, 1919; Hyderabad
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Allen Godfrey on 10 January, 1949
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	Teacher
Positions held		
1971–77	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth) (U.I.P.G., Nominated-Anglo Indian)
Other Positions held	:	Former Nominated Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly for 4 years
Other Information	:	Took special interest in education and serving humanity particularly the downtrodden; Former Vice-President, Governing Body of the All India Anglo-Indian Association; Former Assistant Commissioner, Girl Guides; Former Member, (i) Central Social Welfare Advisory Board, (ii) T.B. Board, (iii) Divisional Railway

Users' Consultative Committee, Guntakal Division and (iv) Ladies of Charity; State representative, Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian Education.

GOPALAN, SMT. SUSEELA

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Velukurry Thander
Date and Place of Birth	:	29 December, 1929
Marital Status	:	Married Shri A.K. Gopalan (since deceased) on 10 September, 1929
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	Political Worker
Positions held		
1948	:	Joined the Communist Party
1965	:	Elected to Kerala Legislative Assembly (while in Jail)
1967	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Comm. (M), Ambalapuzha, Kerala)
1980	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh) (C.P.I. (M), Alleppey, Kerala)
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (C.P.I.(M), Chairayinkill, Kerala)

Member, State Sectt., C.P.I.(M), Kerala
Member, Central Committee, .C.P.I.(M), Kerala

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Translated the book *'The Golden Flower'* from English to Malayalam

Travels Abroad : Burma, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Romania, U.K., U.S.S.R. and Vietnam

Other Information : Was active in the Students' Movement; participated in the Students' struggle in 1947 against the then Diwan of Travancore; jailed for 16 months in 1965-66; arrested and detained for one week during the Emergency period; President, (i) Women's Federation, (ii) Kerala Coir Workers' Centre and (iii) All India Democratic Women's Association; Chairman, Kerala Circle Coordination Committee of NFPTE; Vice-President, (i) All India C.I.T.U. and (ii) Kerala Union, C.I.T.U; Secretary, Kerala Working Women's Co-ordination Committee.

GOPIDAS, SMT. DEVAKI*

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Date and Place of Birth : 1918; Kallikatt, Karapuzha, Kottayam

Marital Status : Married Shri Vezhapra A. Gopidas

Children : Two daughters and three sons

Educational Qualifications : B.L.

Profession : Government Servant (1942–46) and Advocate

Positions held

1948 : Member, Travancore Legislative Assembly and later of Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly and Kerala Legislative Assembly

1954–56 : President, Mandal Congress, Kottayam (Undivided) West and East Mandalams

April, 1962 : Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Kerala)

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* Died on 31 May, 1973; ob. ref. in R.S. on July, 1973.

Other Positions held : Was Member, (i) Indian National Congress while a college student, (ii) Kottayan D.D.C. and (iii) Kerala, P.C.C.

Other Information : Took active part during the State Congress movements in Travancore State; was President, (i) Kottayam Mahila Samaj, (ii) Ex-servicemen's Transport Co-operative Society Ltd., (iii) Kottayam District Nursery Schools Association and (iv) Sree Naravan Sevika Samaj and conducting Working Girls Hostel; was Vice-President, All Kerala Anti-Drink Movement; was Director SNDP also was its Councillor; was Member, Executive Committee, (i) Red Cross Society, Kottayam Branch, (ii) Kottayam Co-operative Milk Supplies Union Ltd., (iii) Santhi Bhavan, Kottayam, Manganam Balagam, (iv) Rescue Shelter, Kottayam, (v) Abala Mandiram, Kottayam, (vi) Khadi and Village Industries Board, Kottayam, (vii) Development Council, (viii) Grama Seva Kendram, Natassery, Kottayam and (ix) Vanasthali Vidyapith, Rajasthan; was Member, (i) State Social Welfare Board, (ii) All India Prohibition Committee, (iii) Central Family Planning Board, (iv) Indian Nurses Council, (v) National Harbour Board and (vi) Kerala State Advisory Committee for the Welfare of the Handicapped; was Hony. Lady Probation Officer for Kottayam, Ernakulam and Trichur Districts.

GORE, SMT. MRINAL

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Prof. Narayan Ganesh Mohile
Date and Place of Birth	:	24 June, 1928; Kher, Bombay
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Keshav, S. Gore on 1 October, 1948
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	Passed the First M.B.B.S. Examination
Profession	:	Political and social worker
Positions held		
1961–73	:	Member, Bombay Municipal Corporation
1972–77	:	Member, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly
1977	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth) (Janata Party, Bombay North, Maharashtra)
Other Positions held	:	Previously associated with the Socialist Party and Samyukta Socialist Party; Former Member, Committee on Estimates and Library Committee of the Lok Sabha
Other Information	:	Worked amongst women through A.I.W.C., other women's organisations and through Anti-Price Rise Women's Committee and also worked amongst hutment-

dwellers and other tenants; Formerly running an Institution for Health Consultation and Family Planning, etc., and a Reference Library for the benefit of Student, etc.

GUHA, SMT. PHULRENU
[Ex – Member, R.S. L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Surendra Nath Datta
Date and Place of Birth	:	13 August, 1912; Calcutta
Marital Status	:	Married Dr. Bires Chandra Gupha (since deceased) on 17 July, 1943
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., D. Litt.
Profession	:	Teacher, Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1964–70	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Congress, West Bengal)
3 March–1967–14 Feb., 1969	:	Union Minister of State, Ministry of Social Welfare
14 Feb. 1969—26 June 1970	:	Union Minister of State in the Ministry of Law in the Deptt. of Social Welfare
1970–72	:	Convener, Refugee Committee, A.I.C.C.
1971	:	Convener, Bangladesh Committee, ARCC

1971–72 : Chairman Mahila Sibir, Bangladesh Mukti Sangram Sahayak Committee, A.I.C.C.

1984 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Eight)
[Cong. (I), Contai, West Bengal]

Other Positions held : Previously associated with Juganter Revolutionary Party; Member, A.I.C.C.

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published , *The Role of Voluntary Organisations in Promotion of Nutrition to Pre-School Children* (English); *Social Thoughts of Beangales*—From Raja Ram Mohan to Swami Vivekananda (Bengali); *Participation of Women in Economic Activity* (Bengali); Women and Society (Bengali); *Social Work—Nineteent century* (Bengali) and *Some Sides of Bengalee Society in Nineteent century* (Bengali)

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled

Honours and Awards : Awarded Padma Bhushan, 1977

Other Information : Joined political movements as a worker of the Jugantar Party (A revolutionary Pary of Bengal) at the early age of 15; connected with freedom movement; evaded arrest twice by going under ground; Former President, (i) Karma Kutir, (ii) Indian Council for Child Welfare, (iii) All India Women Conference, Calcutta Branch, (iv) Sampradaya Birodhita Committee, West Bengal Branch, (v) Rani Jhansi Bahani, (vi) Indor-GDR Cultural Society, West Bengal Branch, (vii) Adim Jati Savak Sangh, West Bengal Branch; Former Working President, Niraksharata Durikaran Samiti (Removal of Illiteracy); Former Chairman, (i) Women's Education Committee of the Board of Secondary Education, (ii) Women's Small Savings Campaign, West Bengal (iii) Secondary Board of Education, Women's Committee, West Bengal, (iv) West Bengal Social Welfare Board, (v) State Family Planning Board, (vi) Family Welfare Industrial Coopeative Society Ltd. for Women, (vii) Birla Planetarium Advisory Committee (viii) Association for Social

Health in India, West Bengal (also its Secretary and Vice-President), (ix) Social Service Sub-Committee of Indian Defence Aid Committee, West Bengal (was also its General Secretary), (x) West Bengal Council for Child Welfare, (xi) Task force on Child Welfare Committee, Planning Commission, Government of india, (xii) Women's Group, Bangladesh Mukti Sangram Sahayak Committee, (xiii) National Forum of women, West Bengal Branch, (xiv) Centre for Women's Development Study, New Delhi, (xv) Committee on Status of Women in India (Government of India) Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, West Bengal Branch; Former Working Chairman, (i) Indo-Soviet Cultural Association, West Bengal, (ii) National Integration and Democratic Rights and (iii) Bangaledesh Maitri Samiti; Former Vice-President, (i) West Bengal Council for Child Welfare, (ii) All India Women's Conference (iii) Indo-GDR Association and (iv) International Children's year Association (Non-Government); Former Vice-Chariman, (i) West Bengal Social Welfare Board, (ii) Women's Coordination Council, (iii) West Bengal Women's Food Council, (iv) All Bengal Women's Union; Former General Secretary; (i) All India Women's Conference, (ii) Social Service Sub-Committee, Indian Defence Aid Committee, West Bengal, (iii) Women's Section, State Citizens' Committee, (iv) Atis Dipankar Millennium Celebration Committee; Former Secretary, (i) Student Fund, Government Girls' High school, Sylhet, (ii) Night School Calcutta, (iii) Slum School Calcutta (iv) Medical Relief Society, (v) Azad Hind Relief Committee (Women's Section), (v) Save the Children Committee (India) (Also its member 1943-46 and 1964-65), (vii) United Council of Relief and Welfare, Bengal Branch, (viii) All India Women's Conference Calcutta Branch (also the member of its Standing Committee, General Secretary and Vice-

President as well) (ix) West Bengal Social Welfare Board; Former Joint Secretary, Indian Students Association, Paris; Former Member, (i) Standing Committee, All India Women's Conference, (ii) Adim Jati Sewa Sangh, (iii) Board fo Secondary Education, Bengal (iv) Film Censor Board (Regional), (v) West Bengal Women's Food Council, (vi) Indian Council for Children Welfare, (vii) West Bengal Council for Child Welfare, (viii) Committee on Women's Education, (ix) Council for Women's Education, (Government of India) (x) Secondary Board of Education, West Bengal, (xi) Committee on Integration of Training of Gram Sevikas and Schools Teachers, (xii) Advisory Committee of National Women's Small Savings, (xiii) Social Welfare Committee, Government of west Bengal, (xiv) State Vagrancy Advisory Board, West Bengal, (xv) Faculty of Education, Calcutta university, (xvi) State Council of Women's Education, West Bengal, (xvii) State Family Planning Board, West Bengal, (xviii) Institute of Children's Film, West Bengal, (xix) Central Advisory Committee of the Rual Housing Wing, National Buildings Organisation, (xx) Governing Body Lady Irwin College, (xxi) Women's Advisory Committee of National Cooperative Union, (xxii) Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, (xxiii) Standing Advisory Committee on Social Work Education and Training, University Grants Commission, (xxiv) Family Planning Board, (xxv) West Bengal Emporium, (xxvi) Central Social Welfare Board, (xxvii) Governing Body, Basanti Devi College (xxviii)State Planning Board, West Bengal, (xxix) Steering Group on Welfare Planning Commission, Government of India, (xxx) Steering Committee, Planning Commission, Government of India, (xxxi) Government Body, Charu Chandra College; (xxxii) Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, (xxxiii) National Committee for International Women's year, (xxxiv) West Bengal Peace

Committee, (xxxv) National Peace Council, (xxxvi) Indo-Soviet Cultural Association, (xxxvii) Children Board, West Bengal Government and (xxxviii) Save the Children Committee (India) Former Member-in Charge, All India Women's Conference; Former Executive Member, Indian Council for Child Welfare; Former Adviser, Indian Institute of Social Welfare and 2Business Management.

GUPTA, SMT. PRABHAWATI

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Gajadhar Prasad Gupta
Date and Place of Birth	:	2 February, 1928; Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Rajendra Prasad on 2 December, 1948
Children	:	One daughter and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1952–62 and 1977–84	:	Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly
1961-62	:	Parliamentary Secretary to Chief Minister of Bihar
1967–73	:	Convener, Women's Wing of Bihar Pradesh Cong. (I)
1972–77	:	Member, Bihar Legislative Council
1973–74	:	Minister of State for a Mines and Geology
1977–80	:	(i) General Secretary, Bihar Pradesh Cong. (I) Committee and (ii) Chairperson of one of

		the Sub-Committees of the Assurance Committee
1980–83	:	Minister of State for Jails, Transport and Housing (Independent charge)
Oct. 1983	:	Cabinet Minister for Labour, Employment and Training, Government of Bihar
1984	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Motihari Bihar]
1985-86	:	Member, Public Accounts Committee
Other Positions held	:	Held Finance Portfolio under Chief Minister; Former Member, (i) Panel of Presiding Officers in Bihar Legislative Assembly and Council and (ii) Finance Committee
Travels Abroad	:	Member, (i) Political Mission to Mauritius approved by Government of India in 1976 and (ii) to delegation of I.L.O. Conference held in Switzerland in 1984
Other Information	:	Took active interest in the upliftment of women, rural development and welfare of weaker sections of society and children and development of formal and non-formal education; Former Member, State Social Welfare Board.

HABIBULLAH, SMT. HAMIDA

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Nawab Nazir Yar Jung,
Date and Place of Birth	:	20 November, 1916; Łucknow (Uttar Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Maj. Gen. E. Habibullah on 22 September, 1938
Children	:	Two daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A. (Hons.)
Profession	:	Housewife, Social and Political Worker, Qualified as V.A.D. Nurse
Positions held		
Since 1969	:	Member, A.I.C.C.
1969–74	:	Member, Legislative Assembly, Uttar Pradesh
May 1971 to June 1973	:	State Minister of Social, Harijan Welfare, National Integration, Civil Defence and Tourism, Uttar Pradesh
April 1976	:	Elected to Raya Sabha (Congress Uttar Pradesh)

Aug.1980 : Member Committee on Government Assurances, Rajya Sabha

Other Positions held : Former Member, P.C.C., Uttar Pradesh

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; was in England and Europe from 1936 to 1938 and during this period visited most of European countries; went to Soviet Union with the First Indian Military Delegation at the invitation of Marshal Zhukov, Defence and Prime Minister of USSR in 1957; addressed the Public meetings at the London University projecting India's stand on Indo-Pak war in 1965; attended (i) International women's Conference at Helsinki (Finland) with a delegation from India in 1970 and (ii) World Peace Conference at Copenhagen as a delegate in 1970; (iii) Women's Conference in Iran as Government of India's representative in 1971; was invited to Calcutta to support the Bangla stand in its struggle in 1971 and after the war visited Dacca at the invitation of the Bangladesh Government, (iv) Peace Conference meeting in Moscow on behalf of Indo-Soviet Cultural Society (ISCUS) in 1971 and (v) International Conference of Women, Bulgaria in 1975

Honours and Awards : Gold medalist in order of merit, Women's College (Osmania University), Hyderabad

Other Information : Associated with troops families welfare; Former President, (i) 'Orphanage', Hyderabad, (ii) Troop Families Association, Peshawar Bangalore, Shillong, Ranchi, Khadakvasla, National Defence Academy and many other Army Stations in India and (iii) Avadh Ladies Club; Founder President, (i) Urdu Academy, U.P., (ii) Managing Committee, Avadh Girls Degree College and Talimgah Women's College, Lucknow; Former Vice-President, (i) Child Welfare Council, U.P., (ii) Troops Welfare, Malaya; Former Member, Executive Council, Lucknow University.

HENSMAN, SMT. MONA

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Lt. Col. R.K. Mitter
Date and Place of Birth	:	25 August, 1899; Berhampore, Ganjam
Marital Status	:	Married Dr. H.S. Hensman (since deceased)
Chidren	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A. (Hons.), Teachers' Diploma
Profession	:	Professor (English, History and French)
Positions held		
1937–52	:	Madras Legislative Council
1952–56	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Madras)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Contributed articles in various newspapers and magazines
Travels Abroad	:	Widely Travelled
Other Information	:	Took special interest in social service and welfare of women and children; Former President, (i) Juvenile Court, (ii) Hony. Presidency Magistrate's Association and (iii) Regional Conference, Y.W.C.A.; Former Vice-President, (i) World's Y.W.C.A.

(Geneva), (ii) Academic Council, Syndicate of the University of Madras, (iii) Madras Y.W.C.A. (IV) National Y.W.C.A., (v) Children's Aid Society, (vi) Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, (vii) Central Advisory Board of Education and various Hospital ,College and School Committees and (viii) Women's Co-operative Movement, Madras; Former Member, (i) National Council of Women in India, (ii) All India Women's Conference and (iii) Senate, Madras University; formerly Recruiting Officer, W.A.C. (I); University Representative of International Conference of Social Work; appointed to the Board of Directors of the United States Educational Foundation of India; was Examinar in English, Madras University and Examiner in French, Andhra University and Principal, Ethiraj College for Women, Madras; Former Hony. Presidency Magistrate and Justice of the Peace.

HEPTULLA, DR.(SMT.) NAJMA AKBARALI

[Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Syed Yousuf Ali
Date and Place of Birth	:	13 April, 1940; Bhopal (Madhya Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Akbarali Heptulla on 7 December, 1966
Children	:	Three daughters
Educational Qualifications	:	M.Sc. (Zoology), Ph.D. (Cardiac Anatomy)
Profession	:	Social worker and doing Research in scientific field
Positions held		
July 1980	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Maharasthra]
1980-81	:	Member, Joint Committee on Marriage Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1981
1981-82	:	Member, Committee on Rules, Rajya Sabha
1982–84	:	(i) Nominated to the Panel of Vice-Chairmen, Rajya Sabha (ii) Member, Committee on Petitions, Rajya Sabha (iii) Member, General Purposes Committee, Rajya Sabha

1984-85	:	Member, Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts
January 1985 to January 1986	:	Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha
July 1986	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Maharashtra]
1986-87	:	General Secretary, AICC (I)
1987	:	Elected Vice-Chairperson of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (first woman ever to hold the office)
November, 1988 to July 1992	:	Re-elected Deputy-Chairman, Rajya Sabha
1988	:	Chairperson, Committee on Privileges, Rajya Sabha
1990	:	(i) Elected President of the Women's Group, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (i) Elected member of the Environment Committee of the Inter-Parliamentary Union
July 1992	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I) Maharashtra]
10 July, 1992	:	Re-elected Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha
Other Positions held	:	General Secretary, Science Forum of Parliament; Member, Indian National Congress
Litterary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Published several Research Papers in Foreign and Indian Journals; Contributed to many Indian and Foreign magazines on issues related to Women; Member Advisory Committee and Editorial Board of two Research Journals *'The Indian Journal of Zoology'* and *'Journal of Anatomy'*; Editor and Publisher of the Quarterly magazine *'Dialogne Today'* since 1986. Author of the books, (i) India's Progress in Science and Technology, continuity and change, (ii) West Asia Relations—The Nehru Era, and (iii) Reforms for Women Future Options.
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Attended Asia, Pacific Conference on Women at Islamabad,

Pakistan 1984, (ii) Science and Technology Meeting at U.S.A. and Japan 1985, (iii) Annual Conference of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and Executive Committee Meeting at Kualalumpur, Malaysia 1987, (iv) the 4th Ruling National Democratic Party Conference on behalf of the Indian National Congress at Cairo, Egypt, (v) Inauguration of Science and Technology Exhibition as part of Indian Festival USSR at Moscow 1987, (vi) Special Session of UN at Geneva in 1988 and (vii) U.N. 1989, (viii) the Executive Committee Meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association at Port of Spain, Trinidad Tobago in 1988, (ix) Executive Committee Meeting and Annual Conference of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association at Canberra, Australia1989, (x) Meeting of Commonwelath Parliamentary Association at Harare, Zimbabwe in 1990, (xi) Meeting of Inter-Parliamentary Union at Punta de Leste, Uruguay 1990, and (xii) Celebration of 75th year of the establishment of Parliament of Turkey; Delegate to (i) Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference at Sasketchewan in 1985, (ii) The Annual Conference of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association at London in 1986, (iii) to attend the Executive Committee meeting of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association at Jersey, U.S.A.— 1986 and (iv) Indian National Congress to attend 27th CPSU meeting at Moscow, USSR 1986; As a Special Envoy of the Prime Minister to, (i) Saudi Arabia, 1989, 1990 and 1991, (ii) Iraq 1990, (iii) Kuwait 1990, (iv) Jordan, 1990, (v) UAE 1990, (vi) Fiji to attend the funeral of President Dr. Timoci Bavadra in 1989 and visited Malaysia on the invitation of the Speaker of the Senate in 1989

Honours and Awards : Got first division and stood first in the University in M.Sc. (Zoology); got Junior Fellowship and Senior Fellowship of CSIR for five year

Other Information : Special interests in promotion of scientific knowledge, economic cooperation, international understanding, upliftment of Women and Secular Values; Organised more than hundred Seminars for the Status of Women in India and submitted a plan of 17 points for the betterment of the conditions of Women. Founder, Maulna Multipurpose Higher Secondary School; President, (i) Indo-Arab Society, (ii) Indian House Wives Federation (iii) Maharashtra Parents-Teachers Association; Member, (i) Executive Committee of Indian Council for Cultural Relations, (ii) National Committee for International Women's year (iii) National Committee for Women, (v) Maharashtra Committee for the implementation of the National Plan of Action for Women, (iv) Bombay City Social Education Committee, (vi) All India Haj Advisory Board, (vii) Aligarh Muslim University Court, (viii) Executive Jamia Millia Islamia, (ix) Jawaharlal Nehru University Court and (x) Indian Science Congress for the last 18 years.

IKRAMULLAH, BEGUM SHAISTA SUHRAWARDY*

[Member, C.A.]

Positions held : Member, Constituent Assembly (Muslim League, Bengal)

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* Other information not available.

IMAM, SMT. AZIZA

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Dr. Wali Ahmed
Date and Place of Birth	:	20 February, 1924; Patna
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Syed Naqui Imam (since Deceased) on 15 August, 1941
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Senior Cambridge
Positions held		
March, 1973–76	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Bihar)
April, 1976	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha, [Congress (U), Bihar]
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, P.C.C. (Mahila Wing), Bihar
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Contributed articles in various magazines
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; visited Moscow as a Delegate of the National Federation of Indian Women during the International Year of the Child

Honours and Awards : Received several prizes in music (classical) and theatre

Other Information : Special interest in the upliftment of the weaker sections of the people and youth activities; Former President, (i) Ravindra Balika Vidyalaya, Patna; (ii) Mahila Vidya Kala Bhawan, Kadamakuan, Patna and (iii) Managing Committee, Aghore Prakash, Shishu Sadan, Patna; Chairman, (i) Bharatiya Gramin Mahila Sangh, Bihar Branch, Patna, (ii) Neel Kamal Kala Mandir, Patna, (iii) Mahabir Kala Kendra, Patna and (iv) Bihar State Social Welfare Advisory Board, Patna; Former Vice-President, (i) Indian Council of Social Welfare, Bihar Branch, Patna, (ii) Feroz Gandhi Memorial Foundation, Kanpur, (iii) Indo-China Friendship Society and (iv) Bihar Anjuman Taraqqui Urdu Hind, Bihar Branch, Patna; Former Secretary, Regional Seminar for Asia in the National Federation of Indian Women; Former Member, (i) Harijan, Sevak Sangh, Patna, (ii) Bihar State Citizens Council, (iii) Bihar State National Savings Advisory Committee, (iv) Bihar State Relief Committee, (v) All India Women Conference, Bihar Branch, Patna, (vi) Haj Committee Bihar, (vii) State Board of Bharat Sewak Samaj, Patna, (viii) Board of the (Adult) Social Education, Bihar, (ix) Designs Selection Committee, Institute of Industrial Designs, Bihar, Patna, (x) Tribal Women Training Centre, Dumka, (xi) Council for Child Welfare, Bihar Branch, (xii) Programme Advisory Committee, All India Radio, Patna, (xiii) Jail Advisory Committee of State Government, (xiv) State Family Planning Board, Patna, (xv) National Integration Committee, Bihar, (xvi) Indo-German Cultural Association, Bihar Branch, Patna, (xvii) South India Cultural Association, Bihar Branch, Patna, (xviii) Ravindra Parishad, Bihar Branch, Patna, (xix) Central Women's Relief Committee, Patna, (xx) Applied Nutrition Programme,

(xxi) State Advisory Committee for State after Care and Shelter-*cum*- Reception Centre, and (xxii) Zonal Catering Committee of North Eastern Railway; Former Convener, Family Planning Cell in the All India Panchayat Parishad.

INDRA KUMARI, SMT.*

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Raja Verendra Shah

Date and Place of Birth : 23 August, 1936; Bombay

Marital Status : Married Sh. Chetanya Raj Singh on 26 February, 1950

Children : One daughter and three sons

Educational Qualifications : Educated up to Tenth Standard and subsequently tutored at home

Profession : Agriculturist

Positions held

1980 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Janata (S), Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh]

Other Information : Encouraged women to work and be independent and also worked for village upliftment.

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* Died on 22 April, 1988; ob. ref. in L.S. on 29 April, 1988.

ISMALL, SMT. FATHEMA*

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Haji Yusuf Sobani
Date and Place of Birth	:	4 February, 1903; Bombay
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Mohd. Hasham Ismail (since deceased) on 26 May, 1926
Children	:	Four daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Senior Cambridge and Pre-medical
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
April, 1978	:	Nominated to Rajya Sabha
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled
Honours and Awards	:	Awarded (i) Padma Shree by Government of India in 1958 and (ii) "Dalit Mitra" by Government of Maharashtra

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* Died; ob. ref. in R.S. on 6 November, 1987.

Other Information : Participated in Quit India Movement; was a dedicated social worker in the field of education of women and children rehabilitation of the disabled; worked with (i) All India Women's Conference, Bombay and Simla, (ii) Maharashtra State Women's Council Bombay (Labour Committee), and (iii) All India Village Industries Association, Bombay and Simla; Organised, (i) Adult education classes in Muslim Mohallas, Bombay; and (ii) Muslim Student's Union, Bombay; was Founder, Indian Women's Association in Mombasa (Kenya), Zanzibar and 'M' Wanza in Tanzania and Kampala (Uganda); was Founder President (i) fellowship of the Physically Handicapped and F.P.H. workshop for the handiapped, (ii) Soiety for the Education of crippled, and (iii) S.E.C. Day School for Crippled Children; was Founder Organising Secretary, Society for the Education of Crippled Children and Children's Orthopaedic Hospital; was Organising Secretary, Bharat Sewak Samaj, Bombay; was Hony. Magistrate Juvenile Court and Justic of the Peace.

JAHANARA SHAH NAWAZ, BEGUM

[Member, C.A.]

Father's Name	:	Sir Muhammad Shafi
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 April, 1896
Marital Status	:	Married Mian Shah Nawaz in 1911
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at Queen Mary's College, Lahore
Profession	:	Political Worker

Positions held

1933	:	Elected Vice-President, AIML
1937	:	Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly
1937–43	:	Parliamentary Secretary, Education and Public Health, Punjab
1946	:	Re-elected to Punjab Legislative Assembly Member, Constituent Assembly (Muslim League, Punjab)

Other Positions held : Former Member, Lahore Municipal Committee

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishmens : Published *Husn Ara Begum* (Urdu)

Travels Abroad : Canada, U.K., U.S.A.; invited by the League of Nations as a Collaborator, 1932; Delegate to the RTC, 1930-31 and 1932-33 and Jcint Select Committee, 1934; Delegate to the League of Nations Advisory Commisson for Protection and Welfare of Children, 1935; Delegate to Pacific Relations Conference, Canada

Other Information : Engaged in social reform activities; was the first women (i) Member of AIML Council, (ii) Vice-President, Social Reforms Conference, Lahore and (iii) Lahore Municipal Committee; Former President, (i) Central Punjab Women's Conference, (ii) Delhi Women's Conference; Former Member, (i) Punjab Board of Film Censors, (ii) Provincial Executive Committee, (iii) A-I General Committee, Red Cross Society, (iv) A-I Muslim Women's Sub-Committee to organise women's support for the League, (v) Subjects Committee, League Legislators' Convention, Delhi and (vi) National Defence Council.

JAIN, SMT. CHANDRIKA ABHINANDAN

[Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Premi Molji Kenia
Date and Place of Birth	:	13 Jaunary, 1951; Bombay
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Abhinandan Jain in March, 1992
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., LL.B., LL.M., D.B.M.
Profession	:	Advocate
Positions held		
1985-86	:	Chair-person of the Committee on Subordinate Legislation, Maharashtra
March, 1986 to June, 1988	:	Minister of State for Education, Technical Education, Law and Employment Exchange in Maharashtra
April, 1990	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I), Maharashtra]
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly; Previously associated with Janata Party, and Shiv Sena
travels Abroad	:	Canada, U.K., U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.
Other Information	:	Board Adviser, NRI Foundation, India, New Delhi; Member, Internal Trade Committee of Indian Merchants' Chamber.

JAMUNA DEVI, SMT.

[Ex – Member, L.S. & R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Sukhaji Singhar
Date and Place of Birth	:	19 November, 1929; Sardarpur, Distt. Dhar
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Gulabchand on 16 December, 1946
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	Studied up to Matric
Profession	:	Political worker and Housewife
Positions held		
1952–57	:	Member, Madhya Bharat Legislative Assembly
1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Jhabua-ST., Madhya Pradesh)
1963–67	:	Convener, Distt. Mahila Cong. Jhabua; and (ii) Member, A.I.C.C.
1964–73	:	Member , P.C.C., Madhya Pradesh
1977-78	:	General Secretary, J.P., Madhya Pradesh
April, 1978	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Janata Party, Madhya Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Former Member, (i) Organisation Congress and (ii) Former Socialist Party of India

Other Information : Worked for social uplift of tribal village women and children; Former President, (i) Block Social Welfare Committee and (ii) All India Train Clerks and Yard Masters Association; Former Chairman, Rama Block, Social Welfare Committee; Former Secretary, Bhil Seva Sangh, Indore; Life Member, Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh; Former Member, (i) Nasha Nishedh Committee, Jhabua, (ii) Central Adivasi Advisory Board, Governent of India, (iii) Central Social Welfare Board, and (iv) Central Board, Bharat Sevak Samaj.

JAMUNA, SMT. JULURI

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Nippani Srinivasarao
Date and Place of Birth	:	30 August, 1936; Hampi in Distt. Bellery Karnataka
Marital Status	:	Married Prof. J.V. Ramana Rao on 4 August, 1965
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Matric
Profession	:	Film Artist and Social Worker
Positions held		
1983 onwards	:	Executive Member, PCC (I), Andhra Pradesh
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) (Cong.(I), Rajahmundary, Andhra Pradesh
1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
Other Positions held		Convener, Cultural Cell, Cong. (I), Andhra Pradesh
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Writing, production of T.V. Programmes, promotion of theatre arts; Career in films

spanning three decades; starred in over 200 Telugu movies besides Tamil, Kannada and Hindi films

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; Member, Delegations to USSR, UK, 1966, Film Delegations to Mauritus and Malayasia–1981; attended World Telugu Conference, USA, 1989 and the Telugu Association of North America Conference

Honours and Awards : Conferred the title 'Praja Nati' (People's Actress) in recognition of her contribution to films; Won the Filmfare Award for the Hindi Film 'Milan'

Other Information : Taken keen interest in her husband Prof. Rao's activities connected with the conservation of wildlife; Former President, Andhra Pradesh Professional Theatre Artistes Federation, Former Chairman, Andhra Pradesh Sangeet Natak Academy; Former Member, General Assembly, Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR).

JYALALITHA JAYARAM, MS.*

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri R. Jayaram
Date and Place of Birth	:	24 February, 1948; Mysore City
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	Matric
Profession	:	Retired from films and dancing career
Position held		
1st June, 1982	:	Joined A.I.A.D.M.K.
28 Jan., 1983	:	Propaganda Secretary, A.I.A.D.M.K
April, 1984	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (A.I.A.D.M.K., Tamil Nadu)
1984-85	:	Member, Public Accounts Committee
Other Positions held	:	Deputy Leader, A.I.A.D.M.K. (II) Group in Rajya Sabha
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Started learning dance at the age of five; performed her Arangetram (stage debut) in Bharata Natyam at the age of twelve; profi-

* Presently, Chief Minister, Tamil Naidu.

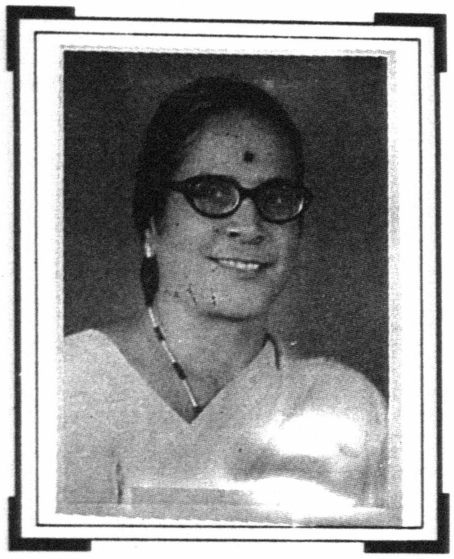
cient in Kathakali, Kuchipudi, Kathak, Manipuri and studied all forms of classical dances; started learning vocal, carnatic and classical music from childhood; sung some songs in her own films; cut a separate disc of devotional songs for Columbis; played the female lead in 115 films in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and one each in Hindi and English

Author of Books in Tamil, (i) *Manathai Thotta Malargal*, (ii) *Ennangal Sila;* and Novels, (i) *Uravin Kaithigal*, (ii) *Oruthike Sontham*, (iii) *Nenjile Oru Kanal*, and (iv) *Nee Inri Naan Illai*; Contributed articles to numerous leading periodicals in English and Tamil; proficient in Tamil, English, Hindi, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam

Travels Abroad : France, Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore, Thailand, and U.S.A.

Honours and Awards : Awarded Government of India Scholarship for higher studies but had to give up further studies in order to pursue film career; Commendation award by the Madras District Writers' Circle; won several awards for acting; was awarded 'Kalaimamani' title 1971-72

Other Information : Powerful speaker in English, Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Hindi; Former Patron and Member Tamil Nadu Cricket Association; Former Member, Tamil Nadu Government High Level Committee to oversee the implementation of the Nutritious Free Meals Scheme.



JEYALAKSHMI, SMT. VENKATASAMY

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri S. Ramasamy Naidu
Date and Place of Birth	:	6 November, 1932; Sengamala Nachiar Puram, Distt. Ramanathapuram
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Venkatasamy
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Intermediate
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Positions held		
Since 1969	:	Member, Tamil Nadu Congress Committee
Since 1971	:	Member, P.C.C.
Since 1971	:	Member, A.I.C.C.
1971	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Cong., Sivakasi, Tamil Nadu)
1974	:	President, D.C.C.
1977	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth) (Cong., Sivakasi, Tamil Nadu)
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, Estimates Committee
Travels Abroad	:	Former Member, Parliamentary delegations to Kuwait, Syria, Yugoslavia and Italy.

JHANSI LAKSHMI, SMT. N.P.

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri C.K. Chowdary
Date and Place of Birth	:	21 October, 1941; Visakhapatnam
Merital Status	:	Married Shri N.P. Veera Raghvelu Naidu (since dieceased) on 9 December, 1956
Children	:	One daughter and two sons
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Position held		
1983-84	:	Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly
1984	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) (T.D., Chittoor, Andhra Pradesh)
Travels Abroad	:	U.S.A.
Other Information	:	Former Secretary, Kasturba Centenary Committee; Former Regional Organiser, Women and Child Welfare.

JOSHI, MS. KUMUDBEN M.

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Manishankar Joshi
Date and Place of Birth	:	31 January, 1934; Kathwada District, Ahmedabad
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Positions held		
1973–76	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Congress, Gujarat)
1976–82	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Gujarat)
Aug.–Oct. 1980	:	Member, Committee on Petitions, Rajya Sabha
Oct. 1980–Jan. 1982		Union Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
April, 1982	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Congress(I), Gujarat]

15 Jan. 1982– 31 December 1984	:	Union Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
Other Positions held	:	Organised (i) Parliamentary elections in Bulsar, (ii) District level and State level political Conferences, (iii) District and block level Congress Committees and (iv) Mass Campaign for enrolment of Primary Congress Members in Valsad District; Former General Secretary, (i) DCC Bulsar, (ii) P.C.C. Gujarat
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Published Papers on different aspects of Cooperation
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled
Other Information	:	Organised (i) activities amongst Women in Tribal Areas, (ii) Youth Programmes, (iii) Camps including Shivirs and farmers camps for improvement in agricultural methods, (iv) activities regarding popularising prohibition and family planning amongst women and (v) cooperative education and training in cooperation and extension; Former Extension Officer (Education) for 8 years; Lady Co-operative Education officer for 4 years.

JOSHI, SMT. SUBHADRA

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Ch. Wisheshwar Nath Datta
Date and Place of Birth	:	1919; Barur, former C.P.
Marital Status	:	Married Shri B.D. Joshi in May, 1948
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Positions held		
1952-57	:	Member, Lok Sabha (First) (Cong., Karnal, Punjab)
1957 - 62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Ambala, Punjab)
1962 - 67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Balrampur, Uttar Pradesh)
1971	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Cong., Chandni Chowk, Delhi)
Travels Abroad	:	Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Repubic and U.S.S.R.

JOSHI, SMT. SUDHA VIJAY

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Vishwanath Rangrao Chitnis
Date and Place of Birth	:	10 June, 1940; Bombay
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Vijay Chintaman Joshi on 13 May, 1964
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.(Hons.)
Profession	:	Social worker and Stage and T.V. artist
Positions held		
1978	:	Convener, Bombay Pradesh Mahila Congress
April, 1984	:	Elected to the Rajya Sabha, [Cong.(I), Maharashtra]
1984	:	General Secretary, All India Mahila Congress
1984-86 and July 1988	:	Member, House Committee, Rajya Sabha
1985	:	Party Observer for Assembly and Parliamentary Elections in Punjab
1986	:	Member, Joint Committee on Offices of Profit

1987 : Party Observer for Assembly and Parliamentary Elections in Haryana and Nagaland

1988 : Party Observer for Assembly and Parliamentary elections in Meghalaya

Other Positions held : Special invitee, Executive Committee of Congress Party in Parliament and General Secretary, All India Mahila Congress and Convener, Mahila Congress, North-West District Bombay

Travels Abroad : Widely Travelled

Honours and Awards : Winner of Several State Awards for Acting in Marathi, Hindi and Sanskrit Plays

Other Information : Organised Mahila Seminars, Conventions, etc.; Former Chairperson of the Committee appointed by Ministry of Patroleum and Natural Gas for providing better services to L.P.G. consumers; Former General Secretary, (i) Lok Manya Seva Sangh Vile Parle, and (ii) 'Pravasini' an All India Institute for promoting tourism habits amongst women; Former Director, (i) Maharashtra, Toursim Development Corporation, (ii) National Federation of Labour Cooperatives, and (iii) 'Udyogini', an Institute running women's hostel in Bombay; Former Member, (i) Executive Committee of the Lok Manya Seva Sangh Vile Parle and (ii) Advisory Penel of Central Board of Film Censor.

KAILASHPATI, SMT.

[Ex – Member, L.S. and Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Chhanni Das Chaudhary
Date and Place of Birth	:	19 December, 1943; Lucknow
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Ram Dulare (since deceased) on 4 November, 1955
Educational Qualifications	:	Intermediate
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1971	:	Convener, District Women Congress
1972–74	:	Convener, Young Women Congress, Uttar Pradesh
1973–76	:	Convener, Women Youth Congress, Uttar Pradesh
1974–77	:	Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly
1980–84	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong.(I), Mohan Lal Ganj, Uttar Pradesh]
1980–82	:	Member, Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
1982–84	:	Member, Uttar Pradesh Congress (I) Working Committee

1985–88	:	Member, Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Uttar Pradesh]
1985–87	:	General-Secretary, U.P.C.C.(I)
1986–87	:	Member, Committee on Subordinate Legislation, Rajya Sabha
April, 1988	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I), Uttar Pradesh]
1988	:	Joint Secretary, A.I.C.C.
Other Positions held	:	General Secretary, All India Mahila Congress, Joint Secretary, A.I.C.C.
Travels Abroad	:	Dubai, Geneva, Moscow; Member, Indian Parliamentary Delegation to Geneva
Other Information	:	Courted arrest twice at the time of arrest of late Smt. Indira Gandhi, 1978; Former Treasurer, Baba Saheb Dr. Ambedkar Samiti; Former Convener, Harijan Sub-committee.

KALE, SMT. ANASUYABAI*

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Sadashive B. Bhate
Date and Pace of Birth	:	24 October, 1896; Belgaum (Karnataka)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Puroshottam Balakrishna Kale
Children	:	Two daughters and three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at Hujur Paga High School, Poona; Fergusson College, Poona and Baroda College, Baroda
Positions held		
1928	:	First woman nominated member of C.P. and Berar Legislative Council, Nagpur
1937	:	Deputy Speaker, C.P. Legislative Assembly
1952—57	:	Member, Lok Sabha (First) (Cong., Nagpur, Madhya Pradesh)
1957	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Bombay - Nagpur)

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* Died on 12 August, 1958; ob. ref. in L.S. on 12 August, 1958.

Other Positions held : Was Member, (i) A.I.C.C., (ii) Industrial Advisory Council, Ministry of Commerce and Industry

Travels Abroad : Was Member, Commonwealth Parliamentary Delegation to Canada

Other Information : Took special interest in family planning and social welfare; was President, (i) AIWC and (ii) Capital Punishment Relief Society; Founded Bhagini Mandal; started a branch of AIWC; was Dictator, War Council, Nagar Congress Committee; was Vice-President, C.P. Food Council; was Assistant Commissioner, Madhya Pradesh on Whitely Commission on Labour; was Member, (i) United Nation's Appeal for Children Committee and C.P. club and Gondwana club, Nagpur.

KALPANA DEVI, DR. (SMT.) T.*

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Chalasani Veera Raghavaiah
Date and Place of Birth	:	13 July, 1941; Bhatlapenumarru, Distt. Krishna
Marital Status	:	Married Dr. T. Narasimha Reddy on 10 July, 1961
Children	:	Two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.B.S.S.
Profession	:	Medical Practitioner
Positions held		
1984–89	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth) (TD, Warangal, Andhra Pradesh)
1989	:	Member, Estimates Committee, Lok Sabha
Travels Abroad	:	Hong Kong, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, and Thailand

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* Resigned from L.S. w.e.f. 24 July, 1989.

KAMALA KUMARI, MS.

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Somar Ram
Date and Place of Birth	:	14 January, 1937; Ranchi
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., Dipl. in Ed.
Profession	:	Teacher, Principal
Positions held		
1967–70	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Palamau-SC, Bihar)
1967–68	:	Member, (i) Parliamentary Committee for National Policy on Education and (ii) Consultative Committee of Ministry of Railways
1967–69	:	Member, (i) Committee on Government Assurance and (ii) Consultative Committee of Ministry of Education
1968–69	:	Member, (i) Joint Committee on Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Bill and (ii) Consultative Committee of Ministry of Steel and Heavy Engineering
1968–70	:	Member, Consultative Committee of Ministry of Shipping and Transport
1971–77	:	

		Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Cong., Palamau-S.C., Bihar)
1971–73	:	Member, Committee of the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
15 Jan., 1982 to 29 Jan., 1983	:	Union Deputy Minister, Agriculture and Rural Reconstruction
Sept., 1983	:	Joint Secretary, AICC(I)
1980–84	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) (Cong., Palamau-SC., Bihar)
1984	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Palamau-SC, Bihar]
1983-84	:	Member, House Committee, Lok Sabha
1985-86		Chairman, Joint Committee on Offices of Profit
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Railways
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; represented India at the Second Meeting of Co-ordinators of Non-Aligned Countries for Food and Agriculture at Pyongang (North Korea), June 10-12, 1981; Former Member, Indian Delegation to the 38th United Nations General Assembly Session at New York, September-December, 1983
Other Information	:	Working for Girls' education and upliftment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, particularly in the field of education; worked for communal harmony during communal riots at Ranchi, 1967; Presided over the All India "Dusadh Mahasabha" Conference (an organisation of ST/SC in 1965 in Patna and in 1966 at Gaya (Bihar); Former Member, (i) Bihar State Welfare Advisory Board, (ii) Executive Committee, All India Depressed Classes League, (iii) District Development Committee, Palamau, Bihar, (iv) Eastern Railway Catering Supervisory Committee, (v) All India Council for Sports and Games, (vi) All India Handicrafts Board, (vii) Bihar Secondary Education Board, (viii) Zonal Catering Supervisory Committee, N.E. Railway.

KARA, MS. MANIBEN

[Member, C.L.A.]

Date and Place of Birth : 18 February, 1905

Educational Qualifications : Diploma in Social Science, Educated at London School of Economics

Profession : Social Worker and Trade Unionist

Positions held

1932 and 1936 : Elected to Bombay Municipal Corporation

1946-1947 : Member (Nominated), Central Legislative Assembly (Labour)

Travels Abroad : France, U.K. and also visited several other countries; attended I.L.O. Foundation meeting in London, invited abroad several times for labour talks; represented Indian Labour in International Conferences

Honours and Awards : Awarded Padma Shree; received Gold Medal from International Transport Workers Federation

Other Information : Arrested by British Government in 1939; Former President, (i) All India Trade Union Congress, (ii) All India Railwaymen's

Federation, (iii) Hind Mazdoor Sabha and (iv) Western Railway Employees Union; Former Member President, Labour Education Society; Founder, Seva Mandir; Founder-Member, International Confederation of Free Trade Union; Former Member, (i) Status of Women Committee, Government of India, (ii) A.I.W.C., Labour Wing Maharashtra, (iii) State Women's Council; associated with (i) Bombay Municipal Workers Union, (ii) Textile Workers Union, and (iii) Dock Workers' Union; and also started a printing press.

KARREDULA, SMT. KAMALA KUMARI

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Hullakki

Date and Place of Birth : 8 August, 1946; Vill. Lakkavaram, Distt. West Godavari (Andhra Pradesh)

Marital Status : Married Shri Raja Rao on 15 May, 1968

Children : Three daughters and two sons

Educational Qualifications : B.A., B.Ed.

Profession : Matron

Positions held

1989 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) [Cong.(I), Bhadrachalam-ST, Andhra Pradesh]

1990 : Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Steel & Mines

1991 : Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong.(I), Bhadrachalam-ST, Andhra Pradesh]

23 June, 1991–Jan. 1993 : Union Deputy Minister, Ministry of Welfare

Other Information : Working for tribal upliftment, opening of schools and hostels and promotion of simple marriage ceremonies; specially interested in social service; Member, Indian Nursing Council.

KAUL, SMT. KRISHNA

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Mr. Justice Kishanlal Kaul
Date and Place of Birth	:	20 November, 1921; Lucknow
Marital Status	:	Married Shri P.N. Kaul on 16 February, 1940
Children		One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A. (Philosophy), M.A. (Hindi) L.T.
Profession	:	Educationist; Social Worker
Positions held		
1937	:	Joined Indian National Congress
April 1982	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong.(I), Uttar Pradesh)
1982–84	:	Member, Petitions Committee, Rajya Sabha

1984-85 : Member, Committee on Subordinate Legislation, Rajya Sabha

Other Positions held : Former Member, (i) Congress(I) Seva Dal, and (ii) Consultative Committee constituted under the Assam Legislatures (Delegation of Powers) Act, 1982

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Brought out a collection of Urdu Poems on Smt. Indira Gandhi, entitled *'Dillon-ki-Aawaz'*; published and brought out brochures on, (i) Anti-social Behaviour of Youth; and (ii) Methods of teaching Hindi; wrote articles and poems in Hindi and in Urdu and occasionally in English; Participated, organised and directed dramas, short-plays, musical, sports, dances; Research Guide for Ph.D. degree in Education; organised and participated in Mushairas and Kavi Sammelans

Other Information : Participated in the 'Quit India Movement; Former Patron, (i) Anusuchit Alp Sankhyak Avam Pichhra Varg Sangh, U.P., (ii) U.P. Balmiki Sabha, (iii) Unani Medical College Kanpur; and (iv) National Forum, Delhi; Former President, (i) Mahila Samiti, Kanpur, (ii) Safai Karmachari Samaj, Kanpur, (iii) Jijar Academy, (iv) National Integration Programme Kanpur, (v) Homoeopathic Medical College, Kanpur, (vi) Ladies Lines and Comforts League (looking after and providing necessary assistance to the needy and poor patients in hospitals, (vii) Nursing Brigade, Indian Red Cross Society, Kanpur, (viii) Kila Mazdoor Union, Kanpur (INTUC) and (INDWF) and (viii) Lioness Club Kanpur, Former Vice-President; St. John's Ambulance Association, Kanpur; Former Vice-Chairman, Indian Red Cross Society, Kanpur Branch; Former Member, (i) Citizens Council, Kanpur, (ii) Bharat Sevak Samaj, (iii) Hindustani Biradari, Kanpur, (iv) U.P. State Social Welfare Advisory Board, (v) Committee for Employment of Women under Women and Children Act, Ministry of Labour, (vi) Hindi Salahkar Samiti, Ministry of Commerce

and (vii) Telephone Advisory Committee, Uttar pradesh, Former Dean Faculty of Education, Kanpur University; Former Principal, D.W.T. College; Former Convener, (i) Board of Studies Faculty of Education, Kanpur University, (ii) Sena Sewa Samiti, Kanpur during Indo-Pak Wars, (iii) Standing Committee, for the Ministry of Commerce; Chief Warden, Civil Defence Reserve; Captain, Tennis.

KAUL, SMT. SHEILA
[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Rajeshwar Nath Kaul
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 February, 1915; Lucknow (Uttar Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Prof. Kailash Nath Kaul on 9 February, 1939
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., B.T.
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1959–65	:	Corporator, Municipal Corporation, Lucknow
1968–71	:	Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council
1971	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Cong., Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh)
1972–80	:	Vice-President, P.C.C., Uttar Pradesh
1975–77	:	General Secretary, C.P.P.
1980	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh) (Cong.(I), Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh)
1980–84	:	Member, Committee on Public Undertakings

Member, Committee of Privileges

Member, Joint Committee on Taxation (Amendment) Bill Education

Oct.,1980 to Dec., 1984 : Union Minister of State in the Ministry of Education and Culture and Social Welfare*

1984 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong.(I), Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh]

1988 : General Secretary, A.I.C.C.(I)

1989 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) [Cong.(I), Rae Bareli, Uttar Pradesh]

1990 : Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Civil Aviation

June 1990 : Member, Subject Committee on Science and Technology

1991 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong.(I), Rae Bareli, Uttar Pradesh]

Union Cabinet Minister, Housing and Urban Development

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; Member, (i) Delegation to I.P.U. Conference, France, 1971 and (ii) International Women's Congress, Berlin; Leader, (i) Congress Party Delegation to Yugoslavia, 1976 and (ii) Delegation to U.N. Commission on Status of Women, Copenhagen, 1980; attended, (i) International Conference on Role of Culture for Development of Man and Society, Sofia, Dec. 1980 and (ii) National Commission for International Year of the Child, Sofia, June 1981; addressed, (i) the Session of General Conference of UNESCO, Paris, Nov. 1982, (ii) First Conference of Ministers of Education and Culture of the Non-aligned and other developing countries, Pyongyang, Sept. 1983, and (iii) the 22nd session of the General Conference of UNESCO, Paris, 1983; Inaugurated the International Conference on Education, Geneva,

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* Independent charge from Aug.' 1981 to Dec..' 1984.

	1984; Member, (i) Indian Delegation to U.N. General Assembly, 1985 and 1987 and (ii) Indian Parliamentary Delegation to European Parliament, 1990
Other Information	Former Vice-President, Red Cross Society, Uttar Pradesh; President, (i) Lucknow Film Society, (ii) Lucknow Cricket Association and (iii) International Club, Lucknow; Vice-President, State Council of Child Welfare, Uttar Pradesh; Member, (i) India Literacy Board, New Delhi and (ii) A.I.W.C., Lucknow Branch.

KAUR, SMT. SUKHBUNS

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Arjan Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	14 September, 1943; Layalpur (Pakistan)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri P.S. Bhinder on 12 October, 1961
Children	:	Two daughters
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	Agriculturist, Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1980	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong.(I), Gurdaspur, Punjab]
1981-82	:	Member, Joint Committee to Examine the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961
1985	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong.(I), Gurdaspur, Punjab]
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) [Cong.(I), Gurdaspur, Punjab]

1992	:	Elected* to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong.(I), Gurdaspur, Punjab]
2 July, 1992	:	Minister of State, Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism, (Department of Tourism)
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled
Other Information	:	Worked as an Executive with ITDC and East India Hotels; also undergone training as Hotel Executive in Paris.

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* Returned in the election held on 19 February, 1992.

KESARKUMARI DEVI, RANI*

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Raja Raghuraj Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 November, 1902; Panderia Estate, Distt. Bilaspur (Madhya Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Raja Lal Nagendra Shah (since deceased) in 1915
Children	:	One daughter
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Positions held		
1957 - 62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Raipur - ST, Madhya Pradesh)
1962	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Third) [Cong., Raipur - ST, Madhya Pradesh]
Other Information	:	Took special interest in religious discourses and uplift of Adivasis; Ex-zamindarin of Bindra-Navagarh Estate, Madhya Pradesh.

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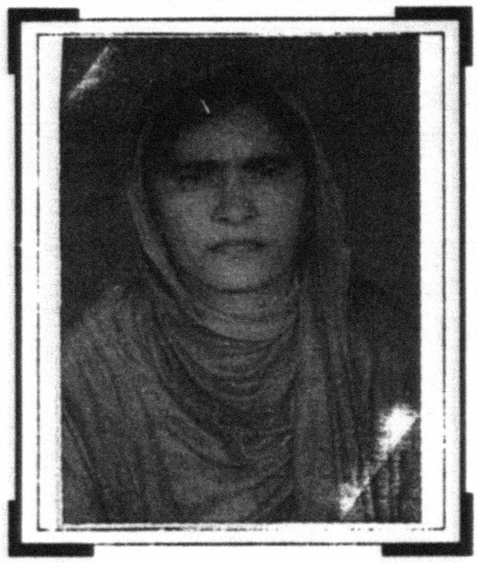
* Died on 3 May, 1962; ob. ref. in L.S. on 4 May, 1962.



KHALSA, SMT. BIMAL KAUR*

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : S. Gurbachan Singh

Date and Place of Birth : 7 November, 1950; Vill. Goray in Distt. Hoshiarpur, Punjab.

Marital Status : Married S. Beant Singh (since deceased) 23 January, 1976

Children : One daughter and two sons

Educational Qualifications : Matric

Profession : Political and Social Worker

Positions held

1989 Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth)
[S.A.D. (Mann), Ropar-SC, Punjab]

Other Information Services to the poor, handicapped and the sick

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* Died in 2 September, 1991; obit. ref. in L.S. on 6 September, 1991.

KHAN, SMT. SHYAM KUMARI*

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

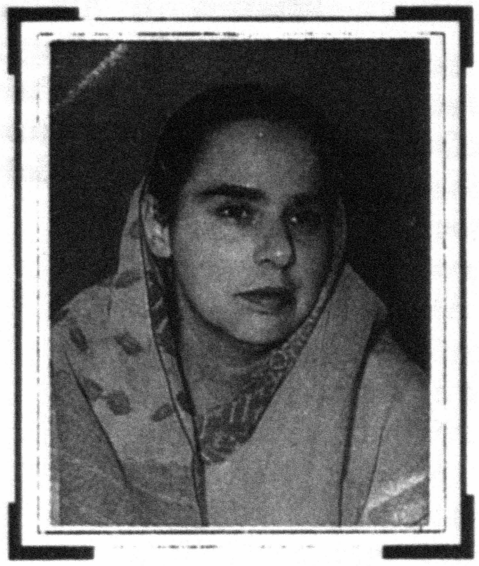
Father's Name	:	Shri Shamlal Nehru
Date and Place of Birth	:	20 October, 1904; Lucknow
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Abdul Jamil Khan (since deceased) on 15 December, 1937
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., LL.B.
Profession	:	Advocate
Positions held	:	
April, 1964	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Edited *Our Cause* and the Editor, *Democrat* (a weekly newspaper for one year); Contributed several articles on legal and social matters and on Women's and Children's problems

* Died on 15 April, 1980; ob.ref. in R.S. on 9 June, 1980.

Travels Abroad : Europe, Japan, U.K. and U.S.A. Alternate delegate to Economic and Social Council of United Nations (1953)

Other Information : Non-cooperated from Muir Central College, Allahabad in August 1920; Convicted for leading a banned Congress procession in 1931; First Women elected President, Vice-President and Secretary of Allahabad University Union; was Chairman, (i) Small Savings Committee (Allahabad Branch) and (ii) Bhartiya Grameen Mahila Sangh (U.P.) and was also its General Secretary; was Founder and President, Federation for University Women in India (Allahabad Branch); was Founder, General Secretary and Treasurer, Children's National Institute, Allahabad; was Vice-President (i) U.P. Council for Child Welfare, (ii) Moral and Social Hygiene Committee, U.P. (iii) All India Women's Conference (Lucknow Branch); was Vice-Chairman, Protective Homes, Lucknow; was General-Secretary, (i) Indian Council for Child Welfare, (ii) Allahabad Swadeshi Exhibition; was Secretary, (i) Swaraj Bhawan Trust, Allahabad, (ii) Allahabad Swadeshi League and (iii) U.P. Police Welfare Committee; was Member, (i) Local Advisory Committee of Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, Allahabad, (ii) All India Women's Conference Allahabad, (iii) Federation for University Women in India (Lucknow Br.), (iv) Managing Committee of Deaf and Dumb Institute, Allahabad, (v) Committee for Child Welfare (Central Govt.), (vi) U.P. State Social Welfare Advisory Board and was its Vice-Chairman as well as Member-in-charge of Socio-Economic Programmes and of After-care Programmes, in U.P., (vii) U.P. Social Welfare Ministry's Advisory Committee and Convener of U.P., Committee for Women and Children's Programmes, (viii) Labour Welfare Committee, Lucknow, (ix) Governing Body of Crosthwaite Girls College, Allahabad; was Oraganizer and Member,

Youth League, Allahabad; was Nominated Member, (i) Public Library Committee, Allahabad, (ii) Allahabad University Court; was Leader, Regional Family Planning Education; was Visitor, (i) Licensed institutions for Women and Children in Lucknow and (ii) Jails in Allahabad.



KHAN, SMT. USHI
[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Kundan Lal Dutt

Date and Place of Birth : 24 December, 1935; Kanpur

Marital Status : Married Shri Barkatullah Khan (since deceased) on 14 December, 1962

Educational Qualifications : Barrister-at-Law

Profession : Advocate

Positions held

April, 1976 : [Cong. (U), Rajasthan]

Other Positions held : Former Vice-President, Executive Committee, Pradesh Alp Sankhyak Vibhag, P.C.C., Rajasthan

Travels Abrod : Widely travelled; represented the Govt. of India in 1970 along with her late husband Shri Barakatullah Khan at the installation ceremonies of the Late President Allende of Chile and President Escheveria of Mexico; attended the silver Jubilee Session of the United Nations in New York in 1970 with her husband; was Member, Indian Delegation to the World Congress for Internation-

al Women's year held in East Berlin in October 1975

Honours and Awards : While at School participated in examinations conducted by the Poetry Society of London and was awarded certificates and medals, *viz.*, (i) School's Senior Certificate, (ii) Schools' Silver Medal, (iii) Schools' Senior Gold badge, (iv) Shakespeare Certificate (Recital) and (v) Shakespeare's Plaque (Recital)

Other Information : Strived to impress the need for having planned families specially among Muslim Women who are traditionally opposed to the idea of family planning and tried to relieve them of their taboos and reservations on this delicate subject; Patron, (i) University Campus Nursery School, Jaipur and (ii) Medicine Bank Society Jaipur; Former President, Shooting style of Volleyball Association of Rajasthan; Former Chairman, (i) Handicrafts Committee, Rajasthan, and (ii) Mahila Samiti for the Welfare of Jawans and their families; Former General Secretary, (i) State level, Committee of Rajasthan for the International Women's Year 1975, and (ii) Rajasthan Kisan Parishad; Former Director, (i) Rajasthan Small-Scale Industries Corporation and (ii) Indian Tourism Corporation (now known as (I.T.D.C.); Former Member, (i) Committee for Selecting documentaries, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, (ii) Rajasthan State Citizens' Council, (iii) Rajasthan Kisan Parishad and (iv) Rajasthan State Sports Council; Life Member Association for Social and Moral Hygiene.

KHAPARDE, MS. SAROJ

[Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Puroshottam S. Khaparde
Date and Place of Birth	:	15 August, 1941; Bombay
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Positions held		
1972– 76	:	Member Rajya Sabha (Cong., Maharashtra)
1976– 82	:	Member Rajya Sabha (Cong., Maharashtra)
1980-81 and 1981-82	:	Member, Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
1982-88	:	Member, Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I), Maharashtra]
1982-83 and 1983-84	:	Member, General Purposes Committee, Rajya Sabha
1982-83 and 1983-84	:	Chairman, House Committee, Rajya Sabha
1985-86	:	Member, Committee on Public Undertakings

12 May, 1986 to 4 July, 1989	:	Union Minister of State in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
4 July, 1989 to 2 Dec., 1989	:	Union Minister of State in the Ministry of Textiles
April, 1988	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I), Maharashtra]
1990	:	Member, Committee on Subordinate Legislation, Rajya Sabha
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; led (i) Indian Delegation to the 40th and 41st World Health Assembly, Geneva, (ii) the delegation of Ministers of Health in States to South Korea and Indonesia to study the Family Planning Programme; alternate Delegate at U.N.O.; Member, Indian Parliamentary Delegation to I.P.U. Conference at Seoul, South Korea Oct., 1983, and Geneva April 1984; attended International Women Conference at Berlin in 1972 and Copenhegan in 1981
Other Information	:	Special interest in welfare of women, children and weaker sections of the community; Member, (i) Jail Administration Reforms Committee, (ii) Central Advisory Committee for the Territorial Army and (iii) Railway Hindi Salahkar Samiti.

KHATUN, Ms. SAYEEDA

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Muqeem Ahmed Khan
Date and Place of Birth	:	15 January, 1944; Balaghat (Madhya Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.(Geography), LL.B., B.Ed.
Profession	:	Social Work
Positions held		
July, 1986	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I), Madhya Pradesh]
1986-87	:	Member, Committee on Rules, Rajya Sabha
Other Positions held	:	Former Vice-President, D.C.C. Balaghat, Member, All India Muslim Congress
Honours and Awards	:	Awarded Gold Medal for standing first in M.A. in University
Other Information	:	Special interest in upliftment of women, backward classses and Adivasi Harijans; Patron, Muslim Education Society, Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh; Former Convener, (i) Shikshak Congress (Vishishth Shiksha)

Madhya Pradesh and (ii) Backward Muslim Welfare Society, Balaghat; Former Vice-President, Kamla Nehru, Mahila Club, Balaghat; Organising Secretary, All India Qaumi Ekta; Former Member, (i) Hindi Advisory Committee, Ministry of Defence and (ii) Indian Medical Council,. Former Principal, Umrao Shafiqua Science College and Adult Education School.

KHONGMEN, SMT. BONILY

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Dr. M.S. Timung

Date and Place of Birth : 25 June, 1912; Jowai (Khasi - Jaintia Hills)

Marital Status : Married Shri W. Khongmen in 1934

Children : One daughter and four sons

Educational Qualifications : B.A.

Profession : Headmistress and Social Worker

Positions held

1946-52 : Member and Deputy Speaker, Assam Legislative Assembly

1952-57 : Member, Lok Sabha (First)
(Cong., Autonomous Distt. - ST, Assam)

Other Information : Worked for the welfare of tribal people and for the advancement of female and basic education; Founder of several schools in the Assam Hills; Former Vice-President, Khasi Jaintia National Conference; Former Member, (i) Advisory Councils of Khasi and Jaintia and Mikir Hills, (ii) Indian Red Cross Society; served as headmistress at (i) Golaghat Girls' School, (ii) Assamese Girls' School, Shillong, and (iii) Lady Reid School, Shillong.

KIDWAI, SMT. ANIS*

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Wilait Ali Kidwai "Bambook"
Date and Place of Birth	:	1906; Vill. Masauli, Distt. Bara Banki
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Shafi Ahmed Kidwai (since deceased) in 1920
Children	:	Two daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated privately
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
Since 1921	:	Member, Indian National Congress
1921–23	:	Secretary, Mahila Congress Committee, Masuali
1954–57	:	Member, A.I.C.C.

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* Died on 16 July, 1982; ob. ref. in R.S. on 19 July, 1982.

April 1956	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)
April 1962	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Authored *Char Rukh*, short stroies and dramas and articles on the works and lives of poets and writers (in Urdu)
Other Information	:	Was Founder-Secretary and Trustee, Women Service Home, Masauli, Distt. Bara Banki, was Vice-President, (i) All India Women's Conference, (ii) Anjuman Taraq-qi-e-Urdu, Delhi Branch and (iii) Mahila Vidya Mandir High School, Lodi Road, New Delhi; was Hony. Secy., Okhla Welfare Project; was Member, (i) Shanti Dals' Workers' Committee, (ii) Delhi State Mahila Samaj, (iii) Delhi State Social Welfare Advisory Board, (iv) Dini Talimi Board, (v) Executive Committee, Jamia Millia Islamia University, Delhi, (vi) Rafi Ahmad Kidwai Memorial Trust, (vii) Central Social Welfare Board and (viii) Executive Committee, Talim-e-Niswan School, Karampur, Dehra Dun; was Assistant Director, Talim-e-Taraqqi, Jamia.

KIDWAI, BEGUM SADDIQA*

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	: Shri Anwar-ur-Rehman Kidwai
Date and Place of Birth	: 25 March, 1914; Vill. Baragaon, Distt. Barabanki
Marital Status	: Married Shri Shafiq-ul-Rehman Kidwai (since deceased)
Children	: One daughter and three sons
Profession	: Social Worker
Positions held	
24 Nov., 1956 - 2 April, 1958 and 3 April, 1958–3 June, 1958	: Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Delhi)
Other Positions held	: Was Member, Delhi Municipal Committee
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	: Miscellaneous articles on child welfare and uplift of Women in India

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* Died; ob. ref. in R.S. on 18 August, 1958.

Other Information : Was engaged in social work among women and children; was Chairman, Najafgarh Project; Delhi Social Welfare Board; was Member, (i) Mahila League, Delhi, (ii) Mahila Bikas Kendra, Delhi, (iii) Delhi State Haj Committee, (iv) Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Board, Delhi and (v) Delhi State Prohibition Advisory Committee.

KIDWAI, SMT. MOHSINA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Qutubuddin Ahmad
Date and Place of Birth	:	1 January, 1932; Banda District
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Khalilur Rahman Kidwai on 13 December, 1953
Children	:	Three daughters
Educational Qualifications	:	Intermediate
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1973-74	:	Minister of State, food and Civil Supplies, Govt. of Uttar Pradesh
1974-75	:	Cabinet Minister, Harijan and Social Welfare, Govt. of Uttar Pradesh
May, 1960 to Feb., 1974	:	Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council
1974-77	:	Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly
1975-77	:	Cabinet Minister, Small-Scale Industries, Govt. of Uttar Pradesh

May, 1978 to August, 1979	:	Member*, Lok Sabha (Sixth) [Cong.(I), Azamgarh, Uttar Pradesh]
1976-80	:	President, P.C.C., (I), Uttar Pradesh
July, 1982	:	Re-nominated as President, P.C.C. (I), Uttar Pradesh
1980-84	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong. (I), Meerut, Uttar Pradesh]
11 Sept., 1982 to 29 Jan., 1983	:	Union Minister of State for Labour and Rehabilitation
29 Jan., 1983 to 2 Aug., 1984	:	Union Minister of State for Health and Family Welfare
1984	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong.(I), Meerut, Uttar Pradesh]
2 Aug., 1984 to 31 Oct., 1984 and again 4 Nov., 1984 to Dec. 1984	:	Union Minister of State (Independent Charge) for Rural Development
31 Dec., 1984 to 24 June, 1986		Union Cabinet Minister for Health and Family Welfare
24 June, 1986 to 22 Oct. 1986	:	Union Cabinet Minister for Transport
22nd Oct. 1986 to 2 Dec. 1989	:	Cabinet Minister, Urban Development
14 Feb., 1988 to 25 June, 1988	:	Held charge of Ministry of Tourism 22 Oct. to 2 Dec., 1989
Travels Abroad	:	Widely Travelled, Member, (i) Official Delegations to U.S.A., U.K., Tanzania, Mauritius, Kenya and United Arab Emirates, (ii) Women's Conferences in German Democratic Republic and (iii) World Peace Conference U.S.S.R., Brunei and Hungary
Other Information	:	Took special interest to help destitute, downtrodden, women and children: Founder Patron, (i) National Girls' Higher Secondary School, Barabanki, (ii) Condensed courses School for Promotion of

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* Elected in a by-election.

Literacy among Adult Women for making them self-supporting, (iii) Tailoring and Embroidery Centre for Women, and (iv) Bal Jagat for providing shelter to orphans and forsaken children and children belonging to the poor families.

KRIPALANI, SMT. SUCHETA*

[Member. C.A. & P.P. and Ex-Member, L.S.]

Date and Place of Birth : June 1908, Ambala (Punjab)
Marital Status : Married Acharya J.B. Kripalani
Educational Qualifications : M.A.
Profession : Professor

Positions held

1947 : Member, Working Committee, A.I.C.C.
Member, Constitutent Assembly
(Cong., United Provinces)

1948-50 : Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly

1950-52 : Member, Provisional Parliament,
(Cong., Uttar Pradesh)

1952-56 : Member, Lok Sabha (First)
(Cong., New Delhi, Delhi)

1957-62 : Member, Lok Sabha (Second)
(Cong., New Delhi, Delhi)

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* Died on 1 December, 1974; ob. ref. in L.S. on 2 December, 1974.

December 1960 to October 1963 : Minister of Labour, Community Development and Industry, Uttar Pradesh

October 1963 to March 1967 : Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh

1967 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Gonda, Uttar Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Was Secretary, Women's Section, Indian National Congress and its Foreign Department for one-and-a-half years, (ii) Relief Section, Indian National Congress; was associated with the P.S.P. for some years

Travels Abroad : Was Leader, (i) Parliamentary Delegation to Turkey, November, 1954 and (ii) Indian Delegation to the I.L.O. Conference, 1961; was Member, (i) Indian Delegation to the U.N. General Assembly, 1949 and (ii) Indian Delegation to the U.N. Seminar on Civic Responsibility and Increased Participation of Asian Women in Public Life, Bangkok, 1956

Other Information : Imprisoned in 1940 and 1944 for participating in Congress movements; was Chairman, Inquiry Committee re-Industrial Finance Corporation; was Organising Secretary, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust; was Member, Board of Trustees, Gandhi National Memorial Trust and also of its Executive Committee.

KRISHNA KUMARI, SMT.*

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Thakur Ravikaran Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	6 March, 1908; Kotava, Distt. Allahabad
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Yadvendra Singh in 1920
Children	:	One daughter and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated up to School level at Kotava School
Positions held		
1955	:	Vice-President, D.C.C. Rewa
April, 1954	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Madhya Pradesh)
Other Information	:	Participated in Quit India Movement, 1942 and sentenced for six months with fine of Rs. 500/-; Started two Primary Schools in her native place in 1943; was President, Mahila Sangathan, Rewa; was Member, Janata High School Board, Baikunthpur.

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* Died. on 7 June, 1962; ob. ref. in R.S. on 8 August, 1962.

KRISHNA KUMARI, JODHPUR RAJMATA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	H.H. Shri Ghanshyam Singhji of Dharangadhra
Date and Place of Birth	:	10 Februrary, 1926; Dharangadhra
Martial Status	:	Married H.H. Shri Hanuwantsinghji of Jodhpur (since deceased)
Children	:	Two daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated privately
Profession	:	Assisted the late Maharaja of Jodhpur in Statecraft
Positions held		
1971-77.	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Ind., Jodhpur, Rajasthan)
Travels Abroad	:	Europe, Lebanon and U.K.
Other Information	:	Associated with work relating to women's and children's welfare, rural health and promotion of education.

KRISHNAN, SMT. PARVATHI

[Ex-Member, R.S. & L.S.]

Father's Name : Dr. P. Subbarayan

Date and Place of Birth : 15 March, 1919; Ootacamund, Distt. Nilgiris

Marital Status : Married Shri N.K. Krishnan on 10 December, 1942

Children : One daughter

Educational Qualifications : B.A. (Hons.)

Profession : Full time worker in the Communist Party of India and Office- bearer in various trade unions

Positions held

1954—57 : Member, Rajya Sabha

1957—62 : Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Communist Party, Coimbatore, Madras)

1974 : Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Fifth) [(C.P.I.), Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu]

1977 : Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth) [(C.P.I.), Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu]

Other Positions held : Former Secretary, All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC); Former Treasurer (AITUC); Former Member, (i) The Action

Committee of the NCCRS which led the Railway General Strike of May 1974; (ii) Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India.

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Editor of the Journal of the Federation of Indian Students Society in England.

Travels Abroad : Represented the AITUC in many conferences abroad; Inaugurated the First International Conference of Working Women held in Budapest (Hungary) in 1956; represented India at the U.N. Conference for International Women's Year at Mexico, 1975.

Other Information : Had spent nearly three-and-a-half years underground from 1949 to 1952; was connected with the Indian Students' Movement in Great Britain during the War; Former President of the Oxford Majlis; Former Vice-President, Annamalai Plantation Labour Union, Valparais; Former General Secretary, Indian People's Theatre Association; Former Secretary, (i) All India Students Federation, (ii) Oxford Peace Council; Former Joint Secretary, Corporation Labour Union, Madras; Former Member, (i) Standing Committee of the Employees State Insurance Corporation, (ii) Executive Committee, Coimbatore Mill Workers' Union.

KRISHNENDRA KAUR (DEEPA), SMT.

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Raja Man Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	10 April, 1954; Bharatpur, Rajasthan
Marital Status	:	Married Kr. Vijay Singh Sirohi on 26 April, 1982
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Senior Cambridge
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Positions held		
1985-91	:	Member, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly
1985-86	:	Member, Government Assurances Committee, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly
1986-91	:	Member, Library Committee, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (B.J.P., Bharatpur, Rajasthan)
Honours and Awards	:	Gold Medalist in Hockey
Other Information	:	Specially interested in literature and social welfare; Associated with upliftment of the poor, working women's problems and development of the area.

KSHIRSAGAR, SMT. KESHARBAI

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Namdev Rao Machale
Date and Place of Birth	:	29 March, 1930; Nimgaon in Distt. Pune, Maharashtra
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Sonajirao Kshirsagar in 1945
Children	:	Three daughters and four sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Under-matriculate
Profession	:	Agriculturist and Social Worker
Positions held		
1959-62	:	Member, Bhir District Local Board
1959-72	:	Sarpanch, Gram Panchayat, Vill. Rajuri, Distt. Bhir (Maharashtra)
1967-72	:	Chairman, Taluka Panchayat Samiti, Bhir
1969-78	:	Member, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly
1980	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong.(I), Bhir, Maharashtra]
1984	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong.(I), Bhir, Maharashtra]

1985-89 : Member, Committee on Official Languages
Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Environment

Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of tourism

1991 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth)
[Cong.(I), Bhir, Maharashtra]

Other Information : Associated with Educational and Public service; Specially interested in social work; Former President, (i) Maharashtra Teli Samaj Sangathan, and (ii) Shri Gajanan Sahkari Shaker Mill, Bhir; Former Working President, (i) Akhil Bharatiya Teli Mahasangha; (ii) Mahila Mandal Board, (iii) Bhir District Committee and (iv) Maharashtra Land Development Bank; Former Founder, (i) Navgaon Educational Institute and (ii) Bhir and Model Educational Institute, Bhir; Former Chairman, Employment Guarantee Scheme, Maharashtra; Former Vice-President, Bhir District Market Committee; Former Vice-Chairman, Navgaon Shikshan Sanstha Rajouri.

KUDUMULA, MS. PADMASHREE

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Kudumula Meeraiah
Date and Place of Birth	:	24 September, 1961; Nellore in distt. Nellore
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	B.S.c. B.Ed., M.A.
Profession	:	Social Worker and Teacher
Positions held		
1986 onwards	:	Member, Cong.(I)
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong.(I), Nellore-SC, Andhra Pradesh]
Others Information	:	Interested in eradicating illiteracy of downtrodden and weaker sections.

KULKARNI, SMT. SUMITRA G.

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Ramdas Mohandas Gandhi
Date and Place of Birth	:	5 October, 1929; Lakhatar, Saurashtra (Gujarat)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Gajanan Raghunath Kulkarni on 26 January, 1962
Children	:	One daughter and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., LL.B.
Profession	:	Social, Political and Trade Union Worker since resigned from the Indian Administrative Service
Positions held		
April, 1972	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Gujarat)
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, Executive Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Contributed a number of articles on financial and industrial matters and memoirs on personalities of the past and present, published a book in Hindi "*Anmol Virasat*" (3 Vols.)

Travels Abroad : England, Europe Hong Kong, Japan, Middle East, Russia and U.S.A., represented India at the UN in 1977 General Assembly

Honours and Awards : Gold Medalist in M.A.; Awarded 1st prize of Rs. 10,000/- for a book *'Anmol Virasat'* by Bihar Government

Other Information : Took special interest in development of Indian Nation as a classless society and uplift of status of women; Former President, (i) Oil and Natural Gas Commission Employees Union and (ii) All India Working Women's Committee affiliated to INTUC; Private Secretary to (i) Shri Devdas Gandhi, Managing Director, Hindustan Times (ii) Mridulla Ben Sarabhai; Special Secretary to Shri Vinoba Bhave during his Bhoodan Tour in Bihar; Former Member, Committee on Criminal Procedure Code.Former IAS Officer in Madhya Pradesh and worked as (i) an Officer, Madhya Pradesh Electricity Board, (ii) Deputy Collector, Madhya Pradesh Civil Service, (iii) Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Nagpur Division, (iv) Treasury Officer, Betul, (v) Sub-Divisional Officer and Sub- Divisional Magistrate, Chindwara, (vi) City Magistrate, Jabalpur and (vii) Collector and District Magistrate in Madhya Pradesh; was Under Secretary to the Gvernment of India, Ministry of Finance and Financial Adviser to the Oil and Natural Gas Commission, Ahmedabad; was Special Representative of the Indian Farmers' Fertilizers Cooperative in Gujarat, Ahmedabad;

KUMAR, SMT. MEIRA*

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Jagjivan Ram, Former Deputy Prime Minister.
Date and Place of Birth	:	31 March, 1945; Patna
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Manjul Kumar on 29 November, 1968
Children	:	Two daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., LL.B. Advanced Level Diploma in Spanish
Profession	:	Indian Foreign Service (1973 - 85)
Positions held		
1985	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong.(I), Bijnor - SC., Uttar Pradesh]
1986 – 89	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of External Affairs

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* Elected in a by-election.

1987—88 : Member, House Committee, Lok Sabha

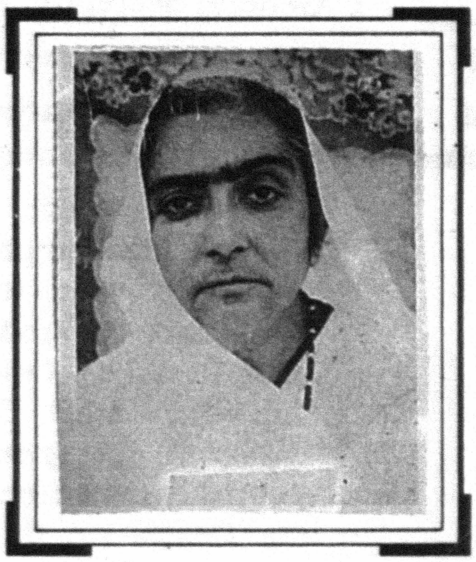
1991—92 : General Secretary, AICC

Other Positions held : Member, IPU since 1986

Literary, Aritstic and Scientific Accomplishments : Learnt Bharat Natyam Dance; Poems published in several magazines

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; Member, (i) Official Delegation accompanying the President on his State visit to Mauritius, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Yemen Arab Republic October, 1984, (ii) Indo-Mauritius Joint Commission, February 1984, (iii) Congress Party Delegation to Mauritius December, 1986, (iv) Parliamentary Delegation to Bulgaria Sept., 1988; Leader, (i) Indian Delegation to Detroit, U.S.A. August 1988, (ii) Congress Party delegation to Sweden June, 1989

Other Information : Chief Patron, Manav Uthan, Educational and Welfare Society; Patron (i) Babu Jagjivan Ram Smriti Samiti, (ii) Sangeet Natak Akademi, SC/ST Employees Association, (iii) Avantika - a group of contemporary Activists and (iv) All India SC/ST Railway Employees Association , Chairperson, (i) All India Samta Movement, (ii) Meera Kala Mandir, Rajasthan, and (iii) Jagjivan Seva Ashram, Bihar; Vice-Chairperson, (i) Rajendra Bhawan Trust, Delhi and (ii) Ravidas Smarak Society, Varanasi; Managing Trustee, Jagjivan Vidya Bhawan, Delhi; Former Member, (i) Senate Bihar University; (ii) Senate Punjab University; (iii) Governing Body ICCR, (iv) Central Advisory Board on Education, (v) Standing Committee Akhil Bhartiya Hind Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, (vi) Supreme Court Bar Association.



KUNWAR BA, SMT. BASANT

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	H.H. Thakur Saheb Madar Singhji
Date and Place of Birth	:	10 June, 1915; Sayla State, Saurashtra
Marital Status	:	Married Raja Rudra Pratap Narain Singh (since deceased) on 8 May, 1932
Children	:	Three daughters and one son
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Positions held		
1962	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Third) (Swatantra Party, Kaisarganj, U.P.)
Travels Abroad	:	Nepal
Other Information	:	Organised a mela every year on Sharad Purnima in which 'Singh Dose Asthma Cure' was distributed free to patients; took special interest in education and women's welfare.

LAKHANPAL, SMT. CHANDRAVATI*

[Ex – Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Pandit Jai Narain Shukla
Date and Place of Birth	:	29 December, 1904; Bijnor (U.P.)
Marital Status	:	Married Prof. Satya Vrata on 15 June, 1926
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., B.T.
Profession	:	Teacher; was also a Principal of (i) Mahadev Intermediate College, Dehra Dun and (ii) Kanya Gurukul, Dehra Dun
Positions held		
1952	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)
April 1956	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)

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* Ob. ref. in R.S. on 31 March, 1969.

Other Positions held : Was President, (i) Mahila Congress Committee Dehra Dun and (ii) Mahila P.C.C. Lucknow

Literary Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Author of (i) *Siksha Manovigyan* (Educational Psychology) on which the Mangalaprasad Prize of Rs. 1,200/- was awarded by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, declaring it as the best book on the subject (Prize was awarded at the Indore Session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan presided over by Mahatma Gandhi, (ii) *Striyon Ki Sthiti*, on which Sakseria prize of Rs. 500/- was awarded by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, declaring it as the best book in Hindi by a woman writer, (iii) *Siksha shastra*, (iv) *Mother India ka Jawab*, etc.

Other Information : Imprisoned for one year as Dictator, Uttar Pradesh P.C.C. in 1932-33; was President, (i) Teachers' Association, Dehra Dun, (ii) Nehrugram Ashram, (iii) Himalaya Lok Sewak Sangh and (iv) Mahila Sahayak Sangh, Dehra Dun Branch; was Member, (i) National Railway Users' Consultative Committee, (ii) Mahila Sahayak Sangh Dehra Dun Branch, (iii) District Hospital Advisory Committee, Dehra Dun, (iv) Advisory Panel, Central Board of Film Censors, Bombay, (v) Executive, District Planning Committee and (vi) Lakshmi Bai Samarak Samiti; was ex-officio non-official visitor of Jail, and was Convener, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Dehra Dun.

LAKSHMANAN, PROF. (SMT.) SAVITHRI

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri N. Achuthan Nair

Date and Place of Birth : 15 October, 1945; Vadakkekkara in Distt. Emakulam (Kerala)

Marital Status Married Shri V.K. Lakshmanan Nair on 22 October, 1971

Children : One daughter and one son

Educational Qualifications : M.A.

Profession : Teacher and Educationist

Positions held

1988 onwards : Secretary, Mahila Congress (I), Distt. Trichur, Kerala

1989 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) [Cong. (I), Mukundapuram, Kerala]

1990 : Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare

Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Railways

1991 : Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong. (I), Mukundapuram, Kerala]

Other Positions held : Member, Central Advisory Board of Education, Chairperson, Teachers' Cell, Congress (I)

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Books published, (i) *Smruthi* (Drama) and (ii) *Mannu Ekamgangal* (collection of one-act plays); Radio artist, acted in radio plays

Other Information : Associated with Women's Liberation Movement; Professor and Head of the Department of Malayalam, St. Joseph's College, Irinjalakuda.

LAKSHMI KANTAMMA, SMT. T

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name : Shri T. Venkat Reddy

Date and Place of Birth : 16 July, 1924; Alampur, Distt. Mahaboob Nagar

Marital Status : Married Shri T.V. Subba Rao, on 11 November, 1944

Children : One daughter

Educational Qualifications : M.A.

Profession : Agriculturist

Positions held

1957–62 : Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly

1962–67 : Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Khammam, Andhra Pradesh)

1967–70 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Khammam, Andhra Pradesh)

1971 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Cong., Khammam, Andhra Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Previously associated with Communist Party

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published, (i) *Pragati Padamle Mahilalu* (Telugu) (ii) *Cooperation Today and Tomorrow* (English) and Translated Badshah Khan's Life into Telugu

Travels Abroad : Member, Indian Parliamentary Delegation to Australia, 1962

Other Information : Took special interest in Indian Culture and spiritual pursuits; worked on (i) National Council for Community Development, (ii) National Council for Women's Education and (iii) Social Welfare Board.

LALITHA RAJ GOPALAN, SMT. G.

(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri K. Narasimha Iyer
Date and Place of Birth	:	28 March, 1924; Madras
Marital Status	:	Married Shri G. Rajagoplan on 1 May, 1949
Children	:	Three daughters
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A. (Hons.), M.A. (Economics)
Positions held		
January, 1965	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Madras)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Occasionally written political reviews for regional papers; contributed articles and short stories in Tamil
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Member, (i) Goodwill Mission to Africa sent by the Government of India in 1965 and (ii) Indian Delegation to the U.N. General Assembly and also served on its Third Committee (Human Rights Committee), 1968
Other Information	:	Participated in Hindustan Scouts Movement and underwent training in Bul Bul training Camp; took leading part in

students' movement during 1942; Student Representative at the Inter-Asian Students' Convention held in Delhi; attended two months' training camp, the first of its kind for relief work done during the Second World War for the evacuees from Burma at Madras; attended the first Instructors' Training Camp of the Congress Seva Dal held at Matunga, and worked as Seva Dal Instructress in Madras city.

LALITA RAJYA LAXMI, RANI

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Commanding General Singha Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana
Date and Place of Birth	:	20 February, 1917; Kathmandu (Nepal)
Marital Status	:	Married Raja Bahadur Kamakhya Narain Singh on 25 February, 1936
Children-	:	One son
Positions held		
1957–62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Hazaribagh, Bihar)
1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Swatantra Party, Hajaribagh, Bihar)
1967	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Ind., Dhanbad, Bihar)
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled
Other Information	:	Actively interested in the uplift of women, abolition of the *purdah* and the dowry system.

LAXMI BAI, SMT. SANGAM*

[Ex – Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri D. Ramiah
Date and Place of Birth	:	27 July, 1911; Vill. Chatkesar, Distt. Hyderabad
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Durga Prasad Yadav (since deceased)
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	Social and public worker
Positions held		
1952–57	:	Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly
Feb., 1954 to October, 1956	:	Deputy Minister of Education, Andhra Pradesh
1957–62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Vicarabad, Andhra Pradesh)
1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Vicarabad, Andhra Pradesh)

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* Died on 3 June, 1979; ob. ref. in L.S. on 9 July, 1979.

1967–70 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth)
(Cong., Medak, Andhra Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Was Member, (i) Executive of the P.C.C. for a few years and (ii) All India Congress Committee; was Convener, Women's Congress in Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishmets : Gold Medalist in Fine Arts; short story writer and Vidushi (Pandit) from Sharda Niketan; Publication *"Na Anubhavamailu"* (Telugu)

Other Information : Took special interest in the uplift of destitute women and orphan, children, village uplift and actively participated in Sarvodaya programmes; worked as in-charge, Acharya Bhave's first *paidal yatra* in Telengana; entered politics by boycotting Simon Commission during student life; took active part in Salt Satyagraha and courted imprisonment for one year; was President, Hyderabad Yadava Mahejana Samajam; was Vice-President, (i) All India Students Conference in her student days, (ii) Hyderabad Food-Council and (iii) Andhra Yuvti Mandal; was Treasurer, State Social Welfare Advisory Board, Andhra Pradesh; was Founder Member and Hony. Secretary, (i) Indira Seva Sadan (Orphanage), (ii) Radhika Maternity Home, (iii) Vasu Shishu Vihar and (iv) Masetti Hanumanthu Gupta High School, Hyderabad; was Member, (i) Central Advisory Board for Education, Government of India, (ii) Governing Body Raja Bahadur Venkataram Reddy College, (iii) Hyderabad Pradesh Backward Classes Federation, (iv) Welfare Extension Project, Hyderabad, (v) Executive Committee, Hyderabad Bhoodan Committee and (vi) Andhra Vidya Mahila Sangam.

LILA DEVI, SMT.
(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Jawahar Lal
Date and Place of Birth	:	21 March, 1919; Mandi Town
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Sohan Lal in November, 1940
Children	:	Two daughters and three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Bhushan (Hindi), Matric
Profession	:	Political worker
Positions held		
1948	:	Provincial Congress Committee and its Executive Committee
1950–53	:	Municipal Committee, Mandi
April 1956	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Himachal Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	Former Convener, Congress Mahila Vibhag, Himachal Pradesh
Other Information	:	Former Member, Advisory Board, Himachal Pradesh; Former Convener, Social Welfare Advisory Board, Mandi District.

MAHAJAN, SMT. SUMITRA

(Member, L.S.)

Date and Place of Birth	:	12 April, 1943; Chiplun in Distt. Ratnagiri (Maharashtra)
Marital Staus	:	Married Shri Jayant Mahajan on 29 January, 1965
Children	:	Two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., LL.B.
Profession	:	Lawyer
Positions held		
1984-85	:	Deputy Mayor, Indore Municipal Corporation
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) (B.J.P., Indore, Madhya Pradesh)
1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
1991	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (B.J.P., Indore, Madhya Pradesh)

Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Communications

Member, Joint Committee for 73rd Constitution Amendment Bill

Member, Joint Committee on Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Bill, 1991

Other Positions held : Secretary, Mahila Morcha, B.J.P., Madhya Pradesh for 2 years

President, Mahila Morchra, B.J.P. for one year

Vice-President, B.J.P., Madhya Pradesh

Secretary, B.J.P., Parliamentary Board

Chairman, Parliamentary Board, Madhya Pradesh

Other Information : Specially interested in Women's Welfare and social reforms; Director, Indore-Paraspur Co-operative Bank; Member Court, Delhi University since 19 April, 1990.

MAHENDRA KUMARI, SMT.

(Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	His Highness of Bundi Col. Bahadur Singh Ji
Date and Place of Birth	:	6 February, 1942; Bundi (Rajasthan)
Marital Status	:	Married Yuvraj Shri Pratap Singhji of Alwar (since deceased) on 26 April, 1962
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Senior Cambridge
Profession	:	Former Ruler; Breeding of Race Horses
Positions held		
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (B.J.P., Alwar, Rajasthan)
Travels Abroad	:	France, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Singapore, Switzerland, U.K. and U.S.A.
Other Information	:	Specially inteserted in serving the people of her constituency.

MAHESHWARI, SMT. SARALA
(Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Hareesh Bhadani
Date and Place of Birth	:	21 July, 1954; Bikaner
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Arun Maheshwari on 27 May, 1974
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A. (Pol.Sc.)
Profession	:	Political worker
Positions held		
April, 1990	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [CPI (M), West Bengal]
Other Positions held	:	Joined CPI (M) in 1975
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Joined the Editorial Board of '*Swadhinata*' Hindi weekly ; published, (i) '*Marxwad Aur Nari Mukti*'. (Hindi Translation), (ii) '*Do Rahnuma*' (Hindi Translation); and (iii) '*Julius Caesar Ke Antim Saat Din*' (Drama Translation)

Other Information : Took active part in agitation for establishment of University in 1972; fought against Emergency in 1975; Former Member, (i) Governing Body of the Savitri Girls College, Calcutta, and (ii) CEC of A.I.D.W.A. and C.E.C. of Janvadi Lekhak Sangh.

MAHISHI, DR. MS. SAROJINI
(Ex-Member, L.S. & R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Bindurao Mahishi
Date and Place of Birth	:	3 March, 1927; Dharwar
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., L.L.B, Ph.D., D.Litt.
Professin	:	Teacher and Journalist

Positions held

1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong.I Dharwar North, Mysore)
1965–66.	:	Parliamentary Secretary attached to the Prime Minister
1967–69	:	Union Deputy Minister attached to the Prime Minister
1967–70	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth) [Cong., Dharwar North, Mysore]
1969–71	:	Union Deputy Minister for Tourism & Civil Aviation
1971–74	:	Union Minister of State for Tourism & Civil Aviation

1971–77 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth)
(Cong., Dharwar North, Mysore)

1974–76 : Union Minister of State for Law, Justice and Company Affairs

1977–79 : Member, Lok Sabha (Sixth)
[Cong., Dharwar North, Karnataka]

1983 : Elected to Rajya Sabha
(J.D., Karnataka)

April 1984 : Re-elected to Rajya Sabha
(J.D., Karnataka)

1984–85 : Member, General Purposes Committee, Rajya Sabha; Nominated to the Panel of Vice-Chairmen, Rajya Sabha

10 April, 1984 to 9 April, 1990 : Member, Rajya Sabha
: (J.D., Karnataka)

Other Positions held : Former President, Sansadiya Hindi Parishad; Former Member, (i) Library Committee and (ii) Panel of Chairmen, Lok Sabha (for a period of three years)

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Well versed in eight languages and recipient of degree of Doctor of Literature (Honoris Causa); wrote number of articles on law, social legislation, education, caste system, etc.; Translated Kuvempu's Gyanpeeth Award Winning book "*Ramayana Darshanam*" and Dr. D.V. Gugdappa's "*Kakmu Thimmana Kagga*" into Hindi version, written 25 books in Kannada Hindi and English and collection of short stories, poems, etc., had broadcast many features and talks on All India Radio; Former Convenor special group discussion at the 39th Kannada Sahitya Sammelan at Dharwar published "*The Art of Indian Embroidery*" (Kannada), 'Atithi *Satkar*' (Hindi); '*Muruthuma*' Short Stories; "*Shakuntala*"—a novel translated into Kannada from Marathi, '*Home Science*' (Kannada) '*Muruthama Darshanam*' (Hindi), a poetic collection; translation from Kannada, '*Yeh Hamare Thin*' (Hindi) '*Navilu Inchara*' (Kannada); Executive President, Pracyavani, an organisation for the spread of Sanskrit,

Indian Culture and Philosophy; Presided over, (i) Short Story Writers Conference at the Kannada Sahitya Sammelan at Bellary, (ii) Literary Conference at Dharmasala, South Kanara; Editor, (i) 'Bana's Kadambri, (ii) 'Veeramata' Kannada Monthly for ladies and (iii) Samaj 'Kalyan', Kannada Monthly.

Travels Abroad : Africa and a few Western Countries

Honours and Awards : Awarded, (i) Union Education Ministry Award for 'Atithi Satkar' & 'Yeh Hamare', (ii) 'Karnataka State Award' for her Third and Fourth Collection of Poems, (iii) Vidiwat Rathna Award' by Mantralaya Sanskrit Sabha, (iv) Sahitya Vachaspati by Akhil Bhartiya Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag and (v) Mysore State Sahitya Akademi Award

Other Information : Former Commissioner for Girls' Guides in Karnataka; Former President, (i) Karnataka Sangh, New Delhi, (ii) Dharwar District Women's Association; Former Vice-Chairman, Janata Sewa Samaj, Dharwar; Former Secretary, (i) 13th All-Mysore Women's Conference, Dharwar; (ii) All Karnataka Children's Conference, Dharwar, Former Member, (i) Central Social Welfare Advisory Board, (ii) Central Advisory Board of Education, (iii) Literary Co-operative Society, Dharwar, (iv) Karnataka State Education Council for Women, (v) Central Social Education Board, (vi) Karnataka State Social Welfare Board, (vii) Regional Social Education Committee, (viii) Railway Divisional Committee and (ix) Karnataka University Senate; Presided over, All Mysore Women's Conference, Hejanadi, South Kanara.

MAITI, MS. ABHA
(Ex-Member, R.S. & L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Nikunja Behari Maiti
Date and Place of Bith	:	1925; Kalicharanpur, Distt. Midnapore
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., LL.B.
Profession	:	Journalist, Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1948–58	:	Secretary, Women's Sub-Committee of West Bengal P.C.C.
1952	:	Member, A.I.C.C. and West Bengal, P.C.C.
1952–57 and 1962–69	:	Member, West Bengal Legislative Assembly
1960	:	President, Midnapore Congress Committee
1960–62	:	General Secretary, Congress and also a member of C.W.C. during this period
1960–62	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., West Bengal)
1962–69	:	Minister of Refugee and Social Welfare, Home (Election and Constitution) Deptt., Government of West Bengal

1977	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth) (Janata Party, Panskura, West Bengal)
14 August 1977–28 July 1979	:	Minister of State in the Ministry of Industry
Other Positions held	:	Previously associated with the Congress
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Former Editor, *Satyagraha Patrika* and Former Chairman, Editorial Board, *Juger Dak*
Travels Abroad	:	Europe and U.S.A.; Attended the 12th Congress of the Federation of Professional Women in Canada, in 1971
Other Information	:	Participated in the Quit-India Movement, 1942; Former President, International Federation of Business and Professional Women in India; Founder-President, Business and Professional Women's Club; and Former Joint-Secretary, Paschim Bengal Khadi Kendra; Former Trustee, Calcutta Improvement Trust.

MALHOTRA, SMT. USHA
(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Dr. M.L. Bahl
Date and Place of Birth	:	6 August, 1933; Lahore (Now in Pakistan)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Harish Chander Malhotra in 1954
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A. (Vocal Music); Studied up to M.A.
Profession	:	Political and Social worker
Positions held		
Since 1961	:	Associated with I.N.C.
April 1980	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Himachal Pradesh]
26 Dec., 1980 to 11 Aug., 1982	:	Member, Joint Parliamentary Committee on to review the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961
2 March, 1982 to 23 March, 1984	:	Member, Joint Parliamentary Committee framing the Indian Veterinary Council Bill, 1981
1982–85		Member, Committee on Government Assurances Rajya Sabha

1973	:	President Cong. (I), Women's Front, Himachal Pradesh; State Convener, Cong. Womens' Front; Member, P.C.C, Himachal Pradesh and its Executive Committee
Other Positions held	:	Former General Secretary, Simla City Cong. (I) Committee; Former Convenor, standing committee of Congress (I) Parliamentary Party for Tourism and Civil Aviation; Former District Convener, Congress Women's Front, Simla
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Contributed articles in Magazines
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; represented India as a Workers' delegate at the Tripartite Conference of Printing and Allied Traders of the ILO at Geneva in September, 1981; attended, (i) World Conference of Peace Forces held in Moscow in October-November, 1973 and (ii) International Conference of the International Inner Wheel held at Brighton as a representative of the Rotary District 310
Honours and Awards	:	Awarded shield by President of India, (i) for making record collections and Red Cross work from Himachal Pradesh out of all the States in India and (ii) for organising Himachal Pradesh Women Welfare Marketing and Co-operative Society
Other Information	:	Courted arrest in protest against the arrest of Smt. Indira Gandhi during Janata regime; Former Patron, (i) Himachal University and College Students' Union (Prior to the formation of NSUI), (ii) Central Government Employees Union, Himachal Pradesh, (iii) P & T Workers' Union, Himachal Pradesh and (iv) All India Tibatan School Indian Teachers Association; Former President, (i) Government of India Press Worker's Union, Minto Road, New Delhi, (ii) Government of India Press Worker Union, Himachal Pradesh, (iii) Government of India Press Employees, Union, Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi,

(iv) National Federation of Government of India Press Workers (INTUC), (v) Clerical Association Aligarh, (vi) Clerical Association Minto Road Press, (vii) CPWD Workers, Union Chandigarh, (viii) Photo Litho Press Faridabad and (ix) Centre for performing Arts, Himachal Pradesh; Former Chairman, (i) Maternity and Child Welfare Centres Committee, Himachal Pradesh, (ii) Indian Committee for International, Women's year, Himachal Pradesh, and (iii) State level Women's Voluntary Organisation for celebration of International Year for Women; Former Vice-President, (i) Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, Himachal Pradesh, (ii) Hospital Welfare Red Cross Society, Himachal Pradesh for a number of times, (iii) Managing Committee for the Indian Red Cross Society, Himachal Pradesh, (iv) Himachal Martyrs Memorial Volley Ball Association, (v) Indian Federation of United Nations Association and (vi) Himachal Amateur Boxing Association; Former Vice-Chairman, (ii) Bhartiya Gramin Mahila Sangh and (i) Congress of Central Government Employees' Organisation; Former Secretary, (i) Central Women Workers' Committee (INTUC) and (ii) State level Hospital Welfare Society of the Indian Red Cross; Former Joint Secretary, Mazdoor Welfare Society, Simla; elected as a Deputy member on the "Resolution Drafting Committee" for Technological Development and Employment at the Tripartite Conference of Printing and Allied Trades of the ILO at Geneva; Former Member, (i) Citizen Council, Simla, (ii) Economic Committee, Simla District (iii) Bangladesh Assitance Committee, Himachal Pradesh, (iv) National Council for Women, (v) All India Women's Conference, (vi) Simla Council for Women, (vii) Executive Committee of Social and Moral Hygiene, (viii) Executive of Friends of Soviet Union, Himachal Pradesh, (xi) Presidium of the State level Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, and (xi) National Council of All India Peace and Solidarity Organisation.

MANJARI, SMT. SHASHANK*

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Raja Narpat Singh Deo
Date and Place of Birth	:	20 June, 1899; Chakradharpur (Bihar)
Marital Status	:	Widow
Children	:	Two sons
Positions held		
1957—62	:	Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly
1962—67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Swatantra Party, Palamau, Bihar)
Other Positions held	:	Previously associated with Janata Party of Bihar
Travels Abroad	:	Denmark, Egypt, England, France, Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden.

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* Died on 29 January, 1987; ob. ref. in L.S. on 13 March, 1987.

MANJULA DEVI, RANI

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Maharajah of Pithapuram
Date and Place of Birth	:	5 January, 1912; Pithapuram, Distt. Godavari (Andhra Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Rajah of Sidh in April 1932
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at Church Park Convent, Madras
Profession		Social Worker
Positions Held 1957- 62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Goalpara, Assam)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Wrote poems and prose, knew oil painting and music (veena and vocal)
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; participated in Standing Committee of International Conference of Women held at Reading, 1952
Other Information	:	Special interest in social welfare, literature and philosophy; started (i) destitute women's home for refugees at Rupshi and (ii) 40

centres for welfare of women; Former President, (i) Assam Pradesh Mahila Samiti; Former Chairman, Dhubri Education Board; Former Vice-President, (i) Assam Food Council and (ii) Indian Conference of Social work, Assam (its Convenor also); was Executive Member, National Council of Women of India; Former Member, (i) Committee of Correspondance, National Council of Women, U.S.A. and (ii) N.I.A., Calcutta Club.

MASCARENE, MS. ANNIE*

[Member, C.A. and Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Agabriel Mascarene
Date and Place of Birth	:	6 June, 1902; Trivandrum
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., LL.B.
Profession	:	Advocate and Political Worker
Positions held		
1948–52	:	Member, Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly
July, 1949–Jan., 1950	:	Minister, Health and Electricity Travancore- Cochin State
December, 1949-January, 1950	:	Member, Constituent Assembly (Travancore)
1952–57	:	Member, Lok Sabha (First) (Independent, Trivandrum, Travancore-Cochin)

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* Died on 19 July 1963; Ob. ref. in L.S. 13 August, 1963.

Other Positions held : Was earlier a Member of I.N.C.

Other Information : Took special interest in upliftment of depressed classes; suffered imprisonment for various terms from 1939–47.

MAVALANKAR, SMT. SUSHILA GANESH

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Ramakrishna Gopinath Gurjar
DAte and Place of Birth	:	4 August, 1904; Bombay
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Ganesh Vasudeo Mavalankar (since deceased) in March 1921
Children	:	Four sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Under-Matric
Positions held 1956-57	:	Member* Lok Sabha (First) (Cong., Ahmedabad, Bombay)
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; attended British Queen's Coronation at London, June 1953
Other Information	:	Participated in the Quit India Movement and imprisoned for three months; Former President, Bhagini Samaj, Bhadra.

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* Elected in a by-election.

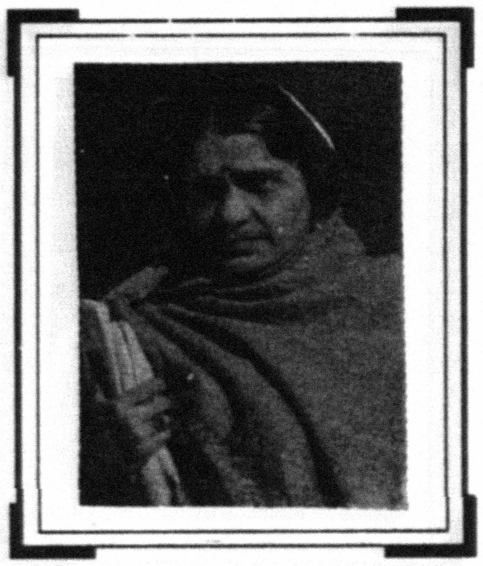
MAYAWATI, MS.
(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Prabhu Dass
Date and Place of Birth	:	15 January, 1956; Inderpuri (Delhi)
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., B.Ed., LL.B.
Profession	:	Lawyer, Teacher and Political Worker
Positions held		
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) (B.S.P., Bijnore SC, Uttar Pradesh)
May, 1990	:	Member, Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
1990	:	Consultative Committee, Ministry of Communications
Other Information	:	Activities included social service for the downtrodden and SC/ST.

MAYDEO, SMT. INDIRA ANANT

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Keshar Bhikaji Joshi
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 September, 1903; Mohapani in District Narsingpur
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Anant Govind Maydeo in 1927
Children	:	Three daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.Sc.
Positions held		
1952–57	:	Member, Lok Sabha (First) (Cong., Poona South, Bombay)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Edited *'Roshini,* Quarterly Bulletin of A.I.W.C.; contributed articles to newspaper's and monthly Magazines
Other Information	:	Took special interest in social work and help to Harijans and farmers; Former President, National Union of Students, Poona Branch; Former Director, Sarvodaya Centre of the Bombay Government; Former Hony. General Secretary, A.I.W.C.; worked as Organiser Kasturba Village Centre; Former Member, (i) Maharashtra Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh and (ii) Regional Social Education Committee.



MEHTA, SMT. HANSA
[Member, C.A.]

Father's Name : Sir Manubhai Mehta

Date and Place of Birth : 3 July, 1897

Marital Status : Married Dr. Jivaraj Mehta in 1924

Educational Qualifications : B.A., also studied Journalism and Sociology at London

Profession : Political and social worker

Position Held

1931 : Member, A.I.C.C.

1931 : Member, Bombay Legislative Council

: Member, Constituent Assembly (Cong., Bombay)

Travels Abroad : Japan, Switzerland, U.K., U.S.A.; was representative at the Women's International Conference, Geneva; Delegate to the Commonwealth Parliamentarians, Conference, 1948

Other Information : Her active association with the national movements commenced with the agitation against the Simon Commission; later participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement and organised and led women pickets against shops selling liquor and foreign goods; during the Movement held several active posts like the President of the Vigraha Sena in Bombay; jailed in 1930 and 1932; took active part in social reform and educational activities and associated with a member of institutions; Former President, Indian Conference of Social Work; Founder-Vice-Chancellor, M.S. University, Baroda; Former Member, Human Rights Commission.

MEHTA, SMT. JAYAWANTI N.

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Date and Place of Birth	:	20 December, 1938; Aurangabad, Maharashtra
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Navinchandra T. Mehta on 30 December, 1958
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	H.S.C. at Osmania University; Sahitya Visharad, Prayag
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1965–68	:	Vice-President, B.J.S., Maharashtra
1968–73 and 1973–78	:	Municipal Councillor, Bombay
1978–80 and 1980–85	:	Member, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly
1978–80	:	Executive Member, J.P.
1980–89	:	Executive Member, B.J.P.
1988–89	:	Secretary, B.J.P.
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) (B.J.P., Bombay North East, Maharashtra)

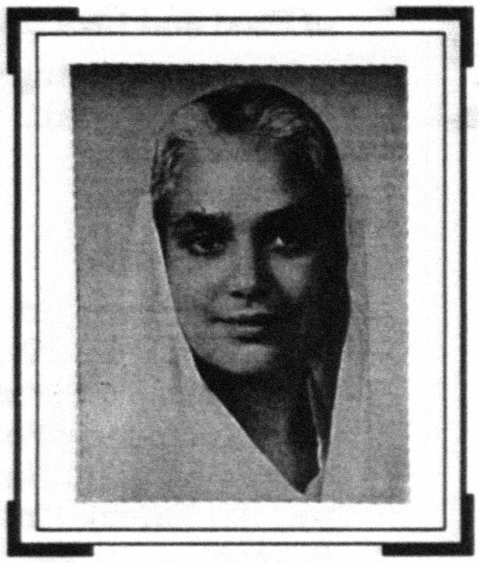
1990 : Member, Rules Committee

1990 : Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Food and Civil Supplies

Literary Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments: : A Linguist knowing Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi and English.

Travels : Widely travelled

Other Information : Takes interest in reading; suffered imprisonment for 19 months during 1975-77; Former Vice-President, Adarsh Ramlila Samiti, Bombay; Former Member, (i) Dakshita Samiti, (ii) National Award Committee, (iii) Family Planning Committee, (iv) Bureau of Indian Standards and Consumer protecting Committee, (v) Gold Act Committee and "Janata Ki Pukar".



MEHTA, SMT. KRISHNA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Nand Lal Mehta
Date and Place of Birth	:	4 June, 1913; Kishtwar (Jammu and Kashmir)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri D.C. Mehta (since deceased) on 12 August, 1929
Children	:	Three daughters and two sons
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1957-62	:	Nominated Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Kishtwar, Jammu and Kashmir)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Book, *Kashmir par Hamla* (in Hindi)
Other Information	:	Associated with the rehabilitation of refugees; Former Chairman Gandhi Seva Sadan; Former Convenor, Women's Department, AICC (Northern Zone); Former Organiser, (i) Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Jammu and Kashmir and (ii) Women's Welfare Centre, Srinagar.

MEHTA, SMT. PUSHPABEN JANARDANRAI**

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Harprasad Udayshankar Desai
Date and Place of Birth	:	21 March, 1905; Prabhas Patan, Somnath, Saurashtra
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Janardanrai Madhavrai Mehta (since deceased) in May, 1920
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1947–48	:	Member, Administrative Council, Junagadh State
1948–57	:	President, Junagadh D.C.C.
1948–61	:	Member, Legislative Assembly of erstwhile States of Saurashtra and Bombay and later of Gujarat
1949–51	:	Member, Executive Committee, A.I.C.C.

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* *Died, ob. ref. in R.S. on 26 April 1988

April, 1966 : Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Gujarat)

Honours and Awards : Awarded Padma Bhushan in 1955

Other Information : Was President, (i) Pancholi Pragati Griha, Halwad, (ii) Sishu Mangal, Junagadh (and also its Managing Trustee), (iii) Samasta Gujarat Samajik Sanstha Madhyastha Mandal (All Gujarat Social Welfare Institutions' Organisation) Ahmedabad, and (iv) Association of Moral and Social Hygiene in India, Gujarat State Branch; Former Chairman, State Social Welfare Advisory Board, Saurashtra, Bombay and Gujarat State; was Vice-President, (i) Indian Conference of Social work, Gujarat State Branch, Ahmedabad, (ii) Gujarat State Nashabandi Mandal and (iii) Seva Niketan, Khedbrahma; was Hony. Secretary, Jyoti Sangh, Ahmedabad; Founder and Hony. Secretary, (i) Vikas Griha, Ahmedabad and (ii) Vikas Vidyalaya Wadhawan city; was Member, Advisory Committee, Kasturba Nidhi and Gandhi Nidhi; was Trustee and Adviser, (i) Kanta Stri Vikas Griha, Rajkot, (ii) Kasturba Stri Vikas Griha, Jamnagar and (iii) R.G. Gandhi Tapibai Vikas Griha, Bhavnagar.

MENON, SMT. LAKSHMI N.

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri M. Rama Varma Tampan
Date and Place of Birth	:	27 March, 1899; Trivandrum
Marital Status	:	Married Prof. V.K.N. Menon on 12 May, 1930
Educational Qualifications		M.A., L.TT.Dip., LL.B., Diploma in French Language
Profession	:	Lecturer
Positions held		
1952–54, 1954–60 and 1960–66	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Bihar)
July 1952 to April 1957	:	Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister
1957–62	:	Union Dy. Minister of External Affairs
16 April 1962 – 9 June 1964	:	Union Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs
15 June 1964 to 24 Jan.1966		

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Author of *The Position of Women* and many articles in magazines and Newspapers on women's rights, educational problems and current affairs.

Travels Abroad : Widely Travelled, Represented India (i) as an Alternate Delegate at the 3rd, 5th, 8th and the 9th sessions of the U.N. General Assembly held in 1948, 1950, 1953 and 1954 respectively, (ii) on the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women held at Beriut, March, 1949; Worked in the U.N. Secretariat at Lake Success as Chief of Section on the Status of Women in the Human Rights Division, May 1949-July, 1950 and (ii) in the 3rd and 4th Conference Committees of the U.N.O. dealing with social, cultural, humanitarian, trusteeship and non-self governing territories' question; represented India on the Committee on Information from Non-self-Governing Territories, August-September, 1953; Represented India on the U.N. Working Group on the Status of Women at Bangkok, 1956; Visited (i) China as a Member of Parliamentary Delegation, 1956, (ii) Australia and also Malaya as a Leader of the Indian Women's Delegation to the Asian-African Women's Congress, 1958; Represented India in the Independence Celebrations of Somalia and Tanganyika in 1960-1961 and 1962 and Malaysia in 1963; Visited Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia and Ceylon in 1962, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Ethiopia in 1963 to explain India's position in the Sino-Indian border conflict; Was leader of the Indian Delegation to the ECAFE Conference in Manila in 1963; Accompanied the President to U.S.A. and U.K.

Honours and Awards: : Awarded Padma Bhushan in 1957

Other Information : Former elected President, All India Women's Conference; National President of the Indian Federation of University Women; Former Member and Office-

bearer, All India women's Conference; Former Lecturer (i) Queen Mary's College, Madras, (ii) Gokhale Girls School, Calcutta and (iii) Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow; Former Principal, Women's Training College, Patna; Former State Commissioner for Guides in Bihar.

MENON, SMT. LEELA DAMODARA

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri K.U. Krishnan Nair
Date and Place of Birth	:	4 January, 1923; Paruthipully Palghat District (Kerala)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri K.A. Damodara Menon on 12 June, 1941
Children	:	One daughter and three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., Rashtrabhasha Visarad
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1949–51	:	Elected to the Malabar District Board
1951	:	Member, A.I.W.C. (Member Incharge of Legislation)
1957–59 and 1960–64	:	Member, Kerala Legislative Assembly
1969–73 **April 1974**	:	Secretary-General, A.I.W.C. Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Kerala)
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, (i) K.P.C.C. and its Executive, (ii) A.I.C.C., (iii) Indian National Commission representing A.I.W.C., (iv) Central Advisory Board for Youth (A.I.W.C. Repre-

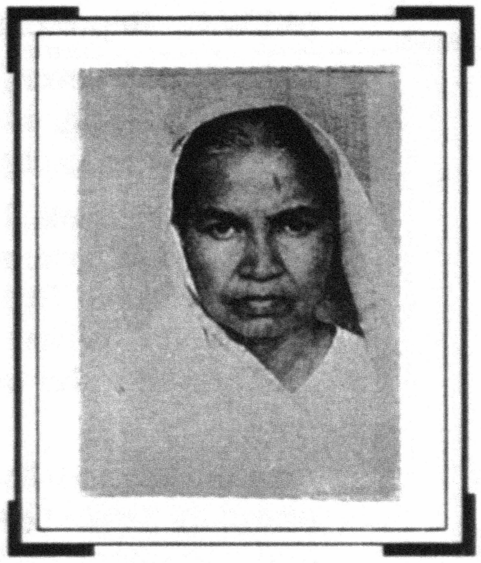
sentative), Executive Council of the Institute for Research and Cooperation (A.I.W.C. Representative)

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Contributed several articles on education, family planning, status of women, women's problems and foreign travel

Travels Abroad : Ceylon, Indonesia, Iran, Switzerland, United States, Yogoslavia; attended the Geneva Session of Human Rights Commission, held at Geneva, 1971, New York (1972) and Geneva (1973) where she was elected its Vice-President

Honours and Awards : Awards Mrs. Malloor Velluthampi Dalawa award by Kerala Government for social work and patriotism 1973; and award for Laghu Udyog in 1975

Other Information : Participated in 'Quit India Movement'; organised the first Mobile Medical Unit in Kerala, the Skippo at Ottapalam; Former President and Patron Skippo Committee; President, Mahila Samajam, Ottapalam, Former Chairman, (i) Kerala State National Savings Advisory Board, (ii) Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, Kerala, (iii) Kerala State Social Welfare-Board, (iv) Kerala State Committee for prevention of Blindness and (v) Bhartiya Grameen Mahila Sangh, Kerala; Former Vice-President, All India Women's Conference; Former Member, (i) Kerala State National Savings Advisory Board, (ii) State Committee for the Welfare of the Handicapped, (iii) Senate Kerala University, (iv) Central Handicrafts Board, (v) National Award Committee for Family Planning, (vi) Regional Committee of the Central Board of Film Censors, (vii) Voluntary Organisations Coordination Committee for Family Planning, (viii) Kerala State Social Welfare Board, (ix) Indian Council of Child Welfare; working Group for the Fifth Plan set up by the Department of Social Welfare to discuss Projects to rehabilitate destitude women and (x) Senate Madras University.



MINIMATA AGAM DASS GURU, SMT.**

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Budharidas Mahant

Date and Place of Birth : 15 March, 1916; Salnabagan, Distt. Nawagaon (Assam)

Marital Satus : Married Shri Agam Dass Guru (since deceased) on 2 July, 1930

Children : One son

Educational Qualifications : Educated at Girls school, Nawagaon and Raipur

Profession : Agriculturist

Positions held

1955–57 : Member**, Lok Sabha (First)
(Cong., Bilaspur Durg-Raipur, Madhya Pradesh)

1957–62 : Member, Lok Sabha (Second)
(Cong., Baloda Bazar-SC, Madhya Pradesh)

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* Did on 11 August, 1972; ob. ref. in L.S. on 14 August, 1972.
** Elected in a by-election.

1957–62 : Member, Lok Sabha (Second)
(Cong., Baloda Bazar-SC, Madhya Pradesh)

1962–67 : Member, Lok Sabha (Third)
(Cong., Baloda Bazar-S.C., Madhya Pradesh)

1967–70 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth)
(Cong., Baloda Bazar-S.C., Madhya Pradesh)

1971 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Fifth)
(Cong., Janggir - S.C., Madhya Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Was General-Secretary, State Congress Committee and was Member, D.C.C., Raipur

Other Information : Took active interest in women's education, child welfare, care of orphans and distressed people; was President, (i) Guru Ghasidas Seva Sangh and (ii) Harijan Education Society; was Vice-President, State Depressed Classes League; was Secretary, Mahila Mandal, Raipur; was Member, Social Welfare Board, Raipur.

MISTRY, SMT. RODA

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Mancher Shaw Bharucha
Date and Place of Birth	:	16 October, 1928; Secunderabad
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Homi Mistry on 28 March, 1946
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Studied upto Senior Cambridge
Profession	:	Educationist and Social worker
Positions held		
1959–67	:	Member, Andhra Pradesh and Legislative Assembly
1968–71	:	Minister, Women and Child Welfare and Tourism, Andhra Pradesh
1968–80	:	Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council
1977	:	General Secretary, A.P.C.C. (I)
1978–80	:	Minister, Women and Child Welfare, Tourism and Public Libraries Protocol
April 1980	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Andhra Pradesh]

1980–85 : Member, Petitions Committee, Rajya Sabha

1982–83 : Member, Committee of Privileges, Rajya Sabha

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published short articles on various subjects connected with culture; can speak in several languages

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; attended numerous Conferences and Seminars abroad

Other Information : Launched the 'First Mid-Day Meal Programme' in Andhra Pradesh and was instrumental in the establishment of the School of Social Work in 1966 which was later recognized by the U.G.C., Osmania University and Andhra Pradesh Government and up-graded in 1971 into a College giving a three-year degree course of social work termed (B.S.W.); Started, all Women Super Bazar in Secunderabad, the formation and activities of the first Women's Corporation and the First Children Fund were boosted up to great heights from 1975 to 1980 in Andhra Pradesh; Former President, (i) ICSW National Body, (ii) Delhi Foundation of Deaf and Dumb Women, (iii) Emeritus of Indian Council of Social Welfare, A.P., (iv) Women's Employment Scheme, (v) Federation of IDPL Unions and (vi) I.G. Mint. Union of A.P.; Founder Chairman, Aram Ghar, Home for the disabled; Former Chairman of Conferences held on several occasions; Former Member, (i) Consumer Guidance Council of Government of India and (ii) Indian Nursing Council in the International Women's year.

MOHINDER KAUR, SMT.

[Ex-Member, L.S. & R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Sardar Harchand Singh Jaijee
Date and Place of Birth	:	1922 ; Ludhiana
Marital Status	:	Married Maharaja Yadvindra Singh of Patiala in 1938
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at Queen Mary's College, Lahore
Positions held		
1964–67	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Punjab)
1967	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Patiala, Punjab)
1974–77	:	General Secretary, Indian National Congress
April 1978	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (J.P., later joined BJP, Himachal Pradesh)
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Delegate to (i) Eighth Triennial Conference of the Associated Country Women of the World in Ceylon, 1957, (ii) International Conference on Social Work and Child Welfare in Tokyo, 1958 and (iii) Conference of the Associated

Country Women of the World in Edinburgh 1959; attended meeting on "Method and Programme Planning in Agriculture and Home Economies Extension" organised by the International Agriculture Centre at Wageningen, Netherlands, 1960, (ii) International Executive Committee Meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in London 1961, (iii) 15th International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom on 'Total and Universal Disarmament Now' at Asilomar, California, 1962, (iv) meeting of International Federation of Agricultural Producers at Dublin, 1963, (v) International Executive Committee meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the WILPF-International Seminar on the 17"Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament and Peace Research" at Brejdablik, Holte, Denmark, 1963, (vi) Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Executive Committee meeting at Paris, 1964, (vii) Executive Committee meeting and the 50th Anniversary Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom on the Theme 19"World Without War' at the Hague, Holland, 1965 and (viii) International Seminar on Women in "Family, Public and Professional Life'organised by the German Foundation for developing countries at Berlin, West Germany.

Other Information : Former President, (i) Bharatiya Gramin Mahila Sangh, (ii) Association of Moral and Social Hygiene in India, (iii) World Agricultural Fair Memorial Farmer's Welfare Trust; Former Chairman, (i) Women's Savings Campaign, Pepsu and Punjab, (ii) State Social Welfare Advisory Board, Pepsu, (iii) State Social Welfare Advisory Board, Punjab (iv) Bharatiya Gramin Mahila Sangh, (v) Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Indian Section), (vi) Indian Conference of Social Work

(Punjab State Branch); Former World President, International Abortionist Federation, Geneva; Former Vice-President, (i) Bharat Krishak Samaj (Farmer's Forum, India), (ii) Association of Moral and Social Hygiene in India, (iii) Indian Council for Mental Hygiene; Former Vice-Chairman, National Savings State Advisory Board, Punjab; Former Trustee, (i) Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, (ii) Zonal Coordinating Family Planning Education; Former Member, (i) National Savings Central Advisory Board, (ii) Central Social Welfare Board-in-charge of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab, (iii) Indian Conference of Social Work and (iv) Indian Council of Child Welfare; Leader in-charge of Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab area.

MUKERJEE, SMT. SHARDA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Pratap Sitaram Pandit
Date and Place of Birth	:	24 February, 1919; Bombay
Marital Status	:	Married Air Marshal S. Mukerjee (since deceased)
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A. (Hons.)
Positions held		
1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Ratnagiri, Maharashtra)
1964–70	:	Chairman, Committee on Absence of Members Lok Sabha
1967–70	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Ratnagiri, Maharashtra)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Published articles in the *Economic Weekly*, Bombay and contributed articles on Defence and political matters for newspapers
Travels Abroad	:	Europe, America, Far East, Russia and Mongolia

Other Information : Associated with the armed forces welfare for many years; Former President, Armed Forces Women's Welfare Association; Former Chairman Armed Forces Welfare Sub-Committee of the Citizens Central Council; Former Member, (i) Study Teams on Planning and Defence matters of the Administrative Reforms Commission, (ii) National Shipping Board, (iii) Executive Committee, Armed Forces Women's Welfare Association and (iv) I.A.F. Benevolent Association Council.

MUKHERJEE, SMT. GEETA

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Prafulla Kumar Roychowdhury

Date and Place of Birth : 8 January, 1924; Calcutta (West Bengal)

Marital Status : Married Shri Biswanath Mukherjee on 8 November, 1942

Educational Qualifications : B.A.

Profession : Political and Social Worker

Positions held

1947 : Member, State Committee, C.P.I, West Bengal

1967–77 : Member, West Bengal Legislative Assembly

1978 : Member, National Council, C.P.I.

1980 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh) (C.P.I., Panskura, West Bengal)

Member, Committee on Public Undertakings Member, Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Member. Joint Committee on Criminal Law (Amendment), Bill

1984	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) (C.P.I., Panskura, West Bengal)
1985–86 & 1987–89	:	Member, Committee on Public Undertakings
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) (C.P.I., Panskura, West Bengal)
20 December 1989	:	Member, Panel of Chairmen
28 December 1989	:	Member, House Committee
24 January 1990	:	Member, General Purposes Committee
1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (C.P.I., Panskura, West Bengal)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Books Published, (i) *Bharat Upakatha*, (ii) *Chotoder Ravindranath* and (iii) *He Atit-katha Kao* (all in Bengali) and Bengali translation of 'Naked among Wolves'
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled
Other Information	:	Specially interested in Women's employment, removal of illiteracy and other social problems, theory and practice of Marxism and Leninism; participated in freedom struggle; imprisoned several times for participation in mass movements during pre-independence and post-independence periods; Former Secretariat Member, Women's International Democratic Federation, Berlin; Former Member, (i) National Commission on Rural Labour, (ii) National Commission on Women, (iii) National Children's Board; Executive Member, National Federation of Indian Women since 1965.

MUKHERJEE, SMT. KANAK

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Satish Chandra Dasgupta
Date and Place of Birth	:	30 December, 1921: Jessore Town (now Bangladesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Saroj Kumar Mukherjee on 15 October, 1942
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A. (Hons.), B.T.
Profession	:	Writer and Journalist
Positions held		
Up to 1943	:	Member, Congress
1943–64	:	Member, C.P.I.
Since 1964	:	Member, C.P.I. (M)
1969–71	:	Alderman, Calcutta Corporation
April 1978	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha
	:	[C.P.I.(M), West Bengal]
1978–79	:	Member, Joint Committee of Houses on Viswa Bharati (Amendment) Bill, 1978
1980–82	:	Member, Joint Committee on the Dowry Prohibition (Amendment) Bill

1983–84	:	Member, House Committee, Rajya Sabha
April 1984	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [C.P.I.(M), West Bengal]
1985–86 & 1986–87	:	Nominated to the Panel of Vice-Chairmen, Rajya Sabha
1986–87	:	Member, General Purposes Committee, Rajya Sabha
Literary, Artistics and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Research work in English literature for D. Phil. (not-completed) Published Books of Poems (Bengali), (i) *Raudra Dhara*, (ii) *Karagar*, (iii) *Sapath Nilam;* (iv) *Saurya Uthbe Bole* and (v) *Rakta Golaper Kanta;* Novels and Short Stroies (Bengali), (i) Brinita Hin, (ii) Ujan, (iii) Bandi Phalgun, (iv) Fire Paoya, (v) Desh Rakshar Dak (Folk Songs), (vi) Women's Education Series (5 books), (vii) 'Chin Bharmaner Diary Theke', (viii) Chin Theke Phere (Travelogue), (ix) Ekti Samaj Tantrik Deshe Kayek Din (Visit to Poland), (x) 'Nari O Samaj' (Bengali translation of collection of articles on Women by V.I. Lenin), (xi) 'Nirbachita Kavita' (collection of poems), (xii) Nari, Atit, Bartaman and Bhabiswat (Bengali version of Women's Past, Present and Future by August Bebel), (xiii) Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin on Women's Questions (Bengali), (xiv) Nirbachita Galpa (Collection of Bengali Stories), (xv) 'Marx leader Aloke' (Collection of Bengali articles) and (xvi) 'Pragati Sahityer Dhara Beye' (Literary criticism): Pamphlets in English, (i) Women's movement in India, (ii) International Women's Year and Ourselves and (iii) Smritir Monikothay (Memories of some great patriots and Marxist leaders, jointly written with husband Shri Saroj Mukherjee)
Travels Abroad	:	Bangladesh, People's Republic of China, Poland, U.S.S.R, West Germany
Other Information	:	Organised girls' students association in 1938-39; Active Member Students Federation of India; Joined political movement since school life; arrested in 1939-40 – imprisoned – externed from Calcutta and

Sub-urbs and some districts in West Bengal during British period; lived underground in 1941-42; again imprisoned and detained in Presidency Jail Calcutta, 1950-51 under P.D. Act and 1962-63 under DIR; Arrested several times for Civil Disobedience Movement; associated with various women's organisations since 1943; Former President, (i) Governing body, women's Teacher Training, College Hasting House, Calcutta, (ii) All India Democratic Women's Association, Pachimbanga, West Bengal; Former Vice-President, (i) All India Democratic Women's Association (ii) Gantantric Mahila Samiti, Former Editor, (i) 'Gharebaire' (Women's Journal), (ii) EK-SATHI (Monthly) a Women's Cultural Magazine in Bengali; Organised Mahila Samiti and relief work in 1943; Member, (i) Paschim Bengal Bangala Academy; (ii) Gantantrik Mahila Samiti, (iii) Social Welfare Board Standing Committee, West Bengal

MUKHOPADHYAY, SMT. PURABI*

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri B.N. Banerjee
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 July, 1923; Calcutta
Marital Status	:	Married Prof. Vivekananda Mukherjee on 6 May, 1948
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	Graduate
Profession	:	Political Worker
Positions held		
1945–50	:	President, Pradesh Students Congress West Bengal
1952–68.	:	Member, West Bengal Legislative Assembly
1952–57	:	Deputy Minister, Government of West Bengal

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* Died; ob. ref. in R.S. on 11 March, 1991.

1957–62 : Minister of State, Government of West Bengal

1962–67 : Cabinet Minister, Government of West Bengal

April 1970 : Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., West Bengal)

April 1976 : Re-elected to Rajya Sabha, (Cong., West Bengal)

August 1977 : President, P.C.C., West Bengal

Other Positions held : Was General Secretary, A.I.C.C., in-charge of the International, Department. Finance; was Founder Member; (i) All India students Congress, and (ii) A.I.Y.C. Former Member, A.I.C.C.

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : As a student leader participated in national and International Seminars and symposiums representing Calcutta University and India; Contributed articles to different papers

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled

Other Information : Took part in freedom movement; and joined politics at a very early age; associated with Jugantar group of revolutionaries; was President of the Indian Committee of the International Women's Year; was Chairman, (i) West Bengal Khadi Board and (ii) West Bengal Small Savings Board; was Member, National Committee for International Women's Year.

MUNSHI, SMT. LILAVATI*

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Fathe's Name : Shri Keshavlal

Date and Place of Birth : 21 May, 1899

Marital Status : Married Shri K.M. Munshi (since deceased) on 15 February, 1926

Children : Four daughters and two sons

Educational Qualifications : Educated up to Junior Cambridge

Positions held

1931–34 : Member, A.I.C.C.

1933–34 : Member, P.C.C., Maharashtra

1935–46 : Member, Municipal Corporation and represented the corporation on (a) Children's Aid Society, (b) Bombay Infant Welfare Society, (c) Society for Protection of Children in Western India, (d) Adam Wylee Hospital, (e) Passenger and Traffic Relief

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* Died on 6 January, 1978; ob. ref. in R.S. on 20 February, 1978.

Association, (f) Committee of Victoria Jubilee School for the Blind, (g) Marwadi Pustakalaya, (h) Harijan Seva Sangh, (i) Bhagini Samaj Seva Mandir, (j) Public Relation's Committee and served on various committees of the corporation

1935–37 : Member, Bombay P.C.C.

1936–46 : Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly

1939–40 : Chairman, Medical Relief Committee, Municipal Corporation

1940 : Chairman, Standing Committee, Municipal Corporation, Bombay

1942–43 : Dy. Leader, Municipal Congress Party, Bombay

1944 : Whip, Bombay Municipal Congress Party

1952–58 : Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Bombay)

Other Positions held : Was Member of several Congress sponsored Committees

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Books published, (i) *Rekhachitro ane Bija Lekho*, (ii) *Kumaradevi*, (iii) *Jeevanmathi Jadeli*, (iii) *Rekha chitro–Juna ane Nava* and several essays and articles in Gujarati–some of them have been translated into Hindi

Other Information : Paticipated in (i) Salt Satyagraha 1930 and was sentenced for three months, (ii) Civil Dis-obedience Movements, 1932 and 1940 and was sentenced for one year and four months; was Chairman, (i) Children's Aid Society, (ii) David Sasoon Industrial School, (iii) Umerkhadi Children's Home, (iv) Shepherd After Care Association, (v) Executive Committee of the Municipal Vegetable Fruit and Flower Shows Committee, (vi) Bombay Reception Committee of UNESCO Cultural Sub-Committee, (vii) All India Women's Central Food Council, Bombay Branch, (viii) Beggar Problems sub-Committee of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council, (ix) Women's Rescue

Home, Bombay, (x) Raj Kamal Publications Ltd., (xi) Nehru Purse Show Committee and (xii) National Parks and Gardens Committee; was President, (i) All India Women's Conference, Bombay, (ii) Bharatiya Stree Seva Sangh, (iii) Sharda Silver Jubilee Committee, (iv) Bombay Presidency Women's Council, (v) All India Women's Central Food Council, New Delhi, (vi) Ex-service Women's Welfare Committee, Govt. of India, (vii) Delhi Public School, Delhi, (viii) Indian Conference of Social Work, New Delhi, (ix) Ex-service Women's Welfare Fund, New Delhi, (x) All India Women's Central Food Council, U.P. Branch, (xi) Maternity and Child Welfare Committee, U.P. Branch, (xii) Countess of Dufferin Fund, U.P., (xiii) St. John's Ambulance Brigade (India), U.P. Branch, (xiv) Mahila Sahayak Sangh, U.P., (xv) Mahila Ashram Motinagar, Lucknow, (xvi) Bharatiya Sangit Shiksha Pith (Academy of Indian Classical Music), (xvii) Madrigal Singers Pith (Society for European Music), (xviii) Bharatiya Kala Kendra (Academy of Indian Fine Arts) of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, (xix) Publishers' Exhibition Committee, Bombay, (xx) Hindi Vidyapith, (xxi) Harijan Sevak Sangh, Bombay, (xxii) Bombay Agri-Horticulture Society and (xxiii) Bombay Women's Association; was Vice-President, (i) Society for Moral and Social Hygiene, New Delhi, (ii) National Council for Women in India, (iii) National Council of India, Central Committee, (iv) Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, (v) Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti, (vi) Bharat Seva Ashram Sangh, Calcutta, (vii) Cultural Film Society, Delhi and (viii) Bombay Women's Relief Committee; was Former Secretary, Cong. Exhibition; was Director, (i) Bombay Life Insurance Co. Ltd., (ii) Swadeshi Provident Fund Insurance Co., (iii) Oudh Sugar Mills Ltd., (iv) Lallubhai Samaldas Co-operative Bank Ltd. and (v) Devkaran Nanjee Printing Press; Ex-Treasurer, Fellowhip School;

was Patron, (i) Hospital Welfare Committee, Lucknow, (ii) National Council of India, U.P. Branch Lucknow, and (iii) Balkan-Ji-Bari, U.P., Branch; Trustee, Kashi Anathalaya Association, Banaras; was Member, (i) Committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber, (ii) Senate of the Bombay University, (iii) Swadeshi Purchase Committee, Govt. of Bombay, (iv) Board of Studies in Gujarati, (v) Text Book Committee Govt. of Bombay, (vi) Film Advisory Board, Govt. of India, (vii) Central Board of Film Censors, Govt. of India, (viii) Indian Council of Agricultural Research, (ix) Planning Committee, U.P. and of Tea Board, (x) Film Reforms Committee, Calcutta, (xi) Gujrati Sahitya Parishad, (xii) Gujrat Sahitya Sansad, (xiii) P.E.N., (xiv) Bombay Govt. Committee, (a) Backward Class Board, (b) Social Service Committee, (c) Rationing Committee and several other Committees, (xv) City Social Education Committee (for Adult Education), Bombay, (xvi) Committee of (a) Society of Hony. Presidency Magistrates, Bombay, (b) Prohibition Board, Bombay, (c) Central Board, All India Harijan Sevak Sangh, (d) Hindustan Scout Association, Bombay, (e) Fort Hindu Stree Mandal, (f) Gujrati Stree Mandal (xvii) Mahabharata Committee, (xviii) Indian National Army Committee, and several other relief women's associations and Committees; was Associate Member, Cultural sub-Committee of the UNESCO; *Organized* several exhibitions, Annapoorna Cafeterias, a school of Nutrition and Catering and a college of catering and Institutional Management at Bombay Cultural Festival of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan; and, was Hony. Presidency Magistrate and Justice of the Peace.

MUTHU, DR. (SMT.) SATHIAVANI

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri K. Nagar Nather
Date and Place of Birth	:	15 February, 1923; Chenglepet (Tamil Nadu)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri M.S. Muthu on 17 January, 1943
Children		Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	S.S.L.C.
Profession	:	Regd. Homoeopathic Practitioner up to 1957; Social and Political worker
Positions held		
1944 - 49		Executive Member, Dravida Kazhagam
1949	:	Founder Member, D.M.K.
1949–74	:	Executive Member, D.M.K.
1957–62	:	Member, Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly
1959–67	:	Secretary (Propaganda), D.M.K.
1967–74	:	Minister, Tamil Nadu Government, held charge of various portfolios *viz.*, Health Agriculture, Information and Publicity; Social Welfare, Harijan Welfare, etc.

1974 : Resigned from D.M.K. Party

June 1974-May 1977 : Founder and General Secretary, Thazhatapattor Munnetra Kazhagam

May, 1977 : Member, AIADMK

December 1977 to April 1978 : Member, Tamil Nadu Legislative Council,

April 1978 : Elected to Rajya Sabha
(A.I.A.D.M.K., Tamil Nadu)

19 August, 1979 to 23 Dec., 1979 : Union Minister for Social Welfare Government of India

May, 1982 : Member, (i) Business Advisory Committee and (ii) General Purposes Committee, Rajya Sabha

Other Positions held : Formed a Political party known as 'Thazhatapattor Munnetra Kazhagam' for the welfare of Scheduled Castes

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published *'Erikkapputtal'* giving the life of Joan of Arc and many other small publications

Travels Abroad

Widely travelled; presented a key-note address at Colombo at the Asian International Family Conference of the International Union of Family Organisations, Paris on 10 December, 1979

Other Information : Took special interest in dedication of untouchability, Harijan uplift and welfare of orphan children and women; Former Member, Self Respect Movement launched under the leadership of Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy; Imprisoned nine times - two of those imprisonments were undergone while on the family way in 1953 and 1962 and two others while with baby in June, 1963 and January, 1964 in connection with Hindi agitation; agitated against Shri Karunanidhi former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu in 1974 for not utilising funds given by the Centre for Harijan Welfare and also for not taking any action against officials who did not take action on her orders as Minister in-charge of Harijan Welfare, etc., etc.; was Founder and Patron, Human Rights Society; Former

President, (i) Women's Wing of Scheduled Castes Federation, Madras and (ii) All India Rationalist Association; Former Chairman, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Regional preparatory Conference for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for women from 9-13 November, 1979, held at New Delhi ; Former Member, (i) Indian Rationalist Association, (ii) Dr. Ambedkar's Government Arts College Committee, (iii) Scheduled Castes Federation under leadership of Dr. Ambedkar; Life Member, (i) Anna Anadhi Illam (Orphans and Destitutes Home of Women) and (ii) Dr. Ambedkar Government Arts College Committee.

NAIDU, MS. M.L. MARY

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri M.M. Gnanayya Naidu
Date and Place of Birth	:	28 August, 1910; Vill. Mutlur, Distt. Guntur, Andhra Pradesh
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., L.T.
Profession	:	Teacher
Positions held		
1945–55	:	Municipal Councillor, Nellore
April, 1964	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Andhra Pradesh)
1965	:	Member, Indian Parliamentary Group
1967	:	Member, Executive Committee, Indian Parliamentary Group
1967	:	Member, Committee on Public Undertakings
Travels Abroad	:	England, France, Italy, Switzerland, U.S.A. and West Germany; Attended the Sixth UNESCO World Conference representing World Catholic Women and Children

Other Information : Former Hony. Secretary, Guild of Service and All India Women's Food Council, Nellore Distt.; Former Convener, Standing Committee on (i) Law and Social Security, (ii) Information and Broadcasting and (iii) Railways; Former Member, (i) Executive Committee, Bharat Sevak Samaj representing Nellore Municipality, (ii) State Welfare Fund, (iii) Red Cross (State Branch), (iv) T.B. Welfare Fund, Nellore Sanatorium, (v) Distt. Planning Committee, (vi) Kasthuri Bai Industrial School, (vii) Malayappan Hostel for Adima Niwas Girls, (viii) Nellore Cyclone Orphanage (ix) Committee for Backward Communities representing Harijan Christians, (x) Harijan Welfare Committee, (xi) Yenadi Boys Hostel Committee, (xii) Adult Education Committee, (xiii) Hospital Advisory Committee, (xiv) Central Committee of the Tuberculosis Association of India and (xv) I.P.G. and its executive committee as well; attended (i) Fifth International Conference of Social Service representing Nellore Distt. Guild of Service, (ii) Conferences of All-India Women's Food Council held in Lucknow and Bombay representing Nellore Distt. Branch, (iii) Conference of All India Bharat Sevak Samaj, Nijamabad and (iv) Annual Conferences of All India Social Service and All India Women's Conference; served on Mica Welfare Advisory Committee.

NAIDU, MS. PADMAJA*

[Member, P.P]

Father's Name : Major M.G. Naidu

Date and Place of Birth : 17 November, 1900; Hyderabad

Marital Status : Unmarried

Educational Qualifications : Educated at Mahboobia Girls' School, Hyderabad

Positions held

1950 : Member, Provisional Parliament (Hyderabad)

Other Information : Was interested in organising rehabilitation of refugees and famine relief.

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* Died on 2 May, 1975; ob ref. in L.S. on 5 May, 1975.

NAIDU, SMT. SAROJINI*

[Member, C.A.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Aghornath Chattopadhya
Date and Place of Birth	:	13 February, 1879
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Govindarajulu Naidu on 2 December, 1890
Children	:	Three daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Matriculation; also educated at London
Positions held		
1922	:	Member, AICC
1925	:	President, I.N.C.
1945	:	Member, Constituent Assembly (Cong., Bihar)
Other Positions held	:	Was Governor, Uttar Pradesh

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* Died on 2 March 1949; ob. ref. in C.A. on 3 March, 1949.

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Volumes of poetry, (i) *The Golden Threshold*, (ii) *The Bird of Time*, (iii) *The Broken Wings* and (iv) *The Feather of the Dawn*

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; attended First and Second Round Table Conferences in London; Presided over, (i) the convention of the Indian Congress at East Africa, 1924, (ii) the East African Indian Congress in Monsbasia 1929; toured U.S. as Gandhiji's representative

Other Information : Was actively involved in the women's movement for emancipation and also in the freedom struggle; Participated in Non-Co operation Movement, Satyagraha Movement; Salt Satyagraha and Quit India Movement; jailed in 1942 for her participation in Quit India Movement; helped open Lady Irwin College for women, Delhi; presided over the Asian Relations Conference, Delhi.

NATARAJAN, SMT. JAYANTHI
[Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Dr. C.R. Sundararajan
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 June, 1954; Madras
Marital Status	:	Married Shri V.K. Natarajan on 9 June, 1974
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., B.L.
Profession	:	Advocate
Positions held		
1986—92	:	Member Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I), Tamil Nadu]
1986—88	:	Member, Committee of Privileges, Rajya Sabha
1991	:	Nominated to the Panel of Vice-Chairmen, Rajya Sabha
1992	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong (I), Tamil Nadu]
1992	:	Re-nominated to the Panel of Vice-Charimen, Rajya Sabha

Other Positions held	:	Member, (i) Committee of Privileges, Rajya Sabha, and (ii) Committee of both the Houses on Environment and Forest
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Knowledge of playing the Veena
Travels Abroad	:	Canada, Nepal, Sri Lanka, U.S.A., and a number of European Countries
Other Information	:	Engaged in All India Women's Conference, Environmental society and in the work of legal and to the poor; Former Member, General Body of the Central Social Welfare Board.

NAWAL PRABHAKAR, SMT. SUNDARWATI

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Lakshman Das
Date and Place of Birth	;	9 September, 1922; Delhi
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Nawal Prabhakar (since deceased) on 5 May, 1936
Children	:	Five daughters and three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Under-Matric
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1972–80 and	:	Member, Metropolitan Council, Delhi.
1982–84		
1984	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth)
		[Cong., (I), Karol Bagh-SC, Delhi]
Other Positions held	:	Former Convener, Mahila Shakti Dal
Travels Abroad	:	Hong Kong, Thailand and United Kingdom
Honours and Awards	:	Awarded shield by late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi in 1965 for doing outstanding work for the welfare of weaker sections and women.

Other Information : Participated in Quit India Movement; took active interest in social work since 1942 particularly for the welfare of weaker sections and women; did commendable work during attack by China and Pakistan in 1962 and 1965 respectively in collecting contributions for Defence fund, arranging tea-stalls for Jawans at Delhi Cantt., Delhi-Railway Station etc., actively worked for arranging funds and goods and their distribution to the victims of calamities like floods and droughts; engaged in welfare activities particularly for the destitutes, widows and the poor; Former Chief Patron, Yuva Ekta Manch; Former Convener, All India Raigar Mahasabha, Women Wing; Former Director, Delhi Scheduled Caste Financial and Development Corporation Ltd.; Honorary Magistrate, Children's Court, Delhi, Former Member, (i) Harijan Welfare Board, Delhi, (ii) Social Welfare Board, Delhi, (iii) Legal Aid Advice Board, (iv) Freedom Fighter's Relief Committee and (v) Managing Committee, Shivaji College.

NAYAR, SMT. SHAKUNTALA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Dalip Singh Bisht
Date and Place of Birth	:	January 1926; Mohand Pass, Distt. Dehra Dun
Marital Status	:	Married Shri K.K. Nayar on 20 April, 1946
Children	:	Two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at Wynberg Girls' High School Mussoorie
Positions held		
1952–57	:	Member, Lok Sabha (First) (Hindu Mahasabha, Gonda, Uttar Pradesh)
1962–67	:	Member, Uttar Pradesh, Legislative Assembly
1967–70	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth) (J.S., Kaiseraganj, Uttar Pradesh)
1971–77	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth) (J.S., Kaiserganj, Uttar Pradesh)
Other Information	:	Took special interest in farming.

NAYAR, DR. SUSHILA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Brindaban Nayar
Date and Place of Birth	:	26 December, 1914
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	M.B.B.S., M.D., Master of Public Health, and Doctor of Public Health
Profession	:	Medical Doctor and Medical Teacher
Prositions held		
1952–56	:	Member, Delhi Vidhan Sabha
1952–55	:	Minister for Health, Rehabilitation and Transport and Charitable Endowments, Delhi State
1955–56	:	Speaker, Delhi Vidhan Sabha
1957–62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh)
1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh)

1962–66	:	Union Minister for Health, (As one of the Ministeries of State)
1966–67	:	Union Minister of Health and Family Planning(As one of the Ministers of State)
1967–70	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth (Cong., Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh)
1977	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth) (Janata Party, Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	Previously associated with Congress
Literary Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Author of (i) *Kasturba, Wife of Gandhi*, (ii) *Hamari Ba*, and (iii) *Karavas Ki Kahani* for which she received President's award of Rs. 5,000/- in 1950
Travels Abroad	:	Widely Travelled
Other Information	:	Participated in the national movement and was imprisoned with Mahatma Gandhi and Kasturba Gandhi for 93 weeks in Aga Khan Palace; actively associated with Gandhian constructive work and Kasturba Trust; Former President, Kasturba Health Society; Founder-Director, Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Medical Sciences at Sevagram and Former Chairman of many organizations.

NEHRU, SMT. SHEORAJ VATI*

[Ex-Minister, L.S.]

Father's Name : Pandit Jagat Narain Mulla

Date and Place of Birth : October, 1897; Lucknow

Marital Status : Married Dr. Kishan Lal Nehru in November, 1915

Children : Two daughters

Educational Qualifications : Educated at Govt. High School, Aligarh

Profession : Social and Political Worker

Positions held

1955–57 : Member,** ** Lok Sabha (First) (Cong., Lucknow Distt. Central Uttar Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Was President, Women's Sub-Committee, City Congress, Lucknow; was Member, (i)

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* Died on19 October, 1981; Ob.ref. in L.S. on 23 November, 1981.

** Elected in a by-election.

Executive, Congress Committee, Lucknow, (ii) P.C.C., Uttar Pradesh and (iii) Uttar Pradesh Legislature Council

Other Information : Took special interest in women's welfare; suffered imprisonment for one-and-a-half years in National Movement, 1939 and 1942; was Member, (i) Harijan Sahayak Sangh, (ii) Mahila Sahayak Sangh, (iii) All India Women's Association, (iv) Bharat Sewak Samaj and (v) Managing Committee, Food Council, Uttar Pradesh, served as Hony. Magistrate.

NEHRU, SMT. UMA*

(Member, P.P. and Ex-Member, L.S. & R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Pandit Niranjan Nath Kukku
Date and Place of Birth	:	8 March, 1884; Agra
Marital Status	:	Married Pandit Shamlal Nehru on 14 February, 1901
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at St. Mary's Convent, Hubli (Karnatka)
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1950	:	Member, Provisional Parliament
1952–57	:	Member, Lok Sabha (First) [Cong., Sitapur Distt.-*cum*-Kheri Distt. (West), (Uttar Pradesh)
1957–62	:	Member Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Sitapur (Uttar Pradesh))

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* Died on 28 August, 1963; ob. ref. in R.S. on 29 August, 1963.

1962 : Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Was President, (i) Town Cong. Committee, Allahabad, (ii) Congress Provincial Women's Committee and (iii) Congress Credentials Committee during Civil Disobedience Movement; was Dictator of the Provincial Cong. was Chairman, Municipal Education Committee; was Member, (i) Allahabad P.C.C., (ii) U.P. Legislative Assembly, (iii) Home Rule League, and (v) Allahabad Municipal Board

Literary, Aristic and Scientific Accomplishments : Author of (i) *Mother India* and (ii) *Bipta* (in Hindi); and was Editor of (i) *Shri Darpan* and *Maryada*, knows Hindi, English and Urdu

Travels Abroad : China

Other Information : Suffered imprisonment several times during non-co-operation movement, was President, (i) All India Women's Conference, Lucknow Branch, (ii) Town Congress Committee Allahabad, (iii) All India Women's Conference of Various Women's clubs; was Chairman, Municipal Education, Allahabad Municipality; was Founder, All India Women's Conference, Allahabad; was Director Refugee Works, Uttar Pradesh; was Secretary Crosthwaite Girls Intermediate College, Allahabad; was Member, (i) Allahabad Municipal Board, (ii) Home Rule League, (iii) Manoranjan club and Kumari Sabha, Allahabad; worked throughout life for emancipation of women and organised children's club.

NIGAM, SMT. SAVITRI*

[Ex-Member, ,R.S. & L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Babu Anandi Prasad Nigam
Date and Place of Birth	:	17 May, 1919; Banda
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Brijnandan Prasad Nigam on 25 April, 1937
Children	:	Two daughters
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at Arya Kanya Pathshala, Allahabad
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1947–49	:	Secretary, A.I.W.C.
1950–51	:	Vice-President, Avadh Branch of A.I.W.C.
1952–62	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)
1957-58	:	Vice-Chairman, Rajya Sabha

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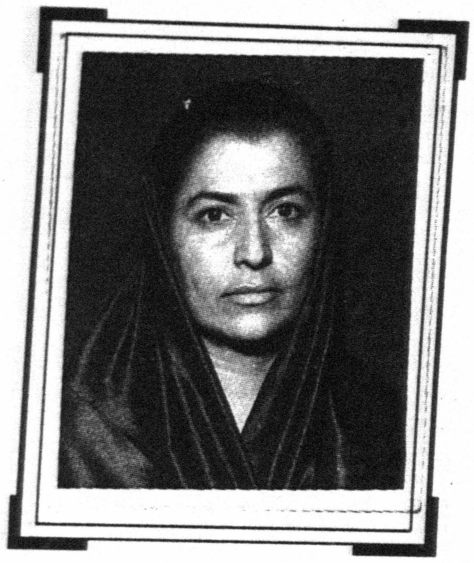
* Died on 28 July, 1985; ob. ref. in L.S. on 29 July, 1985.

1960-61	:	Member, Executive Committee, Congress Party in Parliament
1961-62	:	Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament
1962-67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Banda, Uttar Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	Was Member, (i) Women's Advisory Board of A.I.C.C. and (ii) A.I.C.C.
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Books published, (i) *Grahastanjali*, and (ii) *Annapoorna*; and a large number of articles on family planning, abolition of prostitution, food problem and women upliftment, etc.
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled
Other Information	:	Took special interest in social work, care of the handicapped, slum clearance and adult education; was President, All India Federation for Deaf and Dumb; was Chairman, (i) National Integration Committee and (ii) Bharat Sevak Samaj; was Vice-President, Delhi Prohibition Board; was Secretary Occupational Therapy; was Member, (i) Association for Social and Moral Hygiene in India, (ii) Women's Food Council, (iii) National Advisory Board for Family Planning, (iv) Central Advisory Council for the Education of Handicapped, (v) All India Prohibition Board and (vi) All India Bharat Sevak Samaj.



NIRLEP KAUR, SARDARNI*

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name : Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala

Date and Place of Birth : 11 August, 1927; Patiala

Marital Status : Married Sardar Rajdev Singh on 14 March, 1942

Children : One daughter and two sons

Positions held

1967 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Fourth) [Akali Dal (Sant Group), Sangrur, Punjab]

Other Positions held : Previously associated with the Indian National Congess and the Swatantra Party; was Secretary, Swatantra Party, Punjab

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled

Other Information : Took special interest in agriculture and farm development; was President, Mata Sahib Kaur Vidyalaya, Patiala; was Secretary (i) Punjab Branch of Bharat Yuvak Samaj and (ii) Punjab Yuvak Krishak Samaj; was Member Farmers' Forum.

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* Died on 4 November, 1990; ob. ref. in L.S. on 7 November, 1990.

ORAON, SMT. SUMATI

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

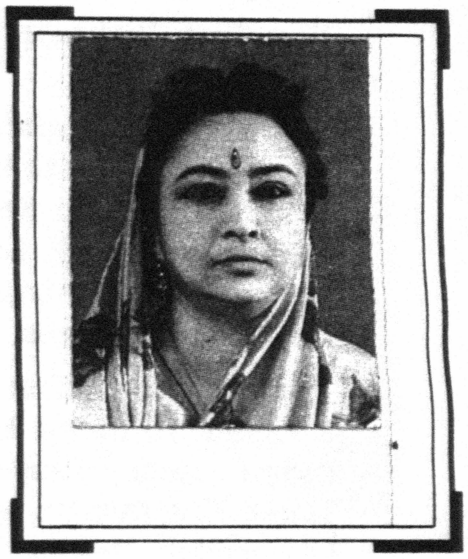
Father's Name	:	Shri Teju Bhagat
Date and Place of Birth	:	15 February, 1935; Simdega, Distt. Gumla, Bihar
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Kartik Oraon (since deceased) on 4 June, 1950
Children	:	Two daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Martric
Profession	:	Agriculturist, Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1982–84	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong. (I), Lohardaga-ST, Bihar]
1982–84		Member, Consultative Committee, Labour and Welfare
	:	Member, Committee on the Welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Seheduled Tribes
1985 onwards	:	Treasurer, Women's Cell, A.I.C.C.(I)
1984–89	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong.(I), Lohardaga-ST, Bihar]

1985–87	:	Member, Joint Committee on Bofors
1989	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) [Cong.(I), Lohardaga- ST, Bihar]
Feb., 89 to July, 89	:	Union Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Welfare
July, 89 to Dec., 89	:	Union Minister of State, Environment and Forests
1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Railways
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Editor *'Samanadhikar'* (a monthly magazine on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and weaker sections)
Travels Abroad	:	Mauritius, U.K., Member, IPD to mauritius
Other Information	:	Specially interested in social service and reading; Patron, (i) Hazaribagh Gold Cup Hockey Tournament; Former President, (i) Adivasi Bal Vikas Vidyalaya; (ii) Disra Residential School, and (iii) Kartik Oraon Vocational Training Institute, Ratu, Ranchi; Founder, (i) Kartik Oraon College Memorial Trust; Vice-President, Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Vikas Parishad and President of its Mahila Cell; Chairman, Chhotanagpur Development Authority, Ranchi; Former Member, (i) Hindi Salahakar Samiti, Ministry of Forests and Environment and (ii) All India Gaumi Ekta Committee and (iii) Court, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong

PADMA, DR. (SMT.)

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri M. Sengamalam
Date and Place of Birth	:	5 January, 1945; Uppiliyapuram in District Trichy (Tamil Nadu)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri C. Nammalvar on 22 August, 1966
Chidren	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	M.B.B.S.
Profession	:	Doctor and Medical Practitioner
Positions held		
June 1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth)
	:	[Cong. (I), Nagapattinam- SC, Tamil Nadu]



PADMAWATI DEVI, SMT.*

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Raja Bahadur Pratap Bahadur Singh of Pratapgarh
Date and Place of Birth	:	17 July, 1918; Pratapgarh
Marital Status	:	Married Raja Bhadur Birendra Bahadur Singh of Khairagarh on 28 May, 1934
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated privately
Positions held		
1952–67	:	Member, Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assemblies
1956–62	:	Minister of Public Health, Madhya Pradesh
1963–64	:	Minister of Social Welfare, Madhya Pradesh
1964–67	:	Minister of Local Government, Madhya Pradesh

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* Died on 12 April, 1987; ob. ref. in L.S. on 8 May, 1987.

1967–70 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth)
(Cong., Rajnandgaon, Madhya Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Was First Chairman, Janpad Sabha, Khairagarh

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; attended the Plenary Session, 13th and 14th World Health Assembly in Geneva and New Delhi in 1960 and 1961 respectively; Leader, Indian Delegation to the 12th International Conference of Social Work, Athens, 1964

Other Information : Took special interest in social service; was Founder, (i) Indira Music College and (ii) Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwavidyalaya Trust, Khairagarh; was Founder and Pro-Chancellor, Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwavidyalaya, Khairagarh; was Chairman, Women's Section, M.P. Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti, Bhopal; was Patron- in-Chief Mahakoshal Women's Hockey Association, Jabalpur, was Member, (i) M.P. State Board of Indian Council of Agricultural Societies (ii) Board of Governors, Lady Amritbai Daga College, Nagpur, (iii) Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwa wavidyalaya Court, (iv) Board of Governors, Scindia Kanya Vidyalaya, Gwalior, (v) M.P. Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti, Bhopal, (vi) M.P. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Bhopal, (vii) Board of Governors, All India Women's Education Fund Association, New Delhi, (viii) National Rifle Association of India, (ix) Tansen Festival Committee, Bhopal, (x) Advisory Board, Feroze Gandhi Memorial Bal Vikas Kendra, Kaithal, (xi) M.P. Cultural Association Bhopal and (xii) M.P. Sangeet Natak Akademi.

PAHADIA, SMT. SHANTI

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Sona Ramji

Date and Place of Birth : 1 August, 1936; Vill. Rasidpur District Sawai Madhopur

Marital Status : Married Shri Jagannath Pahadia in March, 1950

Children : Five daughers and two sons

Educational Qualifications : Under-Matric

Profession : Housewife and Agriculturist

Positions held

May - Oct., 1980 : Member, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly

April, 1984 : Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Rajasthan]

1986–88 : Member, Committee on Papers Laid on the Table, Rajya Sabha

July, 1988 Member, Committee on Subordinate Legislation

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled

Other Information : Participated in social activities such as adult education particularly women's

education; raised voice against child marriage, purdah system and dogmatic traditions and took part in activities connected with rural development; Former Member, (i) Mahila Sangathan, (ii) Mahila Vidyapeeth, Bhusevar, Distt. Bharatpur, Rajasthan and (iii) National Consumers' Co-operative Federation (NCCF).

PALCHOUDHURI, SMT. ILA*

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Bejoy Krishna Bose
Date and Place of Birth	:	28 October, 1908; Calcutta
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Amiyo Palchoudhuri on 4 August, 1924
Children	:	One daughter and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at St. Teresa's School, Calcutta
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1953–57	:	Member, Lok Sabha (First) (Cong., Nabadwip, West Bengal)
1957–62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Nabadwip, West Bengal)
1968**	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Krishnanagar, West Bengal)

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* Died on 9 March, 1975 ob. ref, in L.S. on 10 March, 1975.

** Elected in a by-election

Other Positions held : Was President, Panshila Block Congress Committee

Travels Abroad : Widely Travelled

Other Information : Took special interest in social work and Harijan uplift, Youth Services and Children's Welfare; was President, (i) All India Railway Junior Supervisors' Association, Lilluah, Distt. Howrah, West Bengal, (ii) All India Women's Conference (West Bengal Branch) Krishnanagar, Distt. Nadia, (iii) Krishnanagar Mahila Samiti, Krishnanagar, Distt. Nadia, (iv) Nritya Bharti Institute, Calcutta, (v) 'Red Roses' Association, Calcutta, (vi) Welfare Services Committee Northern Zone, Indian Red Cross Society, West Bengal State Branch, (vii) Nehru Institute of Cooperative Research, Behala, Calcutta and (viii) Nivedita Balika Vidyalaya, Dhubulia (Government of West Bengal); was Vice-President, (i) United Nations Association, Calcutta Branch, Calcutta (ii) West Bengal Council for Child Welfare, Calcutta District, (iii) Bharat Scouts and Guides, West Bengal (Guides Section), (iv) West Bengal Council of Women, (v) Calcutta Blind Schools, Behala, Calcutta, (vi) Bharat Sewak Samaj, South Calcutta District and (vii) Foreign Affairs Association of India, New Delhi and Founder Member of UNESCO Club of India, Delhi.

PANDA, SMT. ILA

[Ex Membern L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Prof. Ghanshyam Dash
Date and Place of Birth	:	26 October, 1932; Katapali, Sambalpur (Orissa)
Marital Status	:	Married Dr. Bansidhar Panda on 30 September, 1959
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A. (Hons.), specialised in Textile Designing
Profession	:	Business: started Indian Metals and Ferro Alloys Ltd. (IMFA Group) after returning from abroad; Art teacher for few years in Orissa
Positions held		
July 1992	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (J.D., Orissa)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Published thesis on Tie and Dye Textile Designs of Sambalpur
Travels Abroad	:	U.K. and U.S.A.

Other Information : Worked for the establishment of Schools, Hospitals, Medical Centres in backward areas; Arranged for scholarships for Oriya Students, music and art; actively participated in flood-relief campaign and on other such occasions; President Saral Award Committee; Member (i) State Women's Welfare Board and (ii) State Child Welfare Board; Trustee, IMFA Public Charitable Trust.

PANDEY, SMT. MANORAMA

(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Pt. Rama Kant Pandey
Date and Place of Birth	:	23 July, 1932; Buxar
Marital Status	:	Married Shri J.N. Pandey on 10 June, 1954
Children	:	Three sons
Eductional Qualifications	:	M.A., LL.B.
Positions held		
1957–77	:	Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly
1961–66	:	Parliamentary Secretary, Finance and General Administration, Bihar
1972	:	Deputy Minister, Information and Home, Bihar
1972–74	:	State Minister of Education, Information and Home, Bihar
1977–78	:	Chairman, Bihar State Finance Corporation
1980–1986	:	Member, Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I), Bihar]

1980–81	:	Member, Library Committee of Parliament
26 Dec.1980 to 11 Aug. 1982	:	Member, Joint Parliamentary Committee of Parliament to review the Dowry Prohibition Act
1981–82	:	Member, Rules Committee, Rajya Sabha
1982–84	:	Member, Committee on Petitions, Rajya Sabha
1984–85	:	Member, Committee on Papers Laid on the Table.
July 1986	:	Re-elected to the Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I), Bihar]
1986–87	:	Member, Committee on Government Assurances, Rajya Sabha
Travels Abroad	:	Italy, Kuwait, West Germany
Other Information		Took special interests in sports and gardening; Former Chairman, Bihar State Finance Corporation.

PANDIT, SMT. VIJAYA LAKSHMI*

(Member, C.A. and Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name : Pandit Motilal Nehru

Date and Place of Birth : 18 August, 1900; Allahabad

Marital Status : Widow

Children : Three daughters

Educational Qualifications : Educated at home

Profession : Diplomat and Politician

Positions held

1934 : Chairman, Education Commitee, Allahabad Municipal Board

1937–39 : Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly and Minister of Local Self-Government and Health, Uttar Pradesh

1945–46 : Member, Constituent Assembly (Cong., United Provinces)

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* Died on 1 December, 1990; ob. ref, in L.S. on 27 December, 1990.

1952–54*	: Member, Lok Sabha (First) (Cong., Phulpur, Uttar Pradesh)
1962-64	: Governor of Maharashtra
Nov. 1964, 1967**	: Member Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Phulpur Uttar Pradesh)
1967-July 1968 ***	: Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong. , Phulpur, Uttar Pradesh)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	: Collection of speeches
Travels Abroad	: Widely travelled; Leader, (i) Indian Delegation to Pacific Relations Conference, Hotspring, U.S.A., 1944, (ii) Indian Delegation to United Nations General Assembly, 1946–49, 1951, 963
Honours and Awards	: Was awarded several Honorary academic degrees from a large number of foreign Universities; also awarded (i) One World Award, (ii) Key Woman of the year, (iii) Woman of Achievement, (iv) Dorothy Schlozer Gold Medal for service to Humanity and (v) Padma Vibhushan
Other Information	: Took special interest in international affairs; was Ambassador to U.S.S.R., U.S.A., Mexico, Spain and Eire; was High Commissioner to U.K.; was President, United Nations General Assembly.

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* Resigned from First Lok Sabha w.e.f., 7 December, 1954.
** Elected in a by - election.
*** Resigned from (Fourth) Lok Sabha w.e.f. 8 July, 1968.

PARANJPYE, SMT. SHAKUNTALA
(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Raghunath Purushottam Paranjpye
Date and Place of Birth	:	17 January, 1906; Poona
Marital Status	:	Married Mr. Youra Sleptzoff in Jan., 1935 (Divorced)
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	B.Sc., M.A.
Profession	:	Social Worker and Author
Positions held		
1958–64	:	Member, Maharashtra Legislative Council
April, 1964	:	Nominated to Rajya Sabha
Travels Abroad	:	Australia, France, Germany, Geneva, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland and U.K.
Other Information	:	Former Member, (i) Central Family Planning Board, (ii) Central Family Planning Council and (iii) State Family Planning Board, Maharashtra; Former Hony. Education Leader in Family Planning; and, Former Hony. Advisor on Family Planning, Poona Municipal Corporation.

PARMANAND, DR. (SMT.) SEETA*

(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Father's Name : Shri N.L. Ajgaonkar

Marital Status : Married Shri Parmanand in 1927

Educational Qualifications : B.Litt., D.Phil, Bar-at-Law

Profession : Was Principal, Indraprastha College for Women, Delhi; Enrolled Advocate, Nagpur High Court and Supreme Court of India

Positions held

1952 : Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Madhya Pradesh)

April, 1958 : Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Madhya Pradesh)

1960 : Member, Public Accounts Committee

Other Positions held : Was President, Madhya Pradesh Rashtriya Koyla Khadan Mazdur Sangh (I.N.T.U.C.)

Died. on 21 December, 1979; ob. ref. in R.S. on 23 January, 1980.

and was Vice-President, I.N.T.U.C. (Madhya Pradesh)

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Wrote a *thesis* on the position of women in ancient India as represented by (i) the *Dharmashastras*, (ii) the *Ramayana* and (iii) the *Mahabharata*

Travels Abroad : Delegate, First Women's Commonwealth Conference, London, 1926; Travelled Canada, Ceylon, China (twice), the Hawaiian islands, Japan, Manila and U.S.S.R., 1931 and 1937; travelled extensively in Europe, U.K., and U.S.A. by car in 1937-38; the only Indian Delegate to the Equal Rights of Women in the U.S.S.R. Seminar, 1956 and also read a paper there on the status of Indian women in 1956 after passing of the Hindu Code; Delegate, International Conference on Public Administration, Liege, 1958; Member, I.L.O. Panel of Consultants on Problems of Women in Employment and attended its first meeting at Geneva in Oct., 1959

Other Information : Was active worker for Women's and Children's Welfare work and Village work since 1927 in Madhya Pradesh; was President, First Session, C.P. Branch of A.I.W.C.; was Member, (i) Central Advisory Board of Education, (ii) Advisory Council of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs (Western Zone), (iii) Coal Mines Welfare Fund, (iv) National Railway Users' Consultative Council, (v) Executive Council, Academic Council and various other bodies of the University of Nagpur and (vi) Executive Council and in-charge of Legislation, All India Women's Council; and actively worked for Women's and Children's Welfare work and Village work in Madhya Pradesh.

PARTHASARATHI, PROF. (SMT.) G.*

(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Khodadad Mugaseth
Date and Place of Birth	:	2 July, 1911; Kozhikode
Marital Status	:	Married Shri G.Parthasarathi on 6 October, 1939
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., L.T., M.A., B. Litt.
Profession	:	Chief Professor, Programme Executive, All India Radio and Educationist
Positions held April, 1960	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha *(Cong., Madras)*
Literar Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Was Editor, S.S.L.C. Detailed Text in *English*, University of Madras in 1949 , 1951, 1952 and 1953, and contributed Articles in leading magazines; had helped

* Died; ob. ref. in R.S. on 7 November, 1986.

to run Seminars in English for school teacher and College Professors in Cooperation with the British Council

Travels Abraod : Widely travelled; Travelled (i) England, Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, Norway as a representative of India to the Conference of the World University Service, (ii) U.S.A., (as Leader Specialist in Education, visiting Universities), and (iii) Ceylon (as a member of the Indian Delegation to the UNESCO Conference).

Other Information : Was Vice-Principal, Fateh Chand College for Women, Lahore and was Head of the Department of English, Queen Mary's College, Madras and Principal and Head of English, Ethiraj College, Madras which she started from the very beginning; was first woman to be the Chief Professor of English and Head of the Department of English, Presidency College, Madras; was president, Madras Inter Collegiate Women's Athletic Association for three years and Inter-Collegiate Madras Students Social Service League; was Chairman, Text-Book Committee of the Government of Madras (was earlier its member); was Founder, College Social Service League (was also the Vice-President); was Vice-President, (i) World University Service, Madras District (and member of its Executive Committee); was Honorary Secretary, Indian Red Cross for the State of Madras; was Member, (i) Academic Council, University of Madras, (ii) Senate of the University of Madras, (iii) Boards of Studies in English of the Universities of Madras, Andhra, Annamali, Mysore, Travancore and Utkal during various years, (iv) Managing Committee, Vidyodaya School for Girls, Madras and (v) Madras School of Social Work, (vi) Executive Committee of the Federation of University of Women, Madras for three years, was also the Vice-President for two years (vii) Executive Committee incharge of the organisation of the visits of the Soviet and

Chinese Cultural delegations to Madras, and (viii) Executive Committee of the British Universities Federation, Madras (was also the Vice-President for a year); programme Executive A.I.R.

PRVATI DEVI, SMT.

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Nyima Wangial

Date and Place of Birth : 1 May, 1934; Khangoar Kher, Distt. Lohaul-Spiti, Himachal Pradesh

Marital Status : Married Raja Kunzang Namgial (since deceased) on 10 July, 1950

Children : Two daughters and two sons

Educational Qualifications : Educated up to fifth Standard

Positions held

1977 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth) (Cong., Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir)

Travels Abroad : Nepal

Other Information : Welfare work in Ladakh and fought against the age-old evil social customs and emancipation of women in Ladakh; Former Chairman, Social Welfare Women's Wing, Ladakh District.

PATEL, MS. MANIBEHN VALLABHBHAI*

[Ex-Member, L.S. & R.S.]

Father's Name : Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Date and Place of Birth : April, 1903; Gana, Distt. Kaira

Marital Status : Unmarried

Educational Qualifications : Snatak from Gujarat Vidyapeeth

Profession : Writer, Political and Social Worker

Positions held

1951 : Member, Gujarat P.C.C. and A.I.C.C. Substitute member and treasurer, All India Congress Working Committee after the death of Sardar Patel

1952–57 : Member, Lok Sabha (First) (Cong., Bombay-Kaira South)

1953 - 56 : Secretary, Gujarat P.C.C.

1955 : Member, A.I.C.C. (Women's Section); Convener, Gujarat Mahila Congress

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* Died on 25 March 1990; ob. ref. in L.S. on 26 March, 1990.

1957–62 : Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Bombay-Anand)

1957–64 : Vice-President, Gujarat P.C.C.

1962 : Convener, Gujarat Mahila Congress

April, 1964–70 : Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Gujarat)

1973–1977 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth) [Cong. (O), Gujarat, Sabarkantha]

Member Committee on Subordinate Legistation

1977 : Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth) (Janata Party, Mehsana, Gujarat)

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Authored, (i) *Bapuna Patra: Sardar Vallabhbhaine*, (ii) *Bapuna Patra; Manibehn Patelne*, (iii) *Sardarni Sheekh, and* (iv) *Desh: Rajyoni Ladhat*–all originally in Gujarati; the first two also appeared in English and Hindi and the third in Hindi; (v) *Kasturba-Vani Ane Vihar*, (vi) *Borsad Satyagraha* Coordinate Editor, Sardar Centenary Service (10 Volumes)

Other Information : Left high school in response to Gandhiji's call during Non-cooperation Movement in 1920; imprisoned for participating in Cong. movements in 1930, 1932–34, 1938–39, 1940 and 1942–45; participated in flood relief operations in Kaira Distt. and Bardoli Satyagarh; Presided over annual session of Patidar Bhagini Samaj; served the plague striken people of Borsad, Distt. Kaira; was Chairman, The Vithal Kelayani Mandal Nadiad; was Secretary, Gujarat Sankat Nivaran Trust; was Member, (i) Governing Body of Institute of Agriculture, Anand, (ii) Birla Vishwakarma Vidyalaya, Vidyanagar, Anand, (iii) Kasturba National Maternity Home and Dispensary, Ras, Distt. Kaira, (iv) Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Smarak Nidhi, Ahmedabad, (v) Kochrab Ashram (Gandhiji's first settlement in India before his shifting to Sabarmati Ashram), (vi) Governing Body, Central Welfare Board, (vii) Managing Committee, Family Welfare Co-operative Industrial Society, Delhi, (viii)

Vidya Mandal, Lok Bharati, Sanosara, Distt. Bhavnagar, (ix) Senate, Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapith, Vidyanagar, Anand, (x) A.I.R. Programme Advisory Committee, Ahmedabad, (xi) Railway Passengers' Amenities Committee, (xii) Railway Catering Supervisory Committee (W.R.), (xiii) Divisional Railway Users' Consultative Committee (W.R.), (xiv) Telephone Advisory Committee, Ahmedabad, (xv) Regional Post and Telegraph Advisory Committee, Gujarat circle, and (xvi) All- India Khadi and Village Industries Board; was Member-Trustee, Gujarat Vidyapeeth Council; was Trustee, (i) Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad, (ii) Mahadev Desai Memorial Trust, Ahmedabad, (iii) Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, Indore, (iv) Bardoli Suaraj Ashram Trust and (v) Sardar Vallabhbhai Samaj Seva Trust, Nadiad.

PATEL, SMT. RAMABHEN RAMJIBHAI MAVANI

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name : Shri Harilal Laljibhai Patel

Date and Place of Birth : 2 August, 1953; Vill. Katharota, Upaleta Taluk, Rajkot District (Gujarat)

Marital Status : Married Shri Ramjibhai Mavani Patel on 13 May, 1973

Children : One daughter

Profession : Agriculturist and Advocate

Positions held

1984 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [(Cong.(I), Rajkot, Gujarat]

Other Positions held : Former Convener, Rajkot Mahila Congress (I) of Rajkot District

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Special interest in culture, sports, journalism and reading literature

Other Information : Actively engaged in the (i) Welfare of children, youth, women and old persons

and (ii) Upliftment of widows and destitutes; Former Member, (i) Jail Advisory Committee, (ii) Rajkot Rural Police Advisory Committee and (iii) Mahila Economic Development Corporation, Gujarat State.

PATIL, SMT. PRATIBHA DEVISINGH

[Ex-Member, R.S.; and Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Narayanrao
Date and Place of Birth	:	19 December, 1934; Distt. Jalgaon (Maharashtra)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Devisingh Ransingh Shekhawat on 7 July, 1965
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., LL.B.
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1962–85	:	Member, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly
1967—72	:	Deputy Minister, Public Health, Prohibition, Tourism, Housing and Parliamentary Affairs, Maharashtra
1972–74	:	Cabinet Minister, Social Welfare, Maharashtra
1974–75	:	Cabinet Minister, Public Health and Social Welfare, Maharashtra

1975–76	:	Cabinet Minister, Prohibition, Rehabilitation and Cultural Affairs, Maharashtra
1977–78	:	Cabinet Minister, Education, Maharashtra
July, 1979 to Feb., 1980	:	Leader of Opposition, CLP(I), Maharashtra
1982–85	:	Cabinet Minister, Urban Devlopment and Housing, and Civil Supplies and Social Welfare, Maharashtra
June, 1985	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Maharashtra]
18 November, 1986 to 5 November, 1988	:	Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha
1986–88	:	Chairman, Committee of Privileges, Rajya Sabha, Member, (i) Business Advisory Committee, Rajya Sabha, (ii) Committee on Rules, Rajya Sabha and (iii) General Purpose Committee, Rajya Sabha
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong. (I), Amravati, Maharashtra]
Other Positions held	:	President, P.C.C., Maharashtra
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; attended (i) International Council of Social Welfare Conference, Nairobi and Puerto Raico and (ii) Commonwealth Presiding Officers Conference, London, 1988; Leader, Delegation to Austria on Status of Women Conference; Member, A.I.C.C. (I) Delegation, Bulgaria, 1985
Other Information	:	Organised Women Home Guards in Jalgaon District and was their Commandant at the time of Chinese aggression in 1962; Established, Mahila Arthik Vikas Maha Mandal in the State of Maharashtra for the Economic Benefit of Women, Prohibition, Rehabilitation and Cultural Affairs; Education; Urban Development and Housing and Civil Supplies and Social Welfare, Chairman 20- Point Programme Implementation Committee, Maharashtra; Vice- Chairman, National Federation for Cooperative Urban Banks and Credit Societies; Managing Trustee, Shram Sadhna Trust.

PATIL, SMT. SHALINI V.

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Jyotyajirao Phalke
Date and Place of Birth	:	8 August, 1933; Vill. Kume, Distt. Satara
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Vasantdada Patil in 1969
Children	:	Two daughters and three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., LL.B.
Profession	:	Agriculturist, Political and Social Worker, Writer, Lawyer and Cooperator
Positions held		
1962	:	Pramukh, Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Mahila Vibhag
1980–83	:	Member, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly
1980–83	:	Minister of Revenue, Civil Supplies and Public Works, Maharashtra
1983–84	:	Elected* to Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong (I), Sangli, Maharashtra]

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* Elected in a by-election.

Other Positions held	:	Former Member, (I) Taluka Panchayat Samiti, Tazgaon Taluka, and Sangli District and Sangli local Board
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Author of *Rajmatha*, on the life of Jijamata, Mother of Shri Shivaji Maharaj
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled.
Other Information	:	Organised Ladies Cooperative Banks and Cooperative Housing Societies; Former Director on Board of Directors on National Federation of Cooperative Sugar Factories Ltd; Former Member, Executive Committee of Shivaji University.

PATIL, SMT. SURYAKANTA

(Ex-Member, R.S. and Member L.S.)

Father's Name : Shri Jayawantrao Patil

Date and Place of Birth : 15 August, 1948; Waiphana in Taluka Hadgaon, Distt. Nanded (Maharashtra)

Marital Status : Married Shri R.B. Maske on 2 January, 1966

Children : One daughter and one son

Educational Qualifications : B.A.

Profession : Political and Social Worker, Journalist and Trade Unionist

Positions held

1971 : President, D.C.C. (Women's Wing), Nanded

1972–74 : General Secretary, District Youth Congress, Nanded

1974 and 1980 : Member, Municipal Council, Nanded
Chairman, Education Committee, Municipal Council, Nanded

1977–78 : Founder Member, D.C.C. (I), Nanded

1980–85	:	Member, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly
1981–82	:	Chairman, Committee on Subordinate Legislation, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly
1981–85	:	General Secretary, Pradesh Youth Congress (I), Maharashtra
1986	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Maharashtra]
1988	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals
		Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Environment and Forests
		Member, Hindi Salahkar Samiti, Ministry of Steel and Mines
1988–90	:	Member, Committee on Rules, Rajya Sabha
		Member, Central Advisory Committee for Light House, Ministry of Surface Transport
		Member, Hindi Salahkar Samiti, Ministry of Water Resources
Nov., 1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong. (I), Nanded, Maharashtra] Executive Member, C.P.P. (I)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Editor, Daily '*Godawari Times*' (in Marathi)
Travels Abroad	:	Germany, Guatemala, Japan, Nicaragua, U.K. and U.S.A.
Other Information	:	Imprisoned thrice during the Janta regime and appeared before the Shah Commission; President, District Journalists' Association (Associated with Akhil Bharatiya Patraker Parishad: Chairperson, (i) Mahila Udyog Vikas Senstha, Nanded and (ii) Multipurpose Labour Union, Nanded; Chairman, Education Committee, Nanded Municipal Council, Jayawantrao Patil Cooperative Sugar Factory, Hadgaon, Distt. Nanded (Maharashtra); Director, Distt. Nanded Cooperative Consumer Federation.

PATNAIK, SMT. JAYANTI

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Niranjan Patnaik
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 April, 1932; Vill. Aska, Ganjam District (Orissa)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Janaki Ballav Patnaik on 12 July, 1953
Children	:	Two daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., Dip. S.S.A.
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker and Journalist
Positions held		
1981–84	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong.(I), Cuttack, Orissa]
1984	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth) (Cong.(I), Cuttack, Orissa)
1985–86	:	Member, Public Accounts Committee
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Former Editor, "*Paurusha*"; translated K.M. Munshi's "*Krushnavatara*" Part I and Part II in Oriya language, and associated

with various social, literary and cultural organisations

Other Information : Took special interest in social welfare activity; Former President, Tanaya, a Cultural Organisation; Former Chairman, Governing Body, Shailabala Women's College, Cuttack; Former Vice-Chairman, Balashram Committee, Orissa; Former Organiser, Orissa State Council of Child Welfare; Former Director, (i) Sishu Bhavan, Cuttack and (ii) All India Women's Voluntary Services, Orissa Branch; Former Member, (i) Orissa State Primary Education Board, (ii) Executive Committee, State Council of Child Welfare, (iii) Executive Committee State Tuberculosis Association and (iv) Central Social Welfare Board.

PRADHAN, SMT. SARASWATI

(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Madan Mohan Pradhan
Date and Place of Birth	:	30 May, 1925; Vill. Kendupali, Distt. Sambalpur, Orissa
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Durjyodhan Pradhan in 1945
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., B.Ed.
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1961–67 & 1967–71	:	Member, Orissa Legislative Assembly
1962–67	:	Deputy Minister of Education, Orissa
April, 1972	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Orissa)
Travels Abroad	:	Japan *via* Hong Kong and Thailand
Other Information	:	Took special interest in village upliftment; associated with educational institutions and women and children organizations; Former Member of the Senate, Utkal University and Sambalpur University.

RAI, SMT. SAHODRABAI*

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name : Shri Niren Singh

Date and Place of Birth : 1919 ; Vill. Gotherai,-P.S. Patharia, Distt. Damoh

Marital Status : Widow

Profession : Agriculturist

Positions held

1947 : Member, Local Board

1948 : Member, Janapad Sabha

1957—62 : Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Sagar-SC, Madhya Pradesh)

1962—67 : Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Damoh-SC Madhya Pradesh)

1971—77 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Cong., Sagar-SC, Madhya Pradesh)

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* Died on 26 March, 1981; Ob. ref. in L.S. on 26 March, 1981.

1980 : Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh) (Cong. (I), Sagar-SC., Madhya Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Was Member, Committee on Absence of Members from the Sittings of the House

Other Information : Imprisoned in connection with 1942 movement; participated in Goa liberation movements in Aug., 1955 and was wounded; worked for Hindu-Muslim Unity in Noakhali, 1945; participated in Satyagraha against the arrest of Smt. Indira Gandhi in 1979 and imprisoned for a day; Rendered assistance to Sindhis for settlements after partition of the country; was Member, (i) Harijan Welfare Board and (ii) Jabalpur Division Selection Committee for Teachers and Lecturers.

RAIJI, SMT. JAYASHRI*

(Member P.P and Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Sir Manubhai Mehta
Date and Place of Birth	:	26 October, 1895; Surat, (Gujarat)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri N.M. Raiji in 1918
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1950—52	:	Member, Provisional Parliament (Cong., Bombay)
1952—57	:	Member, Lok Sabha (First) (Cong., Bombay Suburban, Bombay)
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled

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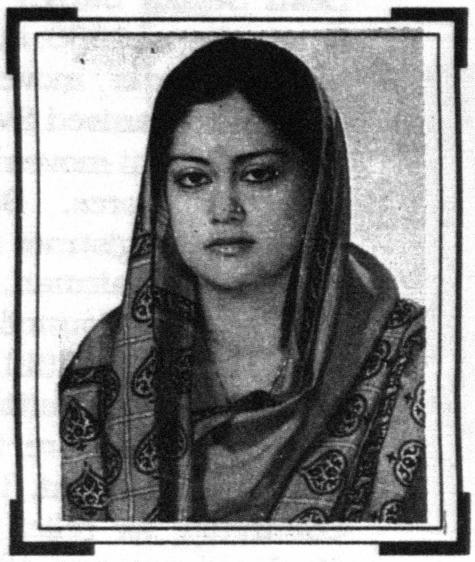
* Died on 28 August, 1985; ob. ref. in L.S. on 18 November, 1985.

Other Information : Participated in picketing movement by Desh Sevika Sangh of foreign cloth and liquor shops, 1930; suffered imprisonment in 'Quit India' movement, 1942, for six months; organised Swadeshi Exhibition to help swadeshi movement and women's co-operative stores, Bombay; was made Honorary Magistrate and Justice of Peace, 1949; was Chairman, (i) Bombay Presidency Women's Council, (ii) Bhagini Samaj Seva Mandir and (iii) United Women's Organisations Committee, Bombay and (iv) Anti-T.B. After-care Committee, Bombay; was Vice-President, (i) Distress Relief Fund Committee for relief to riot sufferers and displaced persons after the Partition and (ii) AIWC; was Member, (i) Vanita Vishram Management Committee (Widow's Home), Bombay, (ii) Syndicate of Smt. Nathibai-D-Thackersey University for Women, Bombay, (iii) Women's Section of the Directorate of Relief and Rehabilitation, Government of Bombay and (iv) Lady Irwin College Committee, Delhi; was Secretary, (i) Rashtriya Stree Sabha and (ii) Kasturba Gandhi Fund; was Fellow, Senate of Bombay University and represented the University on the Bombay Municipal Corporation; appointed on the Children's Aid Society by the Government.



RAJE, SMT. VASUNDHARA
(Member L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Jivajirao Scindia
Date and Place of Birth	:	8 Match, 1953; Bombay (Maharashtra)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Hemant Singh on 17 Nov., 1972
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A. (Hons.) (Eco. & Pol. Sc.)
Profession	:	Political Worker
Positions held		
1987 onwards	:	Vice-President, B.J.P., Rajasthan
1989		Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) (B.J.P., Jhalawar, Rajasthan)
1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministries of Commerce and Tourism
27 March, 1990	:	Member, Library Committee
1991	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (B.J.P., Jhalawar, Rajasthan)

Other Positions held : Member, National Executive Committee, B.J.P. Member, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly for five years

Vice-President, Yuva Morcha, B.J.P., Rajasthan for two years

Travels Abroad : France, Italy, Nepal, Sri Lanka, U.K. and U.S.A.

RAJINDER KAUR, DR. (SMT.)*

[Ex-Member]

Father's Name : Master Tara Singh

Date and Place of Birth : 10 February, 1931; Amritsar

Marital Status : Married Wing Commander Kamal Jit Singh on 6 March, 1960

Children : Two daughters and one son

Educational Qualifications : M.A. (Philosophy) B.T., Ph.D.

Profession : Educationist and Journalist

Positions held

1977–79 : Member, New Delhi Municipal Committee

April 1978 : Elected to Rajya Sabha (Shiromani Akali Dal, Punjab)

Other Positions held : Was President, Istri Akali Dal (Women's Wing of Shiromani Akali Dal); was Chairman, Social Welfare Sub-Committee, New

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* Died, ob. ref. in R.S. on 21 February, 1989.

Delhi Municipal Committee; was Member, Amritsar Municipal Corporation Advisory Committee

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published, Thesis on 'Sikh Conception of Godhead' and contributed articles to almost all Punjabi dailies and periodicals on a variety of subjects; presented papers in various symposia and seminars on Religion and philosophy conducted by (i) Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla, (ii) Golden Jubilee Session of World Philosophical Conference held at University of Delhi in 1976, (iii) Wembley Conference Centre, London in 1980 and (iv) World Conference of Religious Workers on Disarmament in Moscow in 1982

Travels Abroad : Pakistan, U.K., U.S.A., U.S S.R.

Other Information : Was Vice-Chairman, Master Tara Singh Memorial Trust; was Member, (i) Court of University of Delhi, (ii) Central Board of Secondary Education and (iii) Delhi Sikh Gurudwara Management Committee; was Executive Member, All India Sri Guru Singh Sabha Shatabdi Committee, Amritsar; was Co-opted Founder Member, Sikh Educational Society (Punjab) which runs, (a) Sikh National College, Quadian, (b) Sikh National College, Banga, (c) Guru Govind Singh College, Chandigarh and (d) Guru Teg Bahadur National College, Sathiala; was Trustee, Shahid Pheruman Memorial Trust.

RAJNI DEVI, SMT.

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name : Raja Naresh Chandra Singh

Date and Place of Birth : 31 January, 1937; Sarangarh

Martial Status : Married on 17 May, 1967

Educational Qualifications : B.A.

Profession : Social Worker

Positions held

1967–70 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth)
(Cong., Raigarh - S.T., Madhya Pradesh)

Other Information : Organised many family planning camps and children's camps; staged cultural programmes for the National Defence Fund; Former Secretary, (i) Mahila Mandir, Sarangarh and (ii) Bal Mandir, Sarangarh.

RAJU, SMT. UMA GAJAPATHI

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Date and Place of Birth : 17 November, 1951; Palghat, Kerala

Marital Status : Married Shri Ananda Gajapathi Raju on 18 August, 1971

Children : Two daughters

Educational Qualifications : B.A.

Profession : Political and Social Worker

Positions held

1989 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) [Cong.(I), Visakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh]

1990 : Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting

Other Positions held : Jt. Secy., Pradesh Congress Committee (I), Andhra Pradesh

Travels Abroad : France, Japan, Middle East, Singapore, Thailand, U.K., U.S.A., Korea

Other Information : Specially interested in attending classical music,.and Indian and Western dance concerts; Former Director, Trade Fair Authority of India; Former Vice-President, (i) All India

Women's Hockey Federation, (ii) National Institute of Social Action and (iii) National Red Cross Society; Former Vice-Chairperson, Organising Committee, Freedom Run and Marathon; Former Member, (i) Nehru Cricket Club, (ii) Cultural Sub-committee, (iii) Nehru Implementation Committee and (iv) Film Festival Selection Committee for International Film Festival.

RAMAMURTI, SMT. T. NALLAMUTHU*

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name : Shri S.Narayanswami

Date and Palce of Birth : 15 June, 1896; Pudukkottah

Marital Status : Married Shri T.V. Ramamurti in 1933

Educational Qualifications : M.A., L.T., B.Sc., T.D.

Profession : Educationist

Positions held

April, 1956 : Elected to Rajya Sabha
(Cong., Madras, now Tamil Nadu)

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Wrote articles in magazines on Human Rights, Women's Rights History, Politics, Social Service, Famous Women and on Education, Playlets for dramatics written for performances in English and Tamil; Book on Psychology for Teachers; songs in Tamil, specially folk songs; and was Editor,

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* Died on 23 July, 1972; ob. ref. in R.S. on 13 November, 1972.

Roshni (English), an organ of the All India Women's Conference; conversant with German and French; can write and speak Tamil; Can speak Telugu and Malalyam and Sanskrit

Travels Abroad : Burma, Ceylon, (now Sri Lanka) Singapore, Thailand, U.K. and other European countries; Delegate to the British Educational Conference in Paris, 1926; Served as temporary collaborator in the League of Nations, Geneva 1928; Nominated by Govt. of India as a member of Indian Parliamentry Delegation to Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, Canbera, Australia, 1959; was Lecturer and Principal, (i) Queen Mary's College, Madras and (ii) Lady Willingdom Training College, Madras; was Lecturer in (i) Politics, (ii) Politics and Public Administration and (iii) Journalism, Madras University; was Hony. Warden, Avvai Homi, Madras; was Hony. Presidency Magistrate and Justice of Peace Juvenile Court Madras; was Convener, Fundamental Rights Organizations, Madras; was connected with (i) Social reform– specially in the field of women, children, orphans, destitutes and backward committees and (ii) education to promote healthy citizenship; Represented social service organisations, Madras before the Secondary Education Commission and served on the Panel of judges, Films Fan Association, Madras; was President, Advisory Committee, Kasturba Gandhi Women and Children's Hospital, Madras; was Vice-President, (i) Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Madras, (ii) Women's Indian Association, Madras and (iii) South Indian Adults Education Society was Member, (i) Academic Council and Senate, Madras University, (ii) Senate, Annamalai University and was also connected with Travancore and Lucknow Universities, (iii) Committee of management, (iv) Advisory Committee, Kasturba Gandhi Women and

Children's Hospital, Madras, (v) Central Advisory Committee, the National Cadet Corps, (vi) Central Advisory Committee and Zonal Leader, Madras Women's Savings Campaign, (vii) Sansad (Court) of Visva-Bharati and Advisory Board of Women's Education, Banaras Hindu University; was Member, Executive Committee, Red Cross Society for a few years; was Member of the Executive and Standing Committee of the All India Women's Conference; was Committee Member, (i) Women's Air Raid Precaution, Madras and (ii) Cancer Relief Fund, Women's Indian Association, Madras; was Member, Governing Body, (i) All India Women's Education Fund Association (Lady Irwin College) and (ii) All India Women's Central Food Council.

RANE, SMT. SANYOGITA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Captain Dattaji Rao Bhosle
Date and Place of Birth	:	20 August, 1923; Lashkar, Distt. Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh
Marital Status	:	Married Major Zoiba S. Rane Sardesai on 6 December, 1945
Children	:	Four sons (including one who was killed in Bangladesh Action and was awarded Vir Chakra posthumously)
Educational Qualifications	:	Matriculate
Profession	:	Housewife and social worker
Positions held		
1980	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh) (U.A., Panaji Goa, Daman and Diu)
Other Information	:	Former Secretary, Maharani Shanta Devi Gaikwad Graha Shastra Sanstha, Kolhapur; Former Member, (i) Army Welfare Centre, Bhuj, (ii) Mahila Mandal, Bhuj, (iii) Family and Child Welfare Centre, Bicholim, Goa, (iv) Mahila Imdad, Goa Branch and (v) Mid-day Meal Programme of Mine Labourers' Children of North Goa.

RANGNEKAR, SMT. AHILYA P.

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Trimtak Moreshwar

Date and Place of Birth : 8 August, 1924; Pune

Marital Status : Married Shri P.B. Rangnekar

Children : Two sons

Educational Qualifications : B.Sc.

Profession : Political and Social Worker

Positions held

1977 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth)
[C.P.I.(M)., Bombay North-Central, Maharashtra]

Other Positions held : Former Member, (i) Marxist Party State Committee, (ii) Committee on Petitions, Lok Sabha and (iii) Bombay Corporation for 17 yrs.

Other Information : Participated in freedom struggle and was jailed in 1942; Imprisoned during Emergency and held various offices in the women's organizations and Trade Union Organizations. Worked for 15 years in slum areas for the uplift of the poor.

RAO, SMT. RADHABAI ANANDA*

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Gavarayyah

Date and Place of Birth : 2 February, 1930; Vill. Venkatapuram, Distt. Khammam

Marital Status : Married Shri B.K. Ananda Rao on 6 June, 1952

Children : Two daughters and one son

Educational Qualifications : Educated up to College level

Profession : Agriculturist; Worked as Family Planning Instructor in Singareni Collieries

Positions held

1957 : Member, Panchayat Samiti, Kothagudem

1962–64 : Member, I.N.T.U.C.

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* Died on 17 April, 1991; ob. ref. in L.S. on 11 July, 1991.

1967–70 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth)
(Cong., Bhadrachalam-ST, Andhra Pradesh)

1971–77 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth)
(Cong., Bhadrachalam-ST, Andhra Pradesh)

1977–79 : Member, Lok Sabha (Sixth)
(Cong., Bhadrachalam-ST, Andhra Pradesh)

1980–84 : Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh)
[Cong. (I), Bhadrachalam-ST, Andhra Pradesh]

Other Positions held : Was member, Committees on Govt. Assurances, Lok Sabha

Travels Abroad : Czechoslovakia, U.K. and West Germany; Intensively toured foreign countries in a Parliamentary delegation

Other Information : Took active part in propagating family planning Schemes in Singareni Collieries and other tribal areas; worked for the Welfare of the tribal people; was Member, Parents' Association, Zila Parishad High School, Ramavaram.

RAO, SMT. RATHNABAI SREENIVASA

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri B. Krishna Rao
Date and Place of Birth	:	8 July, 1915; Sivasamudram (Bluff), Mysore State
Marital Status	:	Married Shri R. Srinivasa Rao in August, 1933
Children	:	Two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1952—55	:	Chairman, Municipality, Chittoor
January 1972	:	President, DCC, Chittoor
April, 1972		Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Andhra Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, (i) Committee on Subordinate Legislation, Rajya Sabha and (ii) Joint Committee on Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament

Other Information : Supported the integration of Andhra Pradesh during agitation for bifurcation of the State; Former President, Chittoor Nursery School, Chittoor; Chairman, (i) Distt. Project Implementation Committee Central Social Welfare Board, and (ii) Women's Committee Constituted by the Vice-Chancellor, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, for making suggestions and recommendations regarding Women's Education; Vice-President, Ladies Club, Chittoor; Member, *Andhra Pradesh State Social Welfare Advisory Board.*

RATAN KUMARI, SMT.

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Seth Govind Das

Date and Place of Birth : 13 December, 1913

Marital Status : Married Shri Laxmi Chand (since deceased) on 28 June, 1925

Educational Qualifications : Intermediate, Kavya Teertha

Profession : Agriculturist

Positions held

April, 1976 : Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Madhya Pradesh)

April, 1982 Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I), Madhya Pradesh]

April, 1988 : Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I) Madhya Pradesh]

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published (i) "*Ankur*" and (ii) "*Ritu Parva*" (Collections of verses)

Other Information : President, Hitkarini Sabha; Former Member-Secretary, Hitkarini Sabha (Educa-

tional Institution, Trustee, Gopal Lalji Trust; Member, (i) Board of Trustees of Shahid Smaraka Trust and (ii) Bharati Sangam (an organization of Indian writers) (iii) General Body of Central Social Welfare Board.

RAY, SMT. MAYA
(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Dr. Kiran Chandra Bhattacharya
Date and Place of Birth	:	9 February, 1927; Dibrugarh (Assam)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Siddartha Shankar Ray on 19 January, 1947
Children	:	Two daughters
Educational Qualifications	:	Barrister-at Law
Profession	:	Advocate
Positions held		
1972–77	:	Member* Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Cong., Jalpaiguri, North Bengal
1972–77	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of External Affairs
1975–77	:	Member, Committee on Privileges
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, (i) A.I.C.C., (ii) P.C.C, West Bengal, (iii) Legal Cell, Indian Nation-

* Elected in a by-election.

al Congress and (iv) Executive Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party

Travels Abroad : Europe and The Middle East; Member, Indian Delegation to the United Nations, 1975; Party Delegate to Iraq, 1975; Member, Parliamentary Delegation to Australia

Honours and Awards : First Bengali Woman Barrister to be enrolled in the Calcutta High Court

Other Information : Former President, Delhi Music Society; Former Vice-President, Central Silk Board; Former Member, (i) All India Handicrafts Board, (ii) Committee for the Status of Women, (iii) Central Social Welfare Board and (iv) Governing Council of the National Cooperative Union of India; Alternate delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations, serving on the Second Committee.

RAY, SMT. RENUKA

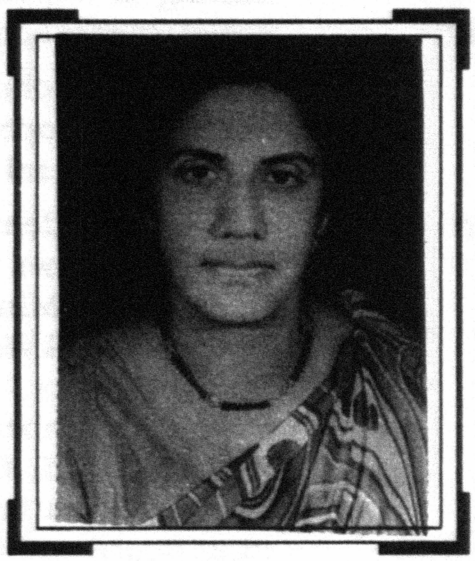
(Member, C.L.A; C.A. & P.P. and Ex-Member L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Satish Chandra Mukerjee
Date and Place of Birth	:	4 January, 1903; Calcutta
Marital Satus	:	Married Shri Satyendra Nath Ray on 26 October, 1925
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.Sc.
Positions held		
1943–46	:	Member, Central Legislative Assembly
1948–52	:	Member, (i) Constituent Assembly, (ii) Provisional Parliament, (iii) Estimates Committee of Parliament.
1952–57	:	Member, West Bengal Legislative Assembly
1952–57	:	Minister for Rehabilitation, West Bengal
1957–62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Malda, West Bengal)
1957–59	:	Member, Estimates Committee
1960	:	Member, AICC
1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Malda, West Bengal)

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published pamphlets and brochures pertaining to women and children and other social welfare activities

Travels Abroad : Far East (including China, Japan and Malaya), Europe and U.S.A., delegate to the U.N. General Assembly, May 1949.

Other Information : Former President, All India Women's Conference; Former Chairman, School Health Committee, Ministry of Health; Former Leader, Social Welfare Team Committee on Plan Projects, Planning Commission; Former Member, (i) Central Board of Education, (ii) Governing Body of Visva Bharati Shantiniketan, (iii) Family Planning Board and (iv) Central Silk Board.



RAZACK, SMT. NOORJEHAN

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri B. Rustam Khan
Date and Place of Birth	:	25 December, 1939; Ernakulam (Kerala)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri M. Razak on 26 January, 1960
Children	:	Three daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., B.L.
Profession	:	Lawyer
Positions held		
1973	:	Joined A.I.A.D.M.K.; Convener, South Madras Ladies Wing of the Party
1975	:	Deputy Secretary, Women's Wing, A.I.A.D.M.K
July, 1977	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (AIADMK, Tamil Nadu)
31 January, 1980	:	Resigned from A.I.A.D.M.K. Party
8 September, 1980	:	Rejoined the A.I.A.D.M.K. Party

Other Positions held : Former Member, (i) Executive and General Council of AIADMK, and (ii) House Committee Rajya Sabha

Other Information : Took special interests in women and children's welfare; Founder and legal adviser of Indian Muslim Women's Welfare Association; Former Member, (i) State and Central Social Welfare Board, (ii) N.S.S. Advisory Committee, Government Arts College for Women, North Madras and (iii)

REDDY, SMT. YASHODA*

(Ex-Member, L.S. & R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri G. Nagi Reddi
Date and Place of Birth	:	5 August, 1925; Veeraballi, Distt. Cuddapah
Marital Status	:	Married Shri D. Ranga Ramanujam on 9 February, 1949
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., B.L.
Profession	:	Advocate
Positions held		
1956 - 62	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Andhra Pradesh)
1958 - 60	:	Member, A.I.C.C.
1958 - 61		Member, Executive, Congress Party in Parliament

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* Died; ob. ref. in Rajya Sabha on 18, February 1983.

1962 - 67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh)
April ,1967 to April ,1972		Member, Rajya Sabha [Cong(O), Andhra Pradesh]
Travels Abroad	:	France, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Switzerland, U.K., and U.S.A.
Other Inforamtion	:	Was Member, (i) Central Advisory Board, Family Planning, and (ii) Parliamentary Study for assessment of Vignan Mandirs.

ROHATGI, SMT. SUSHILA
(Ex-Member, L.S. & R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Pt. Kapil Deva Malaviya
Date and Place of Birth	:	21 August, 1921; Allahabad
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Mahendra Rohatgi on 27 January, 1947
Children	:	Three daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A. (Modern History)
Profession	:	Social work and politics
Positions held		
1962–67	:	Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly
1967–70		Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Bilhaur, Uttar Pradesh)
1968–70	:	Member, Public Accounts Committee, Lok Sabha
1970	:	Member, Panel of Chairmen, Lok Sabha
1971–77	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth) (Cong., Bilhaur, Uttar Pradesh)

2 May, 1971 to 24 March, 1977	:	Union Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance
Jan. 1985	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I), Uttar Pradesh]
25 Sept., 1985 to 12 May, 1986	:	Minister of State in the Deptts. of Education and Culture
12 May, 1986 to 9 May, 1988	:	Minister of State in the Deptt. of Power, Ministry of Energy
24 June, 1986 to 21 October 1986	:	Minister of State in the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas
Other Posititons Held	:	Former Convener, Defence Sub-Committee of P.A.C.; Former Member, (i) Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly, (ii) Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts, (iii) 1st Kanpur Corporation and, (iv) Public Accounts Committee
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Published a computerized Directory (the first of its type in Asia) of voluntary organizations, funded by the Central Social Welfare Board) in the year 1980-81, containing coded names, addresses and activities of 10,000 institutions; accomplishment in Indian vocal and classical music, violin and English Literature
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Leader of the Indian Delegation, (i) Commonwealth Finance Minister's Conference in Dar-e-Islaam, Tanzania, in 1973, (ii) Asian Development Bank in Jakarta, Indonesia in 1976, and (iii) Vienna to sign agreement with OPEC in 1977; Delegate, (i) Afro-Asian Conference, Colombol, 1958 (ii) World Peace Council in Finland, 1965, (iii) Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, Canberra, Australia, 1970, and (iv) Indian Council for Social Welfare, Brighton (U.K.) October, 1981; represented India at The World Congress Meet on Disability at (i) New York (U.S.A.) in 1983 and (ii) Lisbon, Portugal in 1984; Member of the three Member Delegation to U.K.
Other Information	:	Former President, (i) All India Women's Conference Kanpur, and (ii) Rehabilitation

Co-ordination India; Former Chairman, Central Social Welfare Board; Former Vice-President, Indian Institute of Public Administration, Former Secretary, Kanpur, Bal Sangh; Former Member, (i) Central Citizen Council, (ii) U.P. State Social Welfare Advisory Board, (iii) Sangeet Samaj, Kanpur, (iv) Central Population Advisory Committee Project Impact, (v) National Children's Fund and (vi) National Savings Organization, Former Executive Member, (i) Kanpur University; Trustee and, (ii) All India Women's Conference, Kanpur.

ROY, SMT. LILA*

[Member, C.A.]

Father's Name : Shri Girish Chandra Nag

Date and Place of Birth : October, 1900; Goalpara (Assam)

Marital Status : Married Shri Anil Baran Roy

Educational Qualifications : M.A. (English)

Profession : Social and Political Worker

Positions held

1937 : Member, Congress

1946 : Elected to Constituent Assembly (Cong., Bengal)

1949 : General Secretary, West Bengal Forward Block (Subhasist)

1954 : National Executive Member, Praja Socialist Party

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* Died on 12 June, 1970; ob. ref. on 27 July, 1970.

1960 : Chairman, Praja Socialist Party

Other Position held : Was Member, Central Executive Committee, Forward Block.

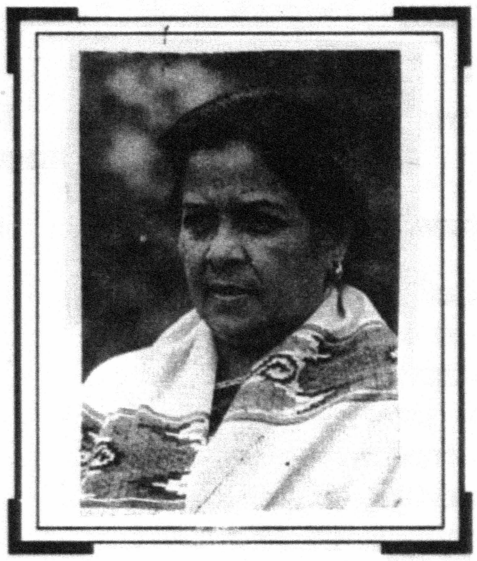
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Was Editor, *Forward Bloc* and *Jayasree*

Honours and Awards : Received Padmawati Gold Medal

Other Informations : Joined the Sri Sangha, a revolutionary society of Dacca in 1925. participated in the anti-salt tax movement, 1930; was arrested and kept in detention during freedom movement; was one of the close associates of Subhas Chandra Bose; arrested in connection with the Squatters' Movement, 1951 and Food Movement, 1952; Founder, (i) Dipali Sangha which *inter alia* established many schools, (ii) Gana Siksha Parishad, (iii) Dipali Chhatri Sangh, (iv) Women's Self-Protection Fund, (v) Chhatri Bhavan, Calcutta, (vi) Dacca Mahila Satyagraha Sangh and (vii) Jatiya Mahila Sanghati; was Member, Women's Sub-Committee, National Planning Committee formed by Subhas Chandra Bose, 1938.

ROY, SMT. UMA
(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Date and Place of Birth	:	1919; Rajshahi (East Pakistan)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Ramhari Roy (since deceased) in 1936
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at Bethune College, Calcutta
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1967	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Malda, Wet Bengal)
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, (i) West Bengal Pradesh Committee for a number of years, (ii) A.I.C.C. for a number of years and (iii) West Bengal Legislative Council
Other Information	:	Former Member, (i) West Bengal Social Welfare Board, (ii) Khadi and Village Industries Board and (iii) West Bengal National Savings Organisations.



SAHI, SMT. KRISHNA

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Mahesh Prasad Sinha

Date and Place of Birth : 16 February, 1931; Muzaffarpur (Bihar)

Marital Status : Married Shri B.P.N. Sahi (since deceased) on 16 May, 1946

Children : One son

Educational Qualifications : B.A. (Hons.), B.L., Dip. holder in flower decoration, craft, beauty, culture, interior decoration, international and continental cooking

Profession : Advocate, Political and Social Worker

Positions held

1972–80 : Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly

1980 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong.(I), Begusarai, Bihar]

1980–82 : Member, Consultative Committee on Assam

1980–84 : Member, Consultative Committee, Department of Energy

1981	:	Member, Joint Committee on Dowry Prohibition Act, 1981
1981–82	:	Member, House Committee
1983–84	:	Chairman, Committee on Papers Laid on the Table; Member, General Purposes Committee
1984	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong.(I), Begusarai, Bihar]
1985	:	Member, Business Advisory Committee
May ,1986 to Feb., 1988	:	Union Minister of State, Human Resource Development (Department of Education and Culture)
1988–89	:	Member, Committee on Private Member's Bills and Resolutions
Feb., 1988 to July, 1989	:	Union Minister of State, Water Resources
July, 1989 to Dec., 1989	:	Union Minister of State, Human Resource Development (Department of Culture)
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong.(I), Begusarai, Bihar]
2 July, 1992	:	Union Minister of State, Ministry of Industry (Department of Industrial Development)
Literay, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Writing articles in Hindi on social problems
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Member, Indian Parliamentary Delegation to the C.P.A. Conference, Lusaka, Zambia, 1980; represented India on the UN Committee on 'Women and Apartheid', New York, 1982-83; reperesented Congress (I) Party at a Conference on the status of women held in Belgrade, 1983.
Other Information	:	Specially interested in upliftment of women and rural development; Former Chairman, Patna Development Authority; Former Member, (i) Patna Improvement Trust, (ii) Senate and Syndicate of Bihar University, Muzaffarpur, (iii) Patna University, (iv) Court of JNU and (v) United Nations Committee on Women and Apartheid; Life Member, (i) Red Cross Society and (ii) Bharat Krishak Samaj.

SAPRE, SMT. TARA GOVIND*

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : R.P. Govind Raghunath Barve

Date and Place of Birth : 9 May, 1919; Poona

Marital Status : Married Shri Govind Vithal Sapre on 25 May, 1940

Children : One daughter and two sons

Educational Qualifications : B.A.

Profession : Housewife

Positions held

1967—70** : Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth)
(Cong., Bombay North-East, Maharashtra)

Other Information : Was Member, All India Women's Conference.

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* Died on 14 January, 1981; ob. ref. in L.S. on 16 February, 1981.

** Elected in a by-election.

SARMA, SMT. BASANTI
(Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Dr. Ananda Barbara
Date and Place of Birth	:	1 March, 1944; Tinsukia (Assam)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Manabendra Sarma (since deceased) on 10 February, 1965
Children	:	Two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., M.A. (Previous)
Profession	:	Teacher
Positions held		
Sept., 1991	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I), Assam]
Literary, Artistics and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Fine arts
Other Information	:	Special interests in (i) Literacy among women folk, (ii) Teaching and (iii) Social Work.

SAROJINI KRISHNARAO BABAR, DR. (MS.)

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Krishnarao Bhaurao Babar
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 January, 1920; Bagni, Distt. Sangli (Maharashtra)
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., Ph.D.
Profession	:	Journalist
Positions held		
1952–57	:	Member, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly
1963–66	:	Member, Maharashtra Legislative Council
April, 1968	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Maharashtra)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Published nearly ninety books–fictions, thesis, essays, short stories and poetry; Former Editor, Samaj Shikshan Mala
Other Information	:	Took special interest in folklore; Former Chairman, Maharashtra State Folklore Committee.

SATHE, SMT. TARA RAMCHANDRA

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Yeshwant Vishnu Ranade

Date and Place of Birth : 29 March, 1913; Poona

Marital Status : Married Shri Ramchandra Krishna Sathe on 3 August, 1952

Children : Two daughters and one son

Educational Qualifications : B.A., Diploma in the theory of Montessory Method of Education

Positions held

1953–60 : Member, Poona District Development Board

1954–55 : Poona City Congress (Women's Wing)

1955–58 : Member, Maharashtra Congress (Women's Wing)

1956–57 : Member, Maharashtra P.C.C.

1959–60 : President Sadashiv A. Mandal Congress Committee

April, 1962 : Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Maharashtra)

1965 : Member, Panel of Vice-Chairmen, Rajya Sabha

Other Information : Former President, Maharashtra Prantik Mahila Mandal; Founder-Member, Montessory International, Maharashtra Branch; Former Vice-President, Poona Women's Flood Relief Samiti; Former Director, Family Welfare Industrial Co operative Society (Match Factory) Poona; Former General Secretary, (i) Maharashtra Prantik Mahila Mandal and (ii) Poona District. Child Welfare Society for two years; Former Secretary (i) Pradesh Women's Council, (ii) Housewives Conference, Poona City, (iii) Udyog Mandir Congress Women's Wing (iv) S.P. College Silver Jubilee Celebrations, (v) West Zone, toured throughout Maharashtra and organised branches of A.I.W.C. in various places; Former Joint Secretary, (i) Jhansi Rani Memorial Committee, (ii) Kasturba Fund Collection Committee, Poona City, (iii) Kasturba Fund; Distribution Committee, Poona District and (iv) Tagore Centenary Committee, Poona Division; Former Hony. Secretary, (i) Rationing Committee, Poona Mahila Mandal, (ii) Poona Mahila Mandal (iii) Committee to popularise Hindu Code Bill and to make arrangements to give free advice to poor women in legal matters and gave evidence before the Rao Committee on Hindu Code Bill; Former Member, (i) All India Women's Conference, (ii) Standing Committee, All India Women's Conference for nearly 10 years during which she held portfolios such as Member-in-Charge of election, cooperation and education (iii) Women's Council and worked on various Committees, (iv) Managing Council, Saraswati Mandir Society, (v) Rural Advisory Committee, A.I.R. Poona, (vi) Programme Advisory Committee, A.I.R. Poona, (vii) Central Advisory Committee, Posts and

Telegraphs, (viii) Co-ordination Committee of the Urban Community Development Programme under the Ministry of Health and Family Planning and (ix) Board of Directors, Indian Institute of Scientific Studies for the Prevention of Alcoholism; Hony. Magistrate, Second Class with attestation Powers; Conducted (i) Scouting Ranger Troop for lady students in S.P. College, (ii) Student's Stores for lady students in S.P. College for sale of Indian goods and (iii) free classes for S.S.C. students for two years and Visitor Lunatic Asylum, Poona.

SATPATHY, SMT. NANDINI
[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Kalindi Charan Panigrahi
Date and Place of Birth	:	19 June, 1931; Cuttack
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Devendra Satpathy in 1951
Children	:	Two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Profession	:	Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
April, 1962	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)
29 January, 1966 to 12 March, 1967	:	Union Dy. Minister for Information and Broadcasting
April, 1968	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Uttar Pradesh)
18 March, 1967 to 14 February ,1969	:	Union Dy. Minister for Information and Broadcasting
14 February, 1969 to 26 June, 1970	:	Union Dy. Minister without Portfolio

26 June 1970, to 18 March, 1971 : Minister of State without Portfolio

18 March, 1971 to 14 June, 1972 : Minister of State in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting

Other Positions held : Former Chief Minister, Orissa; Former Member, Advisory Board, Youth Congress and (ii) A.I.C.C.; Former Convener, Womens Department of Utkal P.C.C.

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Author of short stories and essays in Oriya

Travels Abroad : Led Indian Film Delegation to Moscow, November-December, 1966

Other Information : Took active part in organising relief work; Former President, Vice-President or Secretary of many organisations engaged in the welfare of women, youth and children; Former Chairman, Children's Film Society, India and (ii) National Young Women's Committee; Former Vice-President, All India Women's Conference; Secretary, (i) Orissa Girls Students' Association, (ii) Women's Relief Committee and (iii) Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, Orissa Branch; Convener, Youth and Students' Committee of the citizens Central Council; Former Member, (i) Tourist Development Council, Government of India, (ii) District Relief Committee, Government of Orissa, (iii) Indian Council for Child Welfare, New Delhi and (iv) State Council for Education of Women and Girls, Orissa.

SATYA BAHIN, SMT.

[Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Baldev Prasad
Date and Place of Birth	:	5 January, 1944; Vill. Dalippur Naraini, Distt. Mainpuri (U.P.)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Chandra Prakash Naik on 14 June, 1957
Children	:	One daughter and five sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A. (Sociology)
Profession	:	Social worker
Positions held		
April, 1988	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Uttar Pradesh]
1988—90	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Industries
Other Positions held	:	Associated with I.N.C.; Member, (i) Committee on Petitions and (ii) Consultative Committee, Ministry of Finance

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Editor, (i) *'Jagat Sudhar'*; and (ii) *'Surya Rath'* Hindi Weeklies being published from Agra

Travels Abroad : Nepal

Other Information : Working for the down-trodden Harijans and needy children and women; President, (i) Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes Women's Welfare Society and (ii) Press Congress of India; Adhyaksha, Sarva Dharam Sam Bhav, an Organisation to promote National Integration; Member, (i) Divisional Railway Users' Consultative Committee, Allahabad Division, Northern Railway, (ii) Telecom Advisory Committee, (U.P. Circle), (iii) Legal Aid Committee, Etah, (iv) Lok Adalat, Etah, (v) Hindi Advisory Committee for Dak Tar Vibhag and (vi) Central School Board.

SATYA BHAMA DEVI, SMT.

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Hari Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	14 March, 1911; Barhiya Mongen
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Tribeni Prasad Singh (since deceased)
Profession	:	Cultivator and Political Worker
Positions held		
1957–62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Nawada, Bihar)
1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Jahanabad, Bihar)
Other Information	:	Took interest in Mahila Kalyan Board and gave financial aid for uplift of Harijans; donated 500 Bighas land as Bhoodan and money for a Charitable Hospital .

SAVITA BEHEN, SMT.

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name : Swamy Satyabraty

Date and Place of Birth : 23 January , 1919; Rohtas, District Jhelum (Pakistan)

Marital Status : Married Dr. Ulfat Rai (since deceased) on 19 April, 1936

Children : One daughter and two sons

Educational Qualifications : Hons. in Hindi, Sahitya Ratna, Sahitya Alankar, Siddhanta Shastri

Profession : Educationist and Social and Political Worker

Positions held

1951 - 62 : Member, Delhi Municipal Committee and lateron of the Delhi Municipal Corporation

1956 - 57 : First Woman Vice-President, Delhi Municipal Committee

1962 - 66 : Member, Punjab Legislative Council and Chairman of its Housing and Comforts Committee

April, 1972 : Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Delhi)

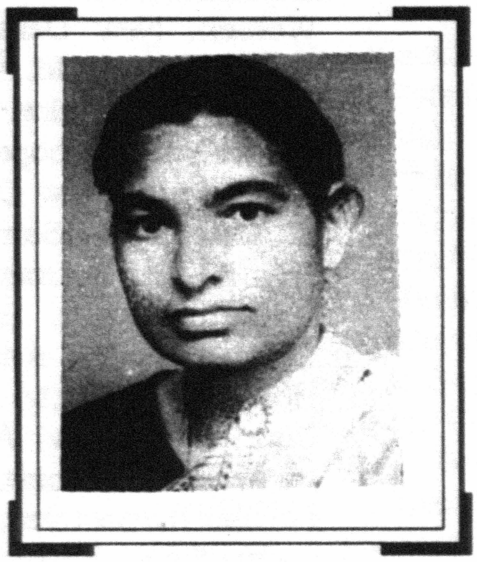
Other Positions held : Founder President, Janata forum (Regd.) New Delhi; Former President, Akhil Bharatiya Mahila Shakti Dal; Former Chairman, (i) Public Health, Medical Relief and Education Committees of the Delhi Municipal Corporation, (ii) Reception Committee, Fourth Political Congress and (iii) Delhi Pradesh Congress Seva Dal Board; Former General Secretary, P.C.C., Delhi, Zonal Organiser, Central Zone (U.P. and M.P.) Women's Section, AICC; G.O.C., Congress Seva Dal, Delhi Pradesh; Former Member, (i) Executive Committee, All India Women's League, Delhi, (ii) Railway Consultative Committee, (iii) Standing Committee, DMC (iv) Executive Committee, P.C.C., Delhi and (v) A.I.C.C.

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Contributed several articles on cooperative movement, social, economic and cultural subjects and also on uplift of the backward classes and child and labour welfare and educational topics

Honours and Awards : Recipient of Padma Shree in 1971

Other Information : Took active part in the activities of the Student Union Congress; jumped into the freedom struggle at the age of 10; one of the founders of Women Service Dal in and Former G.O.C. Delhi Pradesh Sevika Dal, founded three schools for the children of Harijans and Labourers and established Harijan Adult Education Centre and Tailoring and Industrial Centres for Women in Delhi; opened two industrial and Education Centres in 1947 to help refugee women in Delhi; Organised Bal Vikas Kendras at saveral places; Former President, (i) All India Women's Council (ii) Women's Welfare Association, Delhi (iii) Super Bazar Cooperative Stores Ltd., New Delhi, (iv) Mahila Thrift and Credit Society, Delhi. (v) Naodit Kalakar Sangam, Delhi and (vi) Rattan Arts Group, Delhi; Former Chairman, (i) Refugee Widow Protec-

tion Committee and (ii) Governing Body, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee College for Women, New Delhi; Former Director, (i) Mughul Lines Ltd., New Delhi and (ii) Sneh Sadan Girls' Union Delhi; Hony. Secretary, Rashtriyajan Cooperative House Building Society Ltd., New Delhi; Former Convener, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Karol Bagh Distt. New Delhi, Former Member, (i) National Harbour Board, (ii) Telephone Advisory Committee, (iii) Avisory Committee, Irwin Hospital, Delhi, (iv) All India Women's Food Council and (v) Advisory Board for Life Insurance Corporation of India for 8 years; Former Inspectress, Punjab University Examinations; Former Principal, Rashtriya Kanya Mahavidyalaya.



SAVITRI SHYAM, SMT.*

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Har Prasad
Date and Place of Birth	:	2 May, 1918; Muzaffarnagar
Marital Status	:	Married Shyam Sunder on 17 February, 1939.
Children.	:	Two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., LL.B.
Profession	:	Political worker and Journalist
Positions held		
1945–46	:	Member, Municipal Education and Health Committees
1955–67	:	Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council
1958	:	Member, P.C.C., Uttar Pradesh
1958–60	:	Member, A.I.C.C.
1960–67	:	Member, Panel of Chairmen, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council

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* Died on 28 November, 1989 ; ob. ref. in L.S. on 20 December, 1989.

1967–70 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth)
(Cong., Anonla, Uttar Pradesh)

1971–77 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth)
(Cong., Anonla, Uttar Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Was Member, (i) Zila Parishad Bareilly, (ii) Executive Committee, Uttar Pradesh Congress Legislative Party, (iii) Committee on Government Assurances, (iv) Public Accounts Committee and (iv) Joint Committees on Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Bill, 1967, Contempt of Court Bill; Code of Civil Procedure Bill; Law of Torts Bill; Advocates (Amendment) Bill; and Judges (Commission of Enquiry) Bill, Lok Sabha; was Party Whip, Uttar Pradesh Congress Legislative Party

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published on *Political Life of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant*

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled

Other Information : Was Chairman, Research Section of Indian Bureau of Child Welfare and Research, Uttar Pradesh; was Member, (i) Uttar Pradesh State Committee for Evaluation and on Public Participation in Community Development Projects; (ii) Uttar Pradesh State Committee for Evaluation of Social Welfare Projects, (iii) State Board of Uttar Pradesh Bharat Sewak Samaj, (iv) Uttar Pradeh State Prohibition Board, (v) Regional Transport Authority, Rohilkhand Region, and Transport Advisory Committee, Rohilkhand Region, (vi) Board of High School and Intermediate Education, Uttar Pradesh, (vii) Central Prohibition Committee, Government of India, (viii) Council of Social Welfare, Uttar Pradesh (ix) Uttar Pradesh Ophthalmic Advisory Council, (x) Zonal Advisory Board, Central Zone, Life Insurance Corporation of India and (xi) Board of Management.

SCINDIA, SMT. VIJAYA RAJE

[Ex-Member, R.S. & Member L.S.]

Father's Name : Thakur Mahendra Singh

Date and Place of Birth : 12 October, 1919; Sagar (Madhya Pradesh)

Marital Status : Married Maharaja Jivajirao Scindia (since deceased) on 21 February, 1941

Children : Four daughters and one son

Educational Qualifications : Educated at Home and Basant College, Banaras; Hony. Doctorate conferred by Vikram University, Ujjain

Profession : Social Service

Positions held

1957–62 : Member, Lok Sabha (Second)
(Cong., Guna, Madhya Pradesh)

1962–67 : Member, Lok Sabha (Third)
(Cong., Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh)

1967–71 : Member, Madhya Pradesh Assembly

1971–77 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth)
(J.S., Bhind, Madhya Pradesh)

1973	:	Vice -President, J.S.
1978–84	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (B.J.P., Madhya Pradesh)
April, 1984	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (B.J.P., Madhya Pradesh)
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) (B.J.P., Guna, Madhya Pradesh)
1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Human Resource Development
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (B.J.P., Guna, Madhya Pradesh)
Ohers Positions held	:	Previously associated with I.N.C., resigned in 1967 and later joined B.J.P.
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled
Other Information	:	Detained during Emergency 1975—77; First in Solitary Confinement Panchamarhi, Madhya Pradesh and then in Tihar Jail, (Delhi); Founder, Sanyukta Vidhayak Dal; President, All India Women's Conference (Gwalior Branch) for the last 40 years; Board of Governers; Scindia Kanya Vidyalaya, Gwalior and Samrat Ashok Technonogical Institute, Vidisha; Founder President, Shishu Mandir and Scindia Kanya Vidyalaya, Gwalior; Chancellor, Sagar University, Sagar; Trustee, Viswa Hindu Parishad, Gwalior.

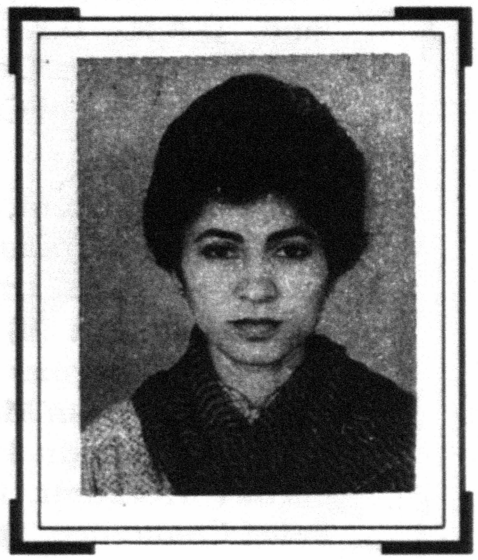
SEETA YUDHVIR, SMT.
(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Amar Chand Mehta
Date and Place of Birth	:	9 November, 1922; Dar-es-salaam (East Africa)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Yudhvir on 3 March, 1946
Children	:	Two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Graduate
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1952—64	:	Member, A.I.C.C.
1957	:	Member, Executive Committee, Andhra P.C.C.
April, 1958	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Andhra Pradesh)
1960	:	Member, Civic Board, District (City) Congress Committee, Hyderabad
1961-62 and 1962-63	:	Member, Executive Committee of Congress in Parliament
1964	:	Vice-President, Hyderabad City Congress, Committee
April, 1964	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Andhra Pradesh)

Other Positions held : Former Member, A.P.C.C.

Travels Abroad : France, Italy, Lebanon, Sweden, Switzerland, U.A.R., U.K. and West Germany; Member, Indian Delegation to the Conference of I.P.U. at Copenhagen, Demmark in Aug., 1964

Other Information : Former President, Vijaya Fine Arts Academy, Hyderabad; Former Vice-President, (i) Rashtriya Mahila Samaj, Hyderabad and (ii) A.P. Punjabi Sabha, Hyderabad; Former General Secretary, (i) Mahila Navjeevan Mandal, Hyderabad and (ii) Sarojini Naidu Hall Raffle Committee; Former Treasurer, Chief Minister's Flood Relief Committee; Former Member, (i) Advisory Board, Handicrafts, Andhra Pradesh, (ii) Anand Lalit Kala Sangh, (iii) Executive Committee of All India Women's Conference, Andhra Pradesh (iv) National Council for Women's Education and (v) Railway Users, Zonal Consultative Committees for the South Central Railway; Former District Guides Commissioner Hindustan Scout Association, Lahore; Former Trustee, (i) Amrit Kapadia Navajeevan College for Arts and Science and Hyderabad City Congress Board of Trust.



SELJA, MS.
(Member, L.S.)

Father's Name : Choudhury Dalbir Singh

Date and Place of Birth : 24 September, 1962; Chandigarh

Marital Status : Unmarried

Educational Qualifications M.A., M. Phil.

Profession : Agriculturist, Political and Social Worker

Positions held

1990 : Joint Secretary, All India Mahila Congress

1991 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth)
[Cong.(I), Sirsa-SC, Haryana]

2 July, 1992 Union Deputy Minister, Ministry of Human Resource Development (Department of Education and Department of Culture)

Travels Abroad : Malaysia, Nepal, Singapore and Thailand

Other Information : Specially interested in Environment with special reference to the regeneration of ecologically degraded areas, problems of the developmental issues of the third world.

SEN, SMT. SUSHAMA*

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri P.N. Bose
Date and Place of Birth	:	25 April, 1889; Calcutta
Marital Status	:	Married Dr. P.K. Sen (since deceased) on 15 August, 1904
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at Loreto House, Calcutta, Darjeeling, London and Cambridge
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1941 - 46	:	Municipal Commissioner, Patna City Municipality
1946 - 52	:	Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly

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* Died on 24 February, 1972; ob ref. in L.S. on 13 March, 1972.

1952 - 57 : Member, Lok Sabha (First)
(Cong., Bhagalpur South, Bihar)

Other Positions held : Was associated with I.N.C.

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; attended World's Congress of Faiths at Cambridge 1939 and also at Oxford, 1951

Other Information : Took special interest in social reforms and relief work for the poor and refugees; worked for abolition of Child marriage, casteism and dowry systems; was associated with (i) Partition of Bengal movement, (ii) Mahatma Gandhi's antipurdah, Khadi and Swadeshi movements and (iii) Women's suffrage movement in London; gave evidence before (i) Joshi Committee on Age of Consent Bill at Patna and (ii) Jt. Parliamentary Commission, London, on Indian Women's Franchise; Established First three Child Welfare Centres in Patna; was President, (i) AIWC, Madras, (ii) Aghore Nari Samiti Patna (also its secretary), (iii) Kishore Dal, Children's Organisation, Bihar (also its founder); was Chairwoman, Vice-President Patroness, Treasurer and Organising Secretary, AIWC; Chairwoman, Special Committee held at Panchmari for framing scheme for Lady Irwin Domestic Science College for Women, Delhi; was Secretary, Victoria Institution, Calcutta; was Member, (i) Red Cross Dufferin Fund, (ii) National Cadet Corps, Bihar, (iii) First Standing Committee for Bihar AIWC and founder of its branch in Bihar; was Jail and Hospital Visitor Patna, for over two decades.

SHAH, HER HIGHNESS RAJMATA KAMLENDU MATI

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name : Raja Bijay Sen of Koenthal State

Date and Place of Birth : 20 March 1903; Koti (Koenthal State)

Marital Status : Married His Highness Maharaja Sir Narendra Shah (since deceased) in 1916

Children : One daughter and two sons

Educational Qualifications: Educated privately; studied Hindi, English and French

Positions held

1952—57 : Member, Lok Sabha (First)

[Independent, Garhwal Distt. (West)-*cum* -Tehri Garhwal Distt. *cum*-Bijnor Distt. (North), Uttar Pradesh]

Other Informations : Worked for the improvement of the condition of women and children; took special interest in Indian music and Indian philosophy; Former Member, (i) Cricket Club of India and (ii) Western India Automobile Association.visitor Patna, for over two decades.

SHAH, SMT. JAYABEN
(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Tribhuvandas Shah
Date and Place of Birth	:	October, 1922; Bhavnager
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Vajubhai Shah on 7 April, 1945.
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Profession	:	Political and social worker
Positions held		
1948–52	:	Member, Saurashtra Constituent Assembly
1950–56	:	Member, Saurashtra Legislative Assembly
1955–56	:	Deputy Education Minister, Saurashtra
1956–57	:	Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly
1957–62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong.,Girnar, Bombay)
1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong. Amreli, Gujarat)
1962–63	:	Member, Estimates Committee
1963–64	:	Member, Executive Committee, Congress, Parliamentary Party

1967-70 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth)
(Cong. , Amreli, Gujarat)

Other Positions held : Former Member, Executive Committee and Secretary , All India Panchayat Parishad

Travels Abroad : Widel y travelled; Indian Delegate to World Health Conference, Geneva, 1962

Other Information : Associated in various capacities in the fields of promotion of Khadi and Village Industries and Bhoodan and rural uplift of Backward classes; Former President, Saurashtra Council of Child Welfare; Former Vice-President, (i) Council of Child Welfare, Gujarat State. and (ii) Association for Social and Moral Hygiene Gujarat Branch; Former Member, (i) All India Animal Welfare Board Goverment of India and (ii) All India Nature Cure Advisory Committee, Government of India.

SHAIZA, SMT. RANO M.

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Dr. Sevile Iralu
Date and Place of Birth	:	11 November, 1928; Phek, Nagaland
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Lungshim Shaiza on 26 April, 1954
Children	:	Two daughters and three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Intermediate
Profession	:	Educationist and Social Worker
Positions held		
1973–75	:	President, United Democratic Front
1977	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Sixth) (U.A., Nagaland)
Other Positions held	:	Former Member of Committee on Petitions in the Sixth Lok Sabha
Other Information	:	Went underground in 1953 when Assam Govt. started repressive measures in Naga Hills; detained for 19 months when wide-spread disturbance brokeout in Nagaland; Former President, All Naga Women's Organisation; Former General Secretary, Board of Private School Association (NBCC)

Nagaland; Former Convener, Urs Academy (Socialist Education Division); Former Member, (i) Nagaland Bhasha Parishad and (ii) Baptist Women Welfare, Nagaland.

SHAKTAWAT, PROF. NIRMLA KUMARI

(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name : Shri Ragubeer Singhji

Date and Place of Birth : 5 May, 1938; Vill.Ochhari, Chittorgarh District

Marital Status : Married Shri Vikram Singhji on 18 February, 1961

Children : Two sons

Educational Qualifications : M.A.

Profession : Educationist and Agriculturist

Positions held

1972–77 : (i) Vice-President, D.C.C., Chittorgarh, and
(ii) Member, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly

1977 : President, D.C.C., Chittorgarh

1977–78 : Convenor, Women Wing, P.C.C.. Rajasthan

1980–84 : Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh)
[Cong. (I), Chittorgarh, Rajasthan]

1980—82 : Member, House Committee, Lok Sabha

1981 : Member, Committee on Papers Laid on the Table, Lok Sabha

1984 : Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth)
[Cong. (I), Chittorgarh, Rajasthan]

1985–86 : Member, Estimates Committee

Other Positions held : Former Convenor, (i) A.I.C.C., and (ii) Congress Centenary Celebrations Coordinating Committee (West Zone); Former Executive Member of Congress (I) Party in Parliament

Travels Abroad : France, Italy, Nepal, Poland and West Germany; Leader, AICC delegation to Poland to attend celebration of Peasant Party, Poland

Other Information : Arranged many seminars on Social problems like Child and Women Welfare; Former President, (i) G.D. Girls College, Kota, (ii) R.M.V. College, Udaipur, and (iii) Girls Union P.G. College, Udaipur; Former Convener, Teachers Cell; Former Professor of Sociology, University of Rajasthan; Former Member, Jodhpur University Executive.

SHAKUNTALA DEVI, SMT.

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Debi Prasad Mahato
Date and Place of Birth	:	10 October, 1931; Sangrampur (Bihar)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Yashwant Kumar Singh on 9 June, 1950
Children	:	One daughter and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at Mokshada Girls' School, Bhagalpur and Patna Women's College, Patna
Positions held		
1957–62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Banka, Bihar)
1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Banka, Bihar)
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, (i) P.C.C. Bihar, (ii) D.C.C. and (iii) a number of local committees of the Congress Party
Other Information	:	Specially interested in social work; Former Member, (i) Central Social Welfare Board and (ii) District Harijan Welfare Committee.

SHANTI DEVI, SMT.

(Ex-Member, R.S. & L.S.)

Father's Name : Chaudhar y Badan Singh Yadav

Date and Place of Birth : 30 January, 1937; Jarip Nagar, District Badaun

Marital Status : Married Chaudhary Jagannath Singh Yadav

Children : Four sons

Educational Qualifications : High School

Profession : Agriculturist

Positions held

1961–62 : Member, Rajya Sabha (Uttar Pradesh)

1962–68 : Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly

1977–79 : Member, Lok Sabha (Sixth) (Janata Party, Sambhal, Uttar Pradesh)

1984–89 : Member, Lok Sabha (Eighth) (Cong. (I), Sambhal, Uttar Pradesh)

1987–89 : Member, Committee on Government Assurances, Lok Sabha

Previously associated with Congress, B.K.D. and Janata Party

Other Information : Took special interest in art and politics; engaged in social work and backward class movement.

SHARMA, SMT. RUKMANIBAI*

(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Jaya Dayal Sharma
Date and Place of Birth	:	1907; Meerut (U.P.)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Ram Gapasharma on 2 May, 1922
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated up to school level at Kanya Path-sala Meerut
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held	:	
1955	:	Member, Executive Committee Madhya Bharat P.C.C.
April, 1956	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Madhya Pradesh)

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* Died on 27 May, 1962; ob. ref., R.S. on 20 June, 1962.

Other Positions held : Was Member, Executive Committee, Ajmer-Merwar, P.C.C.

Other Information : Picketed foreign goods shops, 1930; suffered imprisonment in various Congress Movements in 1932, 1940 and 1942; household things were also auctioned for non-payment of fine in 1942; was President Women's Parishad, Indore; was General Sercetary Kasturba Mahila Sewa Sadan, Fatehabad (M.P.) was Member, Anti-communal Morcha, Madhay Bharat; and was Agent Kasturba Nidhi, Madhya Bharat.

SHYAMKUMARI DEVI, SMT.*

(Ex-Member, L.S. & R.S.)

Father's Name : Shri Lal Magal Singh

Date and Place of Birth : 1910; Sarangarh, Distt. Raigarh

Marital Status : Married Thakur Lal Dalganjan Singh Ju-deo (since deceased)

Profession : Cultivator

Positions held

1952–62 : Member, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly

1954–55 : Chairman, Janpad Sabha Bindra-Nawagarh Tehsil and held the Education Protfolio as a member of the Sabha

1963–67 : Member,** Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong; Raipur-S.T. Madhya Pradesh)

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* Died on 6 July, 1984, ob. ref. in L.S. on 23 July, 1984.

** Elected in a by-election.

1968–80 : Member, Rajya Sabha
(Cong., Madhya Pradesh)

Other Information : Took special interest in social service and farming; was President, (i) Bharat Sewak Samaj (Women Wing), (ii) National Small Savings Group and (iii) Bhagini Mandal, Raipur; Was Member, Madhya Pradesh Social Welfare Advisory Board.

SIDDHARTHA, SMT. D.K. THARA DEVI

(Ex-Member, R.S. and Member, L.S.)

Father's Name : Shri Krishnappa Gouda

Date and Place of Birth : 26 December, 1953; Mudigere, Distt. Chikmagalur (Karnataka)

Marital Status : Married Shri Siddhartha Reddy

Educational Qualifications : B.A.

Profession : Agriculturist, Coffee Grower, Political Activist and Social Worker

Positions held

1978–81 : President, Mudigere Taluka Development Board

1981–85 : Member, Karnataka Legislative Assembly

1984 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong.(I), Chikmagalur, Karnataka]

1990 : Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Karnataka]

1991 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong. (I), Chikmagalur, Karnataka]

25 June, 1991 to 17 Jan., 1993 : Union Minister of State, Health & Family Welfare

Other Positions held : Chairman, (i) Committee on Government Assurances, Karnataka Legislative Assembly and (ii) Election Campaign Committee of Mudigere Assembly after the historic Congress split; President, Municipal Council, Mudigere; Vice-President, D.C.C., Chikmagalur; General Secretary, P.C.C., Karnataka; Joint Secretary, A.I.C.C.; Convenor, Women's Wing of Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee, Member, Board of Directors, (i) Coffee Board and (ii) Spices Board

Travels Abroad : Afghanistan, China, Hong Kong, North Korea, Sri Lanka, U.K, USA and USSR; Chairman, Delegation to Sri Lanka; Member, (i) Indo-Soviet Friendship Delegation to USSR, 1985, (ii) Parliamentary Delegation to North Korea 1986, (iii) International Coffee Organisation, London 1988, (iv) Delegation to Special Youth Congress Afghanisthan, 1989 and (v) United Nation's 41st General Assembly Session

Other Information : Working for the upliftment of Women, Child Welfare and for the betterment of Tribals and Scheduled Castes, also for the Welfare of Labour in Coffee, spices and coconut plantation; Courted arrest during 1977-78; Founder-President, Mahila Kaigarika Sahaka-Sangha, Mudigere; President Mudigere Taluka Development Board, Chikmagalure; Former Chairman, Family and Child Welfare Project, Mudigere.

SINGH, MS. PUSHPA DEVI

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Raja Naresh Chandra Singh

Date and Place of Birth : 18 May, 1948; Raipur (Madhya Pradesh)

Marital Status : Unmarried

Educational Qualifications : B.A.

Profession : Agriculturist

Positions held

1980 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Seventh)
[Cong. (I), Raigarh-ST, Madhya Pradesh]

1980–82 : Member, Committee on Papers Laid on the Table

1984 : Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth)
[Cong. (I), Raigarh-ST, Madhya Pradesh]

1991 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth)
[Cong. (I), Raigarh ST, Madhya Pradesh]

Other Information : Specially interested in the development of the underdeveloped areas and people.

SINGH, SMT. JAHANARA JAIPAL
[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri T.C.S. Jayarathnam
Date and Place of Birth	:	31 May, 1923; Nagpur
Marital Status	:	Married Shrí Jaipal Singh (since deceased) on 8 May, 1955
Children	:	One daughter and three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Diploma in Montessori Teaching
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1958–70	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Jharkhand party, Bihar)
1966–67	:	Union Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation
1967–69	:	Union Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation
1969–70	:	Union Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education and Youth Service

April, 1972 : Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Bihar)

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Accomplishment in Pianoforte

Travels Abroad : Ceylon, Europe, Hong Kong, Japan, Malaysia, U.S.A.

Other Information : Worked for the successful merger of the Jharkhand party with the Congress in Bihar; Started a Cooperative society for women in Ranchi; Founder Chairman, Adivasi Mahila Udyog Samiti; Former Convener, Committee on Welfare among Adivasis, the National Council of Women in India; Former Member, (i) Ranchi Improvement Trust and (ii) Board of Management, Delhi School of Social Work.

SINGH, SMT. MADHURI*

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri B.N. Chand
Date and Place of Birth	:	13 January, 1923; Bishnupur Vill., Bhamdaha Taluk, District Purnea
Marital Status	:	Married Shri. T.P. Singh (since deceased)
Children	:	Four daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Intermediate
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Positions held		
1980 - 84	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong.(I), Purnea, Bihar]
1984	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Purnea, Bihar]
Travels Abroad	:	Hong Kong, Japan, Malaysia, South Korea and Thailand
Other Information	:	Took special interest in gradening and women's Welfare.

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* Died on 31 December, 1989; ob. ref. in L.S. on 12 March, 1990.

SINGH, SMT. MANORAMA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Chandra Narayan Singh

Date and Place of Birth : 4 May, 1938; Kalyanpur Village, Distt. Monghyr

Marital Status : Married Shri Chandra Shekhar Singh on 29 June, 1953

Children : One daughter and two sons

Educational Qualifications : Intermediate

Profession : Argiculturist

Positions held

1984 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Banka, Bihar]

Travels Abroad : U.S.S.R.

Other Information : Took special interest in social work in rural areas; worked for the welfare of children, women and weaker sections; Former Vice-Cahirman, (i) Bihar State Social Welfare Board, (ii) All India Women's Conference, (iii) Bihar Council of Women and (iv) Bharatiya Grameen Mahila Sangh; Former Member, (i) War Widows Association and (ii) Indo- Soviet Friendship Society.

SINGH, SMT. PRATIBHA

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri C.P.N. Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	7 July, 1929; Salemgarh, Distt. Gorakhpur (U.P.)
Marital Status	:	Married Kunwar Prem Raj Singh on 9 July, 1941
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A. (Hons.)
Profession	:	Political Worker
Positions held		
1962–69	:	Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly
December, 1970	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Bihar)
1973–75	:	Member, Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Foreign Contribution Regulation Bill, 1973
1974–76	:	Member, Public Accounts Committee

1975–76 : Member, Party Executive Committee in Parliament

April, 1976 : Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong., Bihar]

1978–79 : Member, Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Multi-State Cooperative Societies Bill, 1977

1980–82 : Member, Committee on Rules, Rajya Sabha

April, 1982 : Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong. (I), Bihar)

1982–84 : Member, Public Accounts Committee

1984–85 : Member, Committee of Privileges, Rajya Sabha

1984–86 : Member, Committee on Petitions, Rajya sabha

1986–87 : Member, Business Advisory Committee, Rajya Sabha

April, 1988 : Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Bihar]

Other Positions Held : Member, P.C.C.Bihar and A.I.C.C

Travels Abroad : East Germany, England, France, Japan, Nepal, and U.S.A.; attended Inter-Parliamentary conference in Berlin in 1980 and Delegate to U.N.O., 1982

Other Information : Special interest in child and women welfare and upliftment of the Harijans; Former President, (i) Child Welfare Council, Punjab; (ii) Red Cross Society, Punjab; Former Chairman, Bal Sahyog; Established Saket Home for Handicapped in Chandigarh; associated with (i) Children's Film Society, Punjab, (ii) Social Welfare Board, Punjab, (iii) Bharat Scouts and Guides, Pubjab and (iv) Ayyangar Home for Hndicapped, Patna; Former Member, (i) Child Welfare Council, Bihar, (ii) Red Cross Society, Bihar and (iii) Executive Committee, Indian Council for Child Welfare; started the scheme for Indian Holiday Home at Taradevi near Shimla.

SINHA, SMT. KAMLA

[Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Kedareshwar Mukherjee
Date and Place of Birth	:	30 September, 1932; Vill. Raniganj, Distt. Dinajpur (now in Bangladesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Basawon Sinha (since deceased) on 25 April, 1951
Children	:	Three daughters
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., M.Ed.
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1965–74	:	President, Samajwadi Mahila Sabha, Bihar
1969–73	:	President, Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha, India
1970–74.	:	Member, All India Samajwadi Mahila Sabha
1972–77	:	Member, National Executive, Socialist Party
1972–84	:	Member, Bihar Legislative Council
1976	:	Member, Advisory Committee on Equal Remuneration Act, 1976

1986–88 : Vice-President, Janata Party, Bihar

April, 1990 : Elected to Rajya Sabha (J.D., Bihar)

Other Positions held : President, (i) Samajwadi Mahila Sabha, Bihar Unit and (ii) Samajwadi Yuwak Sabha, India; Member, (i) National Committee Mahila Janata Dal (ii) National Executive Socialist Party and (iii) India Samajwadi Mahila Sabha

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Brochures on Problems of Youth and Women and thesis paper, Contribution of Ramkrishna Mission to Indian Education, 1964

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; participated and led a number of delegations abroad; Vice-President, International Confederation of Free Trade Union, Asia-Pacific Region, Singapore

Other Informtion : Jailed several times from 1960 onwards including under MISA during Emergency; Patron, (i) Rashtra Seva Dal, Bihar, (ii) Kala Pathak, Bihar, and (iii) Jogendra Sukla Sporting Club, Patna; President, (i) Women's Relief Committee for floods and drought in Bihar, and Associated with J.P. Narayan's Relief Committee, (ii) Hind Mazdoor Sabha and (iii) Nari Sakti; Chairperson, Hind Mazdoor Sabha (Women Committee); Former Vice-President, Bihar Hind Mazdoor Sabha; Member, (i) International Union of Socialist Youth and (ii) Tripartite National Committee on Health.

SINHA, SMT. KISHORI
(Ex-Member, L.S.)

Father's Name : Shri Rameshwar Prasad Sinha

Date and Place of Birth : 29 March, 1925; Village Dumra, District Sitamarhi

Marital Status : Married Shri Satyendra Narayan Sinha on 1 July, 1938

Children : One son

Educational Qualifications : B.A

Profession : Agriculturist

Positions hled

1980–84 : Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) (Janata Party, Vaishali, Bihar)

1984 : Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Vaishali, Bihar]

Previously associated with Janata Party

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled

Other Information : Former Patron, Bihar Arts Theatre and Kalasangam; Former President,

Bihar Horticultural Society, (ii) Ravindra Vidyalaya, Patna and (iii) Governing Bodies of Anugrah Narayan College, Patna, Arvind Mahila College, Patna and Arvind Bihari Singh College, Jagannath Basant; Former Chairman, Bharatiya Gramin Mahila Sangh, Bihar Branch; Former Secretary, Governing Body of Rameshwar Mahvidyalay Muzaffarpur; Former Member, (i) Managing Committee, Bharatiya Nritya Kala Mandir, (ii) Screening Committee of Bihar Handicrafts Board and (iii) All India Women's Council.

SINHA, SMT. RAMDULARI

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Mahendra Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	8 December, 1922; Vill. Manikpur, District Gopalganj
Marital Status	:	Married Thakur Yugal Kishore Sinha in February, 1938
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A. (Hindi and History)
Profession	:	Agriculturist and Social and Political Worker
Positions held		
1944–45	:	President, Bihar State Students Congress
Since 1946	:	Member, A.I.C.C.
1946–48	:	Organising Secretary, Bihar Mahila Congress
1947–48	:	General Secretary, Bihar State Youth Congress
1952–57	:	Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly
1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Patna, Bihar)

1969–77	:	Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly
1971–77	:	Cabinet Minister, Labour and Employment, Tourism, Sugarcane, Social Welfare and Parliamentary Affairs, Bihar
1978	:	Member , Bihar Pradesh Election Committee
1978–79		Observer, Congress Organisation of Eastern States
1980–84	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong. (I), Sheohar, Bihar]
1980		Member, Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions
June 1980 to October 1980	:	Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting
October 1980–January 1982	:	Union Minister of State for Labour and Rehabilitation
January 1982–February 1983	:	Union Minister of State for Industry, Steel and Mines
February 1983–February 1984	:	Union Minister of State for Commerce
February 1984–December 1984		Union Minister of State for Home Affairs
1984	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Sheohar, Bihar]
31 December, 1984–25 Sept.1985	:	Union Minister of State for Home Affairs
25 Sept. 1985–14 Feb. 1988	:	Union Minister of State in the Ministry of Steel and Mines of Mines
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Several articles and speeches published in Hindi and English Journals
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Member, Goodwill Mission to Philippines, 1965 and Deputy Leader, Indian Delegation to I.L.O. Conference held in Geneva, 1973

Other Information : Participated in anti-purdah, anti-dowry and abolition of untouchability campaigns and Trade Union activities in industrial and agricultural sectors; Former President, (i) Eastern Zone Insurance Employees Association, (ii) Bihar State Transport Workers' Union, (iii) Bihar State P.W.D. Workers' Union, (iv) Post and Telegraph and Dead Letter Office Workers' Union, (v) Bihar Sugar Mills Workers Union and (vi) Eastern Railway Employees Congress; Former Vice-President, All India Insurance Employees Association; Former General Secretary, (i) Bihar State Bharat Yuvak Samaj and (ii) Bihar Pradesh Gandhi Memorial Committee; Former Member, (i) Labour Advisory Board, Bihar, (ii) Bihar State Employment Committee and (iii) Several Minimum Wage Committees.

SINHA, SMT. TARKESHWARI

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Sheonandan Prasad Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	26 December, 1926; Patna
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Nidhi Dev N. Sinha on 7 March, 1943
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Positions held		
1945–47	:	Vice-President, Bihar Provincial Students' Congress
1952–57	:	Member, Lok Sabha (First) (Cong. , Patna East, Bihar)
1952–57	:	Member, Public Accounts Committee
1957–62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Barh, Bihar)
2 April, 1958,- 10 May, 1958	:	Union Deputy Minister, Economic Affairs
10 May, 1958 - 10 April, 1962	:	Union Deputy Minister of Finance

1962–67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Barh, Bihar)
16 April, 1962 - 9 June 1964	:	Union Deputy Minister of Finance
1967 - 70	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Cong., Barh, Bihar)
1967	:	Member, Public Accounts Committee
Other Positions h	:	Former Member, (i) Women's Section, P.C.C. Bihar, (ii) D.C.C. Saran and (iii) Patna District Board
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Member, Indian delegation to the United Nations, 1957; Leader of the Indian Delegations to the Colombo Plan Conferences at Tokyo in 1960, at Kaulalumpur in 1961, and at Bangkok in 1963
Other Information	:	Former President, Patna District Board Employees' Association; Former Secretary, Bihar Women's Food Conference; Former Member, (i) Patna District Gandhi National Memorial Fund Collection Committee, (ii) Patna District Shikshan Sammelan (Health Education Conference), (iii) Cultural Section, Bihar Women's Federation and (iv) Working Committee, Provincial Health Education Conference.

SINHA, SMT. USHA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Mahesh Prasad Sinha

Date and Place of Birth : 26 March, 1944; Muzaffarpur (Bihar)

Marital Status : Married Shri Birendra Kumar Singh

Children : Two sons

Educational Qualifications : M.A.

Profession : Agriculturist and Political Worker

Positions held

1985–89 : Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly

1985–87 : Member, Library Committee, Bihar Legislative Assembly

1987–88 : Member, Public Accounts Committee, Bihar Legislative Assembly

1989 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) (J.D., Vaishali, Bihar)

21 April, 1990–5 Nov., 1990 : Union Deputy Minister, Women and Child Development

20 March, 1990–2 May, 1990– : Member, Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions

21 Nov., 1990–10 April, 1991 : Union Minister of State, Tourism

Other Information : Specially interested in social work; Former Member, Indian Nursing Council; Life Member, Red Cross Society; Former General Secretary, Bharatiya Grameen Mahila Sangh.

SITA DEVI, SMT.*

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Acharya Rama Deva
Date and Place of Birth		10 May, 1910; Lahore (now in Pakistan)
Marital Status		Married Shri Chhabil Das on 22 October, 1928
Children	:	Four daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Madhyama and Visharad
Profession	:	Social Worker and Trade Unionist
Positions held		
1928	:	Joined I.N.C.
1946–57	:	Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly
1964–70	:	Member, Punjab Legislative Council
April, 1972	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Punjab)
Other Positions held	:	Was Member, A.I.C.C. for several years

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* Died, ob. ref. in R.S. on 22 March, 1974.

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published articles in papers

Other Information : Courted arrest and jailed thrice in 1932, 1942 (Quit India Movement) and 1952 (in connection with a Trade Union Movement); rendered Yeoman service during the day of the Partition of the country and also for the recovery and the rehabilitation of abducted Indian women in Pakistan; was President, (i) All India Women's Conference, North Punjab Zone, (ii) Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, (iii) Executive Committee of Gramin Mahila Sangh, Jullundur, (iv) Governing Body, All India National Productivity Council, (v) Labour Advisory Board, Punjab and also of the Evaluation and Implementation Committee, Punjab Labour Deptt., Punjab, (vi) Government Mechanical Worker's Union (vii) Punjab, Haryana, Himachal and J&K Motor Transport Workers Federation and (viii) Punjab Labour Council; was Vice-President, State unit of AINTUC; was General Secretary, (i) All India Women's Conference, Punjab Branch, (ii) Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, Punjab State Branch; was member, (i) AINTUC and its All India Working Committee, (ii) Punjab Social Welfare Board, (iii) Education Board, Punjab, (iv) Punjab University Senate and (v) All India Women's Conference.

SONI, SMT. AMBIKA
(Ex-Member, R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Nakul Sen
Date and Place of Birth	:	13 November, 1941; Lahore
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Uday C. Soni, on 14 October, 1961
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.(History Hons.), Post Graduate Diploma in Spanish Language, Diploma in French
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
1969–Nov. 1975	:	Joint Incharge, Foreign Relations Department, AICC
Jan., 1973–Nov., 1975	:	General Secretary, I.Y.C.
13 Nov., 1975–March, 1977	:	President, I.Y.C.
March, 1976	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Punjab)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Contributed several articles on (i) Youth and Student Movements and their involvement in national life and (ii) Foreign policy

Travels Abroad : Travelled and lived abroad extensively; Attended (i) World Peace Congress in Moscow in October, 1973, (ii) UNESCO Meeting on National Liberation Movements in Belgrade and (iii) UNESCO Meet on the New Economic Order in Algeria in December, 1975

Other Information : Special interests in encouragement of self-employment schemes for the youth and foreign affairs; Former President, (i) Board of Trustees, S.B.A.C. High School, Hoshiarpur and (ii) Jan Ekta (Regd.) (a Social Welfare Organisation); Former Director, Delhi Small Scale Industries Corporation; Former Member, (i) Delhi State Social Welfare Board, and (ii) Nari Niketan, Delhi.

SOUNDARAM, DR.(SMT.) K.S.

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Songappa Gounder
Date and Place of Birth	:	2 June, 1946; Erode in Distt. Periar, Tamil Nadu
Marital Status		Married Prof. R. Arumugam on 9 June, 1969
Children		Two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., M.Phil., Ph.D.
Profession		Teacher and Educationist
Positions held		
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (A.I.A.D.M.K., Tiruchengode, Tamil Nadu
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Research work in Tamil Literature, Thesis, 'Dramatic Aspects in Kalithogai', written articles and poems in Tamil Magazines
Travels Abroad	:	Malaysia and Singapore
Other Informtion	:	Specially interested in social welfare and women's upliftment; participated in women's welfare schemes, eradication of illiteracy, first woman Lok Sabha Member from the A.I.A.D.M.K. Party and Tiruchen-

gode parliamentary constituency; elected by a margin of 3.14 lakh votes, the highest in South India and polled 5.21 lakh votes, in the General Elections in 1991.

SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN, DR. (SMT.) T.S.*

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri T.V. Sundaram Iyengar
Date and Place of Birth	:	August, 1905; Nagercoil, (Madras State)
Marital Status:		Married Shri G. Ramachandran on 7 November 1940
Children	:	Two daughters
Educational Qualifications	:	M.B.B.S., D.G.O.
Profession	:	Medical Practitioner and Social Worker
Positions held		
1952—62	:	Member, Madras Legislative Assembly
1962—67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong., Dindigul, Madras)
16 April, 1962—9 June, 1964 and 15, June, 1964 –13 March, 1967	:	Union Deputy Minister of Education
Travels Abroad	:	Ceylon and China

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* Died on 21 October, 1984; ob. ref. in L.S. on 18 January, 1985.

Other Information : Was interested in educational economic and health work in rural areas and in welfare of women and children; was associated with various committees including Gandhigram Institute, Madurai (City) Sewashram and Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust; was Chairman, (i) Avvai Rural Medical Service, Gandhigram and (ii) Pilot Health Project sponsored by Central and Madras Governments and Ford Foundation; was Founder-Director, Gandhigram Institute; was Vice-President, Khadi and Village Industries Board, Madras State; was Hony. Executive Officer of Periyyar Community Development Project; was Member, Central Family Planning Board.

SUBBARAYAN, SMT. RADHABAI*

[Member, C.L.A. & C.O.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Kudmul Ranga Rao
Date and Place of Birth	:	22 April, 1891; Ullal Town, Mangalore,
Marital Status	:	Married Dr. P. Subbarayan
Children	:	One daughter and three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.; also Educated in England
Profession	:	Social and Political Worker
Positions held		
1938–45	:	Member, Central Legislative Assembly (Tiruchengodu, Salem, Madras Presidency
7 November, 1946	:	Member, Council of States (Madras, Non-muhammadan)
Other Positions held	:	Was Member, A.I.C.C.
Travels Abroad	:	England, U.S.A.

* Died on 2 June, 1960; ob. ref. on 1 August, 1960.

Other Informations : Offered individual Satyagraha in 1940 and was sentenced to imprisonment for six months at Vallore; was associated with Red Cross Society; was selected to the Senate and Syndicate of the University of Madras; was Member of Franchise Committee of Lothian Committee; attended First and Second Round Table Conferences, London.

SUKHADIA, SMT. INDUBALA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Date and Place of Birth : 2 July, 1921; Udaipur

Marital Status : Married Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia (since deceased) on 11 June, 1939

Children : Five daughters and two sons

Educational Qualifications : Visharad and Vidya Vinodini

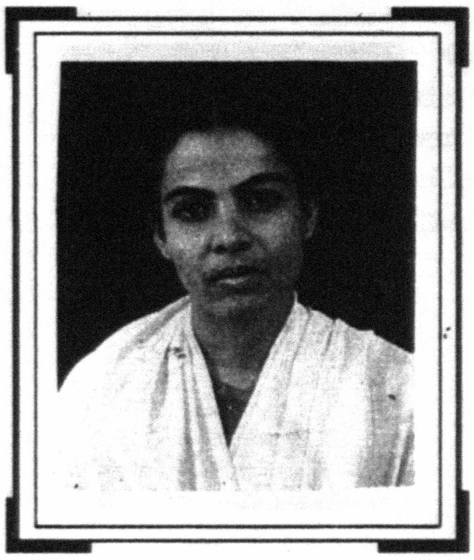
Profession : Agriculturist and Social Worker

Positions held

1984 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth)
[Cong. (I), Udaipur, Rajasthan]

Other Positions held : Former Vice-President, P.C.C. Rajasthan

Other Information : Had been helping her husband in performing political assignments; Former President, (i) Mahila Mandal, Udaipur, (ii) Sukhadia Memorial Foundation and (iii) Rajasthan Social Welfare Board.



SULTAN, SMT. MAIMOONA

[Ex-Member, L.S. & R.S]

Father's Name	:	Shri Mohd. Asghar Ansari
Date and Place of Birth	:	11 October, 1932; Bhopal
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Mohd. Mujtaba Khan on 15 February, 1949
Children	:	Three daughters
Educational Qualifications:		B.A., B.T.
Profession	:	Worked in an advisory capacity on various Committees from time to time
Positions held		
1957 - 62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Bhopal, Madhya Pradsh)
1962 - 67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Cong. , Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh)
April 1974	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong. , Madhya Pradesh)
July 1980	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., (I)., Madhya Pradesh)
1980-81 and 1981-82	:	Member, Public Accounts Committee
Other Positions held	:	Former Chairman, A.I.C.C., Foreign Affairs Department.

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Published 'J.P. Movement and Muslims'

Travels Abroad : Japan, New York, etc., Member, Indian Delegation to the United Nations in 1958

Other Information : Former Director, (i) Woman Zari Worker's Cooperative Society, Bhopal and (ii) Heavy Electricals, Bhopal; Regional Director, Women Voluntary Service; Former Member, U.N. Political Committee and Committee on Non-Self Governing Territories, 1958.

SUSHMA SWARAJ, SMT.

[Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Hardev Sharma
Date and Place of Birth	:	14 February, 1952; Ambala Cantt.
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Swaraj Kaushal on 13 July, 1975
Children	:	One daughter
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A., LL.B.
Profession	:	Advocate
Positions held		
1977-78	:	Cabinet Minister in Haryana Government
January, 1988 to December, 1989	:	Cabinet Minister in Haryana Government
April, 1990	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (B.J.P., Haryana)
Other Information	:	President, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Haryana

SWAMINADHAN, SMT. AMMU*

(Member, C.L.A, C.A. & P.P; and Ex-Member, L.S. & R.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri P. Govinda Menon
Date and Place of Birth	:	4 April, 1894; Anakara (South Malabar)
Marital Status	:	Married Dr. S. Swaminadhan on 31 October, 1908
Children	:	Two daughters and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated privately
Positions held		
1930	:	Member, INC
1934 - 39	:	Elected Member, Madras Corporation
1945	:	Elected Member, Central Legislative Assembly
1947 - 49	:	Nominated Member, Constituent Assembly (Cong. , Madras)

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* Died on 4 June, 1978; ob. ref. in L.S. on 17 July, 1978.

1950 - 52	:	Member, Provisional Parliament (Cong., Madras)
1952 - 57	:	Member, Lok Sabha (First) (Cong., Dindigul, Madras)
1957 - 60	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Cong., Madras)
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; Attended International Women's Conference on Peace and Freedom at Washington in 1940 as Guest Delegate and also in 1950 at Copenhagen (Denmark); Member, Goodwill Mission sent by the Government of India to Ethiopia, 1948; Delegate to the UN Economic and Social Council at Geneva, 1949 and 1950
Other Information	:	Was connected with several social organizations in Madras working for the welfare and education of women and children; was President, Women's Indian Association; was Founder-Member, A.I.W.C.

TAIMUR, SMT. SYEDA ANWARA

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Syed Eusuf Ali
Date and Place of Birth	:	24 November, 1936
Marital Status	:	Married Md. Muhibuddin Taimur
Children	:	Two daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Positions held		
1974–77	:	Minister of State, Government of Assam
Dec. 1980–June 1981	:	Chief Minister of Assam
25 Nov. 1988–8 May 1990	:	Member, Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Nominated]
Other Positions held	:	Former Member, Assam Legislative Assembly.

TALWAR, DR. (SMT.) MANGLADEVI

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Dr. Gurudayal Vatsalya
Date and Place of Birth	:	8 October, 1910; Farrukhabad (Uttar Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Dr. G.L. Talwar in August, 1932
Children	:	Three sons
Educational Qualifications	:	M.R.C.S. (England), L.R.C.P. (London), L.M.(Dublin), M.P.H. (U.S.A.)
Profession	:	Medical Practitioner
Positions held		
April, 1966	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Rajasthan)
Other Positions held	:	Former General-Secretary, DCC, Jaipur city
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Awarded a Fellowship of World Health Organisation during All India Competition in 1949
Travels Abroad	:	Burma, England, France, Germany, U.S.A.

Other Information : Founder Member of Friends of India Society and toured in Caravavan to speak in support of freedom of India ; Former President, (i) All Rajasthan Mahila Parishad Conference, Udaipur and (ii) Jaipur Branch of Mahila Parishad, Rajasthan; Former Vice-President, University Women's Association, Rajasthan; Former Honorary General-Secretary, Rajasthan State Council for Child Welfare; Former Medical Superintendent, Zanana Hospital Alwar; Former Assistant Director, Medical and Health Services (Maternity and Child Welfare) Rajasthan; Former Honorary Obstetrician and Gynaecologist and Head of the Women's of the Medical Services in Jammu and Kashmir; Honorary Obstetrician and Gynaecologist Ramakrishna Mission Hospital, Rangoon; Life Member, Youth Hostel Association of India; Former Member, (i) Governing Body of International Homes in India, and State Rescue Home and (ii) Jail Reform Commission; Founder Member,T.B. Association of Rajasthan.

THAKKER, SMT. USHA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Raghavji Thakker
Date and Place of Birth	:	1 October, 1935; Vill. Toona, Distt. Kutch (Gujarat)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Gopalji Thakker in 1954
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	Matriculate
Profession	:	Business
Positions held		
1984	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong.(I), Kutch, Gujarat]
Other Positions held	:	Former Sarpanch, Toona; Former Member, Taluka Panchayat, Anjar
Other Information	:	Former Chairman, Social Welfare Board, Kutch; Former member, (i) Fishery Board, Gujarat, (ii) Education Committee, Social Welfare Board and (iii) Mahila Arthic Vikas Nigam of Gujarat.

THANKAPPAN, SMT. BHARGAVI

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri K. Easwaran

Date and Place of Birth : 24 July 1942; Adoor

Marital Status : Married Shri A.K. Thankappan on 29 June, 1967

Educational Qualifications : M.A.

Positions held

1971-77 : Member, Lok Sabha (Fifth)
(C.P.I., Adoor - S.C., Kerala)

Other Information : Worked in (i) Rubber Board and (ii) Kerala State Electricity Board.

THIMMAREDDY, SMT. ANNAPURNA DEVI

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Venkatappa Reddy
Date and Place of Birth	:	1914 ; Dobleru, Distt. Guntur
Marital Status	:	Married Shri N.C. Thimmareddy in May, 1932
Children	:	Six daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Vidwan (Sanskrit, Hindi and Telugu)
Profession	:	Agriculturist
Positions held		
1937	:	Member, I.N.C.
1956	:	Member, P.C.C. Mysore
April, 1958	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Mysore)
April, 1964	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Mysore)
Honours and Awards	:	Gold Medalist in Carnatic music, both Vocal and instructional specially Veena
Other Information	:	Took part in the Congress movement for establishment of responsible Government in Mysore State.

TIRIA, MS. SUSHILA

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Rupnarayan Tiria

Date and Place of Birth : 6 February, 1956; Kaluakhamam, (Orissa)

Marital Status : Unmarried

Educational Qualifications : B.A., B.Ed.

Profession : Teacher and Social Worker

Positions held

1984 - 85 : General-Secretary, District Youth Congress, Orissa

1985-86 : Joint Secretary, Pradesh Youth Congress(I), Orissa

July, 1986 : Elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong.(I), Orissa]

1986-87 : General Secretary, Pradesh Youth Congress(I)

1987-89 : Member, Committee on Government Assurances, Rajya Sabha

1988 : General Secretary, Indian Youth Congress(I)

Other Positions held : Member, Women's Wing of Congress (I), Orissa

Other Information : Former Chairman District Industries Centre, Mayurbhanj; Former Secretary, Jatiya Mahila Sangh, Jashipur, Mayurbhanj; Former Member, (i) Social Welfare Board, Orissa, (ii) District Rural Development Agency, (iii) Distt. Development Board, Mayurbhanj; and (iv) All Orissa Tribal Association named 'SUSAR'; Member Governing Body, (i) Jashipur College, (ii) Sita Devi Women's Technical College, Jashipur and (iii) Panchpira Women's College, Karanjia.

TOMAR, SMT. USHA RANI

[Ex Member, R.S.]

Father's Name : Choudhary Alam Singh

Date and Place of Birth : 1 May, 1933; Bijnor

Marital Status : Married Kr. Devendra Pal Singh (since deceased in (1947)

Educational Qualifications : Intermediate

Profession : Former Ruler and Political and Social Worker

Positions held

1969 - 80 : President, District Congress Mahila Sanyogika

1984 : Elected, Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong., (I), Aligarh Uttar Pradesh]

Other Information : Donated land to (i) landless and poor people, (ii) Bikram Seva Sadan Intermediate College, Pisawa and Junior High School Pisawa, (iii) Bhoodan Andolan and (iv) Cooperative Seeds Stores, Pisawa; Former Director, Cooperative Bank, Aligarh.

TOPIWALA, SMT. DIPIKA
(Member, L.S.)

Father's Name	:	Shri Rajesh T. Chikhalia
Date and Place of Birth	:	29 April, 1965; Bombay (Maharashtra)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Hemant Topiwala on 23 November, 1991
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A.
Profession	:	Artist, Business
Positions held		
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (B.J.P., Baroda, Gujarat)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Performed at many functions for social cause; Reading and writing (scripts, and poems), music, dance and acting
Travels Abroad	:	Canada, Maldives, Mauritius, Nepal, U.K. and U.S.A.
Other Inormations	:	Specially interested in world politics, women's welfare and Indian Anthropology.

TOPNO, MS. FRIDA

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Rev. John Topno

Date and Place of Birth : Rungaon in Distt. Sundargarh (Orissa)

Marital Status : Unmarried

Educational Qualifications : B.A., B.Ed.

Profession : Social and Political Worker

Positions Held

1985—90 : Member, Orissa Legislative Assembly
Minister of State, Education and Youth Services, Orissa

1991 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth)
[Cong. (I), Sundargarh-ST, Orissa]

Travels Abroad : U.K., U.S.A. and West Germany

TRIPATHI, SMT. CHANDRA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri H.B. Malkani
Date and Place of Birth	:	26 October, 1931; Aligarh
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Lokapati Tripathi in 1949
Children	:	Two daughters and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Sahitya Ratna
Profession	:	Agriculturist and Industrialist
Positions held		
1974	:	President, District Congress Committee (I), Varanasi
1984	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Chandauli, Uttar Pradesh]
Other Positions held	:	Former President, All India Women's Cricket Association
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled
Other Information	:	Promotion of girls' educational activities and their participation in games.

UMA BHARTI, MS.

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Gulab Singh
Date and Place of Birth	:	3 May, 1959; Dunda in Distt. Tikamgarh (Madhya Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	6th Standard
Profession	:	Religious Missionary
Positions held		
March, 1988 onwards	:	Vice-President, B.J.P., Madhya Pradesh
1989	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) (B.J.P., Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh)
1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Ministry of Agriculture
29 Jan., 1990	:	Member, Consultative Committee, Constituted under the Punjab State Legislature (Delegation of Power) Act, 1987
1991	:	Re-elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (B.J.P., Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Books Published, (i) *Peace of Mind* (Pub. in Africa) 1978, (ii) *Swami Vivekananda*

(1972) and (iii) *Manav ek Bhakti kar Nanta* (1983)

Travels Abroad : Austria, Canada, East Africa, France, Holland, Japan, U.S.A. and U.K.

Other Information : Specially interested in protecting environment and wild life, disscussions and discourses on Hindu religion and culture throughout the world; Member, Ram Janam Bhoomi Trust.

URS, SMT. CHANDRAPRABHA

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri D. Devaraj Urs
Date and Place of Birth	:	25 May, 1946; Kallahall in Tal. Hunsur, Distt. Mysore
Marital Status	:	Married Shri M.C. Mohan Raj Urs on 26 June, 1967
Children	:	One daughter and two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	B.Sc., B.Lib. Sc., Ratna (Degree in Hindi)
Profession	:	Agriculturist and Social Worker
Positions held		
1983–85 and 1989–91	:	Member, Karnataka Legislative Assembly
1983–85	:	Cabinet Minister, Social Welfare, Sericulture and Excise, Karnataka
1986–88	:	General Secretary, P.C.C. (I), Karnataka
1988	:	Vice-President, P.C.C.(I), Karnataka
1990	:	President, Mahila Congress
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong. (I), Mysore, Karnataka]
Travels Abroad		Canada, Singapore, Switzerland, U.K. and U.S.A.

Other Information : Specially interested in reading and cultural activities; Associated with Chitrakala Parishad affiliated to Academy of Fine Arts.

VARMA, SMT. NARYANI DEVI*

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Ram Sahai Bhatnagar
Date and Place of Birth	:	1902; Village Singoli (Madhya Pradesh)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Manikyalal Varma (Since diceased)
Children	:	Five daughters and one son
Profession	:	Social Worker
Positions held		
April 1970	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., Rajasthan)
Other Information	:	Took part in non-cooperation movement and was jailed along with her children, 1934—38; set up educational institutions, hostel, health centre, and cultural centres at various places in Rajasthan; founder of Mahilashram in Udaipur; was Founder Member of Mewar Praja Mandal; established Mahilashram in Bhilwara.

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* Died, ob. ref. in R.S. on 28 March, 1977.

VASISHT, MS. SHANTA

[Ex-Member, R.S.]

Father's Name : Shri Lakshmi Dutt Vasisht

Date and Place of Birth : 20 June, 1924; Rupar, Distt Ambala.

Marital Status : Unmarried

Educational Qualifications : M.A. (Double), LL.B.

Profession : Social Worker

Positions held

1952-53 : Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister, Delhi State

1952–56 : Member, Delhi State Legislative Assembly

1953–54 : Dy. Minister (in-charge of Education and Development), Delhi State

1958 : Member, P.C.C. Delhi and its Executive Committee

April 1060 : Elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., New Delhi)

1960–62 : Convener, Study Circle Sub-Committee, Women's Deptt., A.I.C.C., New Delhi and

Women's Deptt., P.C.C., Delhi; Member, A.I.C.C.

September 1961 : Vice-President, P.C.C., Delhi

1962-63 : Member, Executive Committee Congress Party in Parliament

1963 : Member, A.I.C.C.

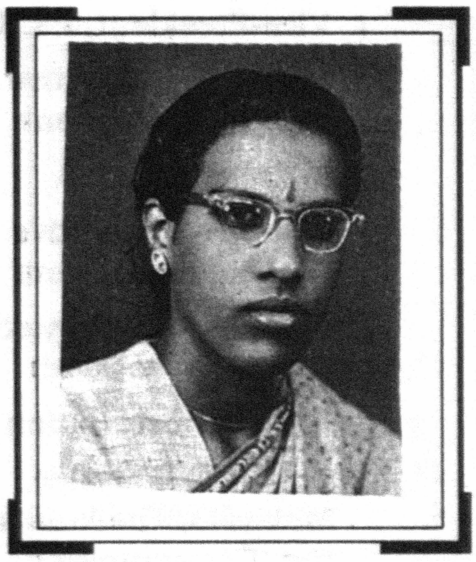
1964 : Member, Executive Committee, Congress Party in Parliament

April 1966 : Re-elected to Rajya Sabha (Cong., New Delhi)

Other Positions held : Life Member, Indian Parliamentary Group

Travels Abroad : England, France, Germany, Holland, Malaysia, Thailand and U.S.A.; Delegate to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held at Kaula-lumpur, Malaysia, October, 1963

Other Information : Former President, Delhi Library Association; Former Chairman, (i) Harijan Welfare Advisory Board, Delhi, (ii) Backward Classes Welfare Board; (iii) Ex-Criminal Tribes Advisory Board, (iv) Zonal Public Relations Committee Alipore Community Project Block, (iv) Delhi Krishak Samaj and Yuvak and Yuvak Krishak Samaj, Delhi Branch; Former Secretary, Delhi Council for Social Welfare, Delhi; Former Member, (i) Rural Development Committee, Delhi, (ii) Delhi Development Advisory Board, (iii) Delhi Women's League, (iv) Indian Council for Child Welfare, New Delhi and (v) Delhi State Social Welfare Advisory Board.



VEDAKUMARI, MS. MOTHEY *

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri Mothey Narayanarao
Date and Place of Birth	:	24 September, 1931; Eluru
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Positions held		
1957	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Second) (Cong., Eluru, Andhra Pradesh)
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Recognised by AIR as first-class artiste; broadcast Carnatic music
Other Information	:	Took special interest in women's welfare and agricultural problems; started an institution for giving free coaching to women in Hindi, tailoring, type-writing, etc.; was Secretary, (i) Student's Congress, Eluru and (ii) AIWC, West Godavari Branch.

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* Died on 31 October, 1978; ob. ref. in L.S. on 20 November, 1978.

VELAYUDHAN, SMT. DAKSHAYANI*

[Member, C.A. & P.P.]

Father's Name : Shri Kunjan

Date and Place of Birth : 8 July, 1913

Marital Status : Married Shri Velayudhan

Children : One daughter and three sons

Educational Qualifications : B.A., L.T.

Positions held

1945 : Member, Cochin Legislative Council

1946–49 : Member, Constituent Assembly (Madras)

1950 : Member, Provisional Parliament (Cong., Madras)

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Edited '*Common man*', and English weekly from Madras, 1946; was General Editor, Gandhi Era Publications, Madras

Other Information : Was President, (i) Madras City Depressed Classes League and Youths and (ii) Fine Arts League, Madras.

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* Died on 20 July, 1978; ob. ref. in L.S. on. 21 July, 1978.

VERMA. MS. VIMLA

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri K.P. Verma
Date and Place of Birth	:	1 July,1921; Nagpur (Maharashtra)
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., B.T.
Profession	:	Agriculturist; Political and Social Worker
Positions held		
1963–67	:	President, D.C.C., Madhya Pradesh
1967–90	:	Member, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly
4 April, 1967–19 Sept., 1968	:	Member, Public Accounts Committee, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly
1967–69 and 1977–80	:	General Secretary, P.C.C., Madhya Pradesh
9 April, 1969–28 Jan., 1972	:	Minister of State, Irrigation and Power, Madhya Pradesh
23 March, 1972–23 Dec., 1975	:	Minister of State for Health, Madhya Pradesh
3 May, 1979–17 Feb., 1980	:	Member, Committee on Public Undertakings, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly

13 June, 1980–10 Mar., 1985	:	Cabinet Minister, Public Health, Irrigation, Rural Devlopment and Transport
23 April, 1982–15 May, 1988	:	Member, Business Advisory Committee, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly
10 March 1985–25 April, 1986		
10 May, 1987–15 May, 1989–	:	Member, General Purposes Committee, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly
10 May, 1987 12 May, 1989	:	Member, Women & Children Welfare Committee, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly
19 Sept., 1988–23 Jan., 1989	:	Minister, Labour and Human Resources Development, Madhya Pradesh
25 Jan., 1989-9 Dec., 1989	:	Cabinet Minister for Irrigation, Narmada Development and Health Inspection, Madhya Pradesh
9 Dec., 1989–1 March, 1990	:	Minister, Food and Civil Supplies, Cooperation, Madhya Pradesh
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (Cong. (I), Seoni, Madhya Pradesh)
Other Positions held	:	District Convener, Mahila Wing, Madhya Pradesh Congress; Member, A.I.C.C. 1963 onward.
Travels Abroad	:	U.S.S.R., Member, (i) Delegation to Moscow, and (ii) Delegation to Women's Conference at Moscow
Other Information	:	President, Hindi Sahitya Samiti, Seoni, Madhya Pradesh for many years; Founder, Arts College, Seoni; Founder Member, Education Committee, Seoni; Vice-President, Bharatiya Gramin Mahila Sangh; Member, (i) Madhya Pradesh Social Welfare Board and, (ii) Madhya Pradesh Sewa Dal Board; General Secretary, Bharat Yuvak Samaj, Madhya Pradesh.

VERMA, PROF. (SMT.) RITA

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Justice R.N. Prasad
Date and Place of Birth	:	15 July, 1953; Patna (Bihar)
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Randir P. Verma (since deceased) on 23 January, 1976
Children	:	Two sons
Educational Qualifications	:	B.A. (Hons.), M.A. (History)
Profession	:	Political Worker, Teacher and Educationaist
Positions held		
1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) (B.J.P., Dhanbad, Bihar)
		Member, Committee on Public Undertakings
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Published articles in various magazines
Other Information	:	Specially interested in Indian history, culture and child welfare; Taught history in Ranchi University, Dec., 1981 to July 1991.

VERMA, SMT. USHA

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name : Shri A.R. Verma

Date and Place of Birth : 7 April, 1933; Vill. Billahra, Distt. Pilibhit, Uttar Pradesh

Marital Status : Married Shri Balgovind (since deceased) in 1946

Children Status : Two daughters and two sons

Educational Qualifications : Vidya Vinodini

Profession : Agriculturist, Political and Social Worker

Positions held

1980—84 : Member, Lok Sabha (Seventh) [Cong. (I), Kheri, Uttar Pradesh]

1984—89 : Member Lok Sabha (Eighth) [Cong. (I), Kheri, Uttar Pradesh]

1989 : Elected to Lok Sabha (Ninth) (Cong. (I), Kheri, Uttar Pradesh)

1990 : Member, Railway Convention Committee; Consultative Committee, Ministry of Industry

Other Positions held : Member, Consultative Committees, Railways, Surface Transport, Petroleum, Narasingh Koli Committee for 2 years each, Committee on papers laid on the Table for 2 years

Other Information : Participated in Freedom struggle.

VERMA, SMT. VEENA

[Member, R.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri P.N. Raizada
Date and Place of Birth	:	1 September, 1941; Jaipur
Marital Status	:	Married Shri Shrikant Verma on 16 January, 1967
Children	:	One son
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A.
Profession	:	Teacher
Positions held		
July, 1986	:	Elected to Rajya Sabha, [Cong. (I) Madhya Pradesh]
Aug., 1986	:	Member, Committee of Parliament on Official Languages
April, 1988	:	Re-elected to Rajya Sabha [Cong. (I), Madhya Pradesh]
1989	:	General Secretary, All India Mahila Congress (I), and Secretary, Congress (I) Lady MPs Forum in Parliament

Other Positions held : Member, Congress (I) Party National Committee for Campaign against Communalism; attended First Asian Women Parliamentarian Conference on Protection and status of women, Delhi, in March, 1990

Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments : Light Indian Classical singer; instituted Shrikant Verma Smriti Puraskar for Hindi Literature; Member, Executive Committee, Indian writers' Union, Calcutta

Travels Abroad : Widely travelled; attended, (i) Conference to protest against Star Wars Programme in Denmark, June 1985, (ii) World Peace conference at China and North Korea, May 1985, (iii) represented Cong. (I) Party at the Sixth National Cong. of the Communist Party of Vietnam in Dec. 1986, (iv) International writings programme, University of Iowa 1978 and (v) Seminar on Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development, Manila, 1989; delivered keynote address on "Perspective on Indian Woman" in the first global convention in overseas Indians in New York in August 1989

Honours and Awards : Awarded, (i) Priyadarshini Award, 1989, (ii) Mahila Shiromani Award, 1989 and (iii) Rashtriya Gaurav Award 1989

Other Information : Specially interested in to fight against sati and dowry, President, Mahila Kalyan Samity Madhya Pradesh; Presided Seminar of 125th birth anniversersary of Ravindra Nath Tagore at Calcutta; Chairperson Anti-Dowry and Women Welfare Committee Priyadarshini, Bombay; Vice - President Indian Council of World Affairs; Member, (i) Hindi Salahakar Samiti of Several Ministries, (ii) Indian Council for Cultural Relations, (iii) Central Social Welfare Board, (iv) National Council of all India Skilled Man Power Association, (v) Shrikant Verma Award for Journalism Committee, (vi) Advisory Committee, Bhartiya Kalyan Parishad and (vii) 40th an-

niversary of Independence and Nehru Centenary Committee (M.P.) Government, (viii) Chhatisgarh Vikas Pradhikaran and (ix) Executive Committee Indian Writers Union, Calcutta.

VIJAYA RAJE, SMT.
(Ex-Member, R.S. & L.S.)

Father's Name	:	H.H. Maharaja Col. Sir Udaji Rao Puar Bahadur
Date and Place of Birth	:	16 September, 1919; Former Dhar State, Madhya Pradesh
Marital Status	:	Married Raj Kumar Lt. Dr. Basant Narayan Singh
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated privately
Profession	:	Business
Positions held		
1952 - 57	:	Member, Rajya Sabha (Janata Party, Bihar)
1957 - 62	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Second), (Janata, Chatra, Bihar)
1962 - 67	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third), (Swatantra Party, Chatra, Bihar)
1967	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Fourth) (Ind., Chatra, Bihar)
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled

Other Information : Took special interst in maternity and child welfare and rural uplift; Former President, (i) Red Cross Society, Dhar and (ii) Girl Guide Association.

VIMLA DEVI, SMT. V.*

[Ex-Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri K. Pattabhiramayya
Date and Place of Birth	:	15 July, 1928; Varahapatnam, Distt. Krishna
Marital Status	:	Married Dr.V.V.G. Tilak on 24 May, 1945
Children	:	One daughter and one son
Educational Qualifications	:	Educated at Andhra Christian College Guntur , Andhra Medical College Visakhapatnam; Scottish Church College, Calcutta
Profession	:	Social and Political Worker
Positions held		
1957- 60	:	Vice-Chairman, Eluru Municipality
1960	:	Municipal Councillor, Eluru
1962—November,1966	:	Member, Lok Sabha (Third) (Comm., Eluru, Andhra Pradesh)
Other Information	:	Associated with Trade Unions and Women's Organizations.

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* Died on 1 March, 1967; ob. ref. in L.S. on 18 March, 1967.

VYAS, DR. GIRIJA

[Member, L.S.]

Father's Name	:	Shri S.K. Sharma
Date of Place of Birth	:	8 July, 1946; Nathdwara in Distt. Udaipur (Rajasthan)
Marital Status	:	Unmarried
Educational Qualifications	:	M.A., Ph.D. Post Doctoral Studies
Professions	:	Teacher and Educationist
Positions held		
1977–84	:	President, D.C.C. (I), Udaipur
1985–90	:	Member, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly
1986–90	:	Minister, Rajasthan Member, Estimates Committee, Rajasthan
1989	:	Executive Member, P.C.C. (I), Rajasthan
June, 1990	:	President, Pradesh Mahila Congress, Rajasthan

1991	:	Elected to Lok Sabha (Tenth) [Cong. (I), Udaipur, Rajasthan]
23 June, 1991–17 Jan. 1993	:	Union Deputy Minister, Information and Brodacasting
Literary, Artistic and Scientific Accomplishments	:	Books published, (i) *Ethical teachings of Bhagwat Gita* and *Bible*, (ii) '*Philosophy of Shuddhadvaita*,' (iii) '*Seep. Samundar. Moti*' (in Hindi); also contributed 50 articles in national and internationals journals
Travels Abroad	:	Widely travelled; led Delegation to Festival of India in U.S.S.R., Member, (i) Women Parliamentarians Delegation to Mexico and Australia and (ii) Indian Delegation to World Urdu Conference Mauritius, Dec., 1991; Leader of the Delegations to Austria, Australia, Canada, Malaysia, Singapore, Spain, Thailand, U.K., and U.S.A. to promote tourism in India
Other Information	:	Specially interested in Reading and writing, debates and discussions, accomplishments in letter, literature, art and science; Professor, Udaipur University 1971 onwards; and taught in Spain and U.S.A.

ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE I

* REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN MEMBERS IN LOK SABHA

(1st to 10th Lok Sabha)

Lok Sabha	*Total No. of Seats*	*No. of Women Members*	*Percentage to total*
First	499	22	4.4
Second	500	27	5.4
Third	503	34	6.7
Fourth	523	31	5.9
Fifth	521	22	4.2
Sixth	544	19	3.4
Seventh	544	28	5.1
Eighth	544	44	8.1
Ninth	529	28	5.29
Tenth	~~514~~	39	~~7.07~~

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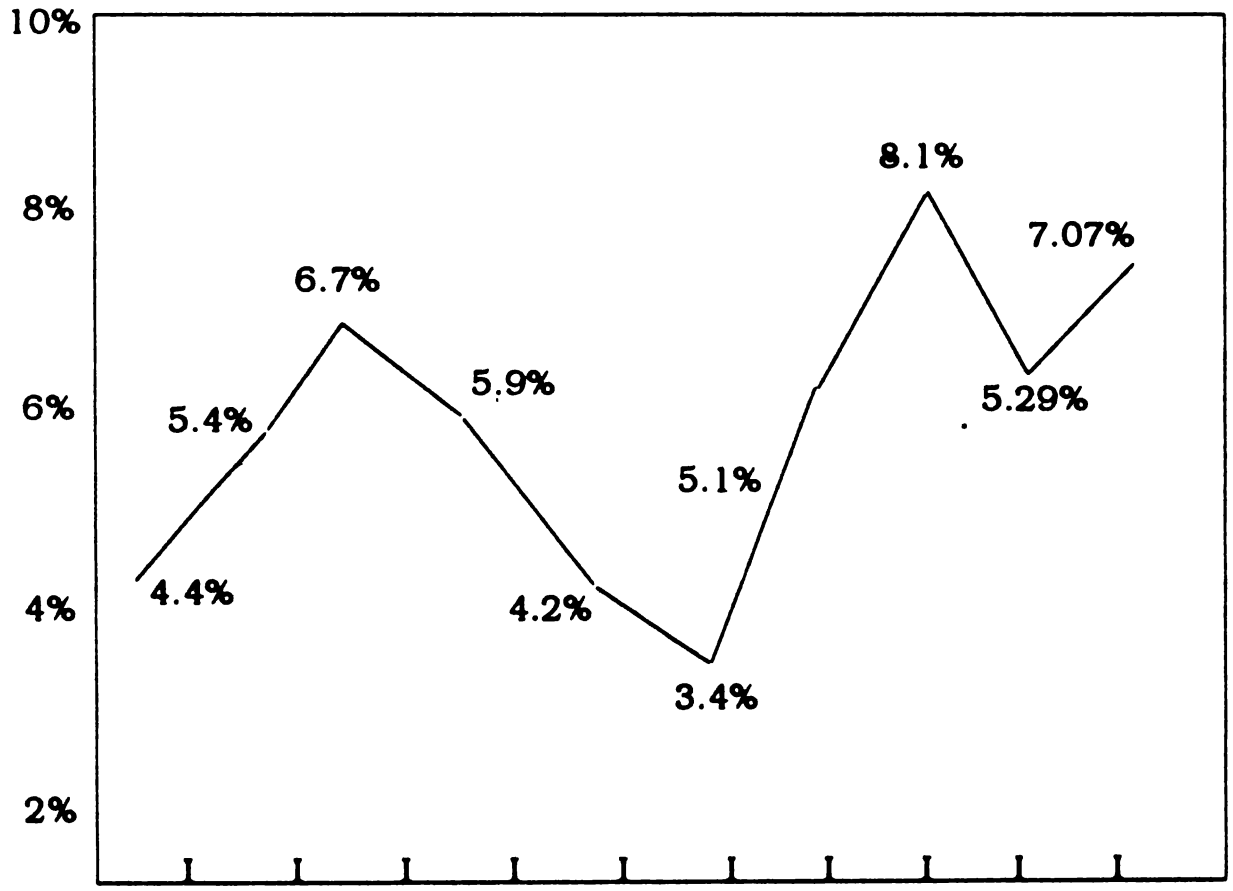
* **Figures in columns 2 and 3 and the related graphs in Annexures I and II need not necessarily represent the actual strength. There may be a slight variation since these figures are based on a socio-economic study before final figures were available.**

GRAPH I

TRENDS IN THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN MEMBERS IN LOK SABHA



ANNEXURE II

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN MEMBERS IN RAJYA SABHA

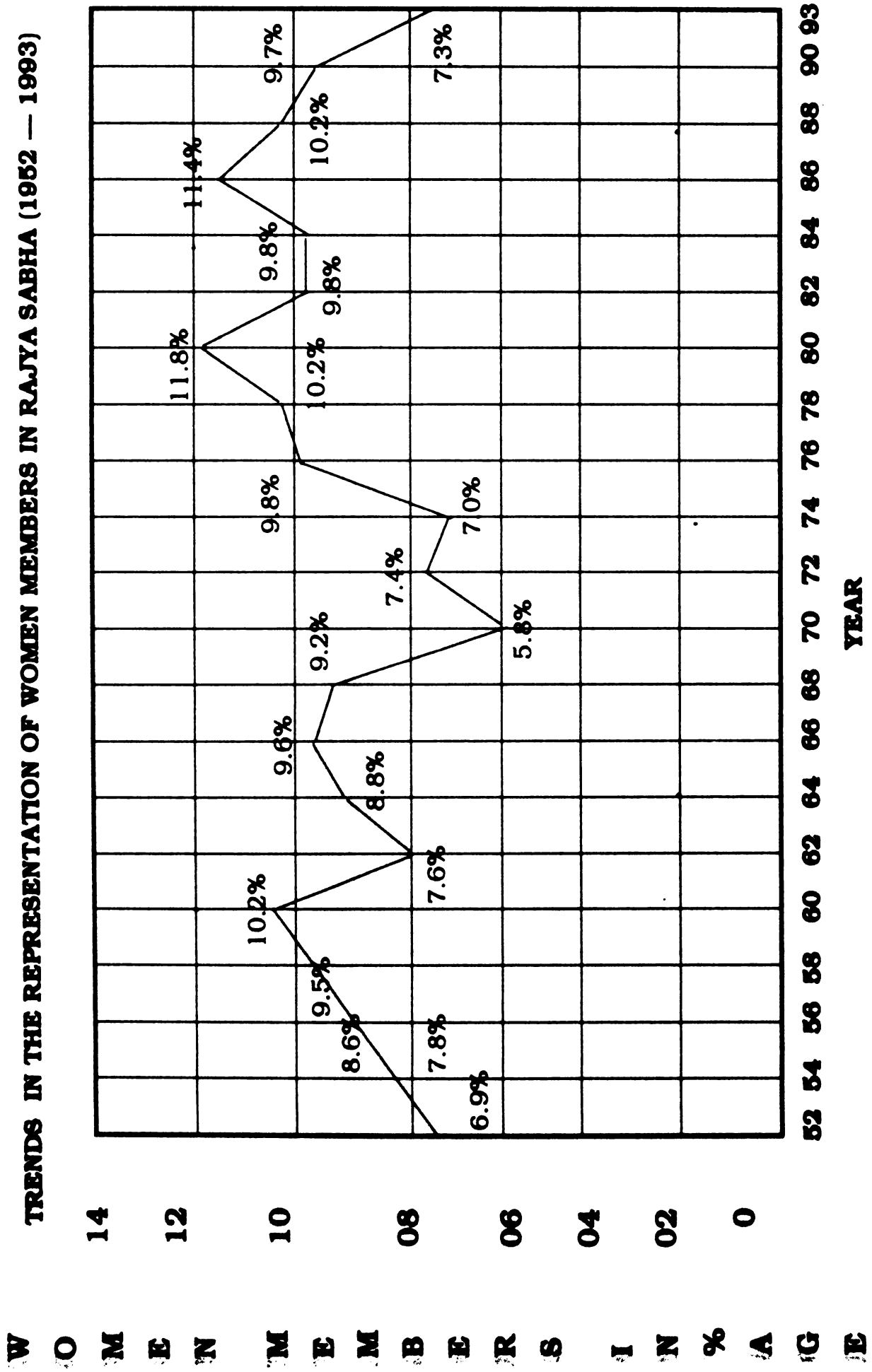
(1952–1993)

Year	*Total No. of seats*	*Women Members*	*Percentage of the total*
1952	216	15	6.9
1954	219	17	7.8
1956	232	20	8.6
1958	232	22	9.5
1960	236	24	10.2
1962	236	18	7.6
1964	238	21	8.8
1966	240	23	9.6
1968	240	22	9.2
1970	240	14	5.8
1972	243	18	7.4
1974	243	17	7.0
1976	244	24	9.8
1978	244	25	10.2
1980	244	29	11.8
1982	244	24	9.8
1984	244	24	9.8
1986	244	28	11.4
1988	245	26	10.2
1990	245	24	9.7
1993	233 *	17	7.3

* 12 Vacancies in Rajya Sabha in February, 1993.

GRAPH II

TRENDS IN THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN MEMBERS IN RAJYA SABHA (1952 — 1993)



ANNEXURE-III

LIST OF WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN INDIA

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Sl.No.	*Name*	*Legislaturewith Tenure*	*Profile Page No.*
1.	ABDULLAH, BEGUM AKBAR JAHAN	L.S. : VI & VIII	401
2.	ADIVAREKAR, SMT. SUSHILA SHANKAR	R.S.: 1971–72, 1972–78, 1978–84	403
3.	AHMED, BEGAM ABIDA	L.S.: VII & VIII	405
4.	AHMED SMT. MOFIDA	L.S.: II	407
5.	AIZAZ RASUL, BEGUM	CA; R.S.: 1952—56	408
6.	AKKAMMA DEVI, SMT.	L.S.: III	410
7.	ALI, SMT. SUBHASHINI.	R.S.: IX	412
8.	ALIA, MS.	R.S.: 1989—92	414
9.	ALVA, SMT. MARGARET	R.S.: 1974–80, 1980—86, 1986—TILL DATE	416
10.	ALVA, SMT. VIOLET	R.S.: 1952—60, 1960—66, 1966—69	419
11.	AMARJIT KAUR, SMT.	R.S.: 1976—82, 1982—88	422
12.	AMMANNA RAJA, SMT. C.	R.S.: 1962—68	424
13.	AMRIT KAUR, RAJKUMARI	C.A: PP; L.S.:I R.S.: 1957—58, 1958—64	426
14.	AMRITA PRITAM, SMT.	R.S.: 1986—92	429

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
15.	ANGELINA TIGA, SMT.	R.S.: 1952—54	432
16.	ANJAIAH, SMT. TANGUTURI MANEMMA	L.S.: VIII & IX	433
17.	ARUNDALE, SMT. RUKMINI DEVI	R.S.: 1952—56, 1956—62	435
18.	ATCHAMAMBA, DR. (SMT.) KOMARRAJU	L.S.:II	437
19.	BAHUGUNA, SMT. KAMLA	L.S.: VI	439
20.	BAJPAI, DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI	L.S.: VII, VIII & IX	440
21.	BALI, SMT. VYJAYANTIMALA	L.S.: VIII & IX	442
22.	BANERJEE, MS. MAMATA	L.S.: VIII & X	444
23.	BANERJEE, SMT. MUKUL	L.S. : V	446
24.	BANERJEE, SMT. PURNIMA	C.A.	448
25.	BARKATAKI, SMT. RENUKA DEVI	L.S.: III & VI	449
26.	BARTHAKUR, SMT. USHA	R.S.: 1966—72	451
27.	BASAVA RAJESWARI, SMT.	L.S.: VIII, IX & X	453
28.	BENIWAL, SMT. VIDYA	R.S.: 1990-TILL-DATE	455
29.	BHADAURIA, SMT. SARLA	R.S.: 1964—70	457
30.	BHANDARI, SMT. DIL KUMARI	L.S.: VIII & X	459
31.	BHARGAVA, SMT. SHARDA	R.S.: 1952—56, 1956—62, 1963—66	461

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
32.	BHARTHI, SMT. UDAYBHANU	R.S. 1954—58, 1958—64	464
33.	BHATT, SMT. ELA RAMESH	R.S. : 1986—88	465
34.	BHATTACHARYA, SMT. ILA	R.S.: 1980—86	469
35.	BHATTACHARYA, PROF. (SMT.) MALINI	L.S.: IX & X	467
36.	BHATTACHARYA, SMT. INDUMATI	L.S.: VIII	471
37.	BHONSLE, SMT. VIJAYAMALA RAJARAM CHHATRAPATI	L.S.: IV	472
38.	BIBHU KUMARI DEVI, MAHARANI	L.S.: X	473
39.	BINDUMATI DEVI, SMT.	R.S.: 1967—72	475
40	BORKAR, SMT. ANSUYABAI	L.S.: I	476
41.	BOSE, DR. (SMT.) MAITREYEE.	L.S.: IV	477
42.	BOSE, SMT. PRATIMA	R.S.: 1975—81	479
43.	BRAR, SMT. GURBRINDER KAUR	L.S.: VII	481
44.	BULARA, SMT. RAJINDER KAUR.	L.S. IX	483
45.	BURAGOHAIN, SMT. BEDAVATI	R.S.: 1954—60, 1960—66	484
46.	CHAKRAVARTTY, SMT. RENU	L.S.: I, II, & III	486
47.	CHANDRASEKHAR SMT. MARAGATHAM	L.S.: I, III, VIII, IX & X	
		R.S.: 1970–76, 1976–82, 1982–87	488
48.	CHANDA, SMT. JYOTSNA	L.S.: III, IV & V	490
49.	CHANDRASEKHAR, SMT. MARAGATHAM	L.S.: I, III, VIII, IX & X	

		R.S. : 1970—76, 1976—82, 1982—84	492
50.	CHANDRAWATI, SMT.	L.S.: VI	495
51.	CHANDRESH KUMARI, SMT.	L.S.: VIII	497
52.	CHATTERJEE, PROF. (SMT.) ASIMA	R.S.: 1982—84, 1984—90	499
53.	CHATURVEDI, SMT. VIDYAWATI	L.S.: VII & VIII RS.: 1966—72, 1972—78	502
54.	CHAUDHRI, SMT. KAMALA	CA; PP; L.S.: III	504
55..	CHAVAN, SMT. PREMILABAI D.	L.S.: V, VI & IX R.S. 1980—84	506
56.	CHAVDA, SMT. ZOHRABEN AKBARBHAI	L.S.: III	508
57.	CHENNUPATI, SMT. VIDYA	L.S.: VII & IX	509
58.	CHETTRY SMT. MAYA DEVI	R.S.: 1952—58, 1958—64	511
59.	CHIKHALIA, SMT. BHAVNABEN DEVARAJBHAI	L.S.: X	513
60.	CHOUDHARI, SMT. USHA	L.S.: VII & VIII	515
61.	CHOUDHURY, SMT. MALATI	CA	517
62.	CHOUDHURY, SMT. RASHIDA HAQUE	L.S.: VI	518
63.	CHODHARY, SMT. SANTOSH	L.S.: X	520
64.	CHOWDHURY, SMT. RENUKA	R.S. 1986—1992, 1992 TILL DATE	522
65.	CHUNDAWAT, SMT. LAKSHMI KUMARI	R.S.: 1972—78	524
66.	DANDAVATE, SMT. PRAMILA	L.S.: VII	526
67.	DANG, SMT. SATYAWATI	R.S.: 1968—74	528

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
70.	DAS, SMT. PUSHPALATA	R.S. 1952—56, 1956—62	535
71.	DAS, MS. SHOILA BALA	R.S.: 1952—54	531
72.	DEORI, SMT. OMEM MOYONG	R.S.: 1984—90	536
73.	DESHMUKH, SMT. G. DURGABAI	CA; PP.	538
74.	DESHMUKH, SMT. VIMAL PANJAB	L.S.: III R.S.: 1967—72	539
75.	DEVI, SMT. CHANDRA BHANU	L.S.: VIII	541
76.	DIKSHIT, SMT. SHEILA	L.S.: VIII	542
77.	DIXIT, SMT. KALAWATI	PP	544
78.	DUBEY, SMT. SAROJ	L.S.: X	545
79.	DUTT, SMT. NARGIS	R.S.: 1980-81	547
80.	GANDHI, SMT. INDIRA	L.S.: IV, V, VI, VII R.S. 1964—67	549
81.	GANDHI, SMT. MANEKA	L.S.: IX	555
82.	GANGA DEVI. SMT.	L.S.: I, II, III, IV & V	557
83.	GAUTAM, SMT. SHEELA	L.S.: X	559
84.	GAYATRI DEVI, RAJMATA OF JAIPUR	L.S.: III, IV, & V	561
85.	GAYATRI DEVI, SMT.	L.S.: VII	563
86.	GHOSH GOSWAMI, SMT. BIBHA	L.S.: V, VI, VII & VIII	564
87.	GIRIJA DEVI, DR. (PROF.)	L.S.: X	565
88.	GIRJA KUMARI, SMT.	L.S.: IV	567
89.	GODFREY, SMT. MARJORIE	L.S.: V	568
90.	GOPALAN, SMT. SUSEELA	L.S.: IV, VII & X	570
91.	GOPIDAS, SMT. DEVAKI	R.S.: 1962—68	572
92.	GORE, SMT. MRINAL	L.S.: VI	574

90.	GOPALAN, SMT. SUSEELA	L.S.: IV, VII & X	570
91.	GOPIDAS, SMT. DEVAKI	R.S.: 1962—68	572
92.	GORE, SMT. MRINAL	L.S.: VI	574
93.	GUHA, SMT. PHULRENU	L.S.: VIII; R.S.: 1964—70	576
94.	GUPTA, SMT. PRABHAWATI	L.S.: VIII	581
95.	HABIBULLAH, SMT. HAMIDA	R.S. 1976—82	583
96.	HENSMAN, SMT. MONA	R.S.: 1952–56	585
97.	HEPTULLA, DR. (SMT.) NAJMA AKBARALI	R.S. : 1980—86, 1986—TILL-DATE	587
98.	IKRAMULLAH, BEGUM SHAISTA SUHRAWARDY	CA	591
99.	IMAM, SMT. AZIZA	R.S.: 1973—76, 1976—82	592
100.	INDRA KUMARI, SMT.	L.S.: VII	595
101.	ISMAIL, SMT. FATHEMA	R.S.: 1978—84	596
102.	JAHANARA SHAH NAWAZ, BEGUM	CA	598
103.	JAIN, SMT. CHANDRIKA ABHINANDAN	R.S.: 1990—TILL-DATE	600
104.	JAMUNA DEVI, SMT.	L.S.: III; R.S.: 1978—80	601
105.	JAMUNA, SMT. JULURI	L.S.: IX	603
106.	JAYALALITHA JAYARAM, MS.	R.S.: 1984—89	605
107.	JEYALAKSHMI, SMT. VENKATASAMY	L.S.: V & VI	607
108.	JHANSI LAKSHMI, SMT. N.P.	L.S.: VIII	608

109. JOSHI, MS. KUMUDBEN M.	R.S. : 1973—76, 1976—82, 1982—85	609
110. JOSHI, SMT. SUBHADRA	L.S.: I, II, III & IV	611
111. JOSHI, SMT. SUDHA VIJAY	R.S.: 1984—90	612
112. KAILASHPATI, SMT.	L.S.:VII, R.S.: 1985–88, 1988–TILL DATE	614
113. KALE, SMT. ANASUYABAI	L.S.: I & II	616
114. KALPANA DEVI, DR.(SMT.) T.	L.S.: VIII	618
115. KAMLA KUMARI, MS.	L.S.: IV, V, VII & VIII	619
116. KANNAMWAR, SMT. TAI	L.S.: III	621
117. KARA, MS. MANIBEN	CLA	622
118. KARREDULA, SMT. KAMALA KUMARI	L.S.: IX & X	624
119. KAUL, SMT. KRISHNA	R.S.: 1982—88	625
120. KAUL SMT. SHEILA	L.S.: V, VII, VIII, IX & X	628
121. KAUR, SMT. SUKHBUNS	L.S.: VII, VIII, IX & X	631
122. KESARKUMARI DEVI, RANI	L.S.: II & III	633
123. KHALSA, SMT. BIMAL KAUR	L.S.: IX	634
124. KHAN, SMT. SHYAM KUMARI	R.S.: 1963—68	635
125. KHAN, SMT. USHI	R.S.: 1976—82	638
126. KHAPARDE, MS. SAROJ	R.S.: 1972—74, 1976—82, 1982—88 & 1988-TILL DATE	640
127. KHATUN, MS. SAYEEDA.	R.S.: 1986–92	642

128. KHONGMEN, SMT. BONILY	L.S.: I	644
129. KIDWAI, SMT. ANIS	R.S.: 1956–62 & 1962–68	645
130. KIDWAI, SMT. MOHSINA	L.S.: VI, VII & VIII	647
131. KIDWAI, BEGUM SADDIQA	R.S.: 1956-58	649
132. KRIPALANI, SMT. SUCHETA	CA; PP; L.S.:I, II & IV	652
133. KRISHNA KUMARI, SMT.	R.S.: 1954–60	654
134. KRISHNA KUMARI, JODHPUR RAJMATA	L.S.:V	655
135. KRISHNAN, SMT. PARVATHI	L.S.: II, V & VI R.S. 1954–57	656
136. KRISHENDRA KAUR (DEEPA) SMT.	L.S.: X	658
137. KSHIRSAGAR SMT. KESHARBAI	L.S.: VII, VIII & X	659
138. KUDUMULA, MS. PADMASHREE	L.S.: X	661
139. KULKARNI, SMT. SUMITRA G.	R.S.: 1972–73	662
140. KUMAR, SMT. MEIRA	L.S.: VIII	664
141. KUNWAR BA, SMT. BASANT	L.S. III	666
142. LAKHANPAL, SMT. CHANDRAVATI	R.S. 1952–56, 1956–62	667
143. LAKSHMANAN, PROF. (SMT.) SAVITHRI	L.S.: IX & X	669
144. LAKSHMI KANTAMMA, SMT. T.	L.S.: III, IV & V	671
145. LALITA RAJYALAXMI, RANI	L.S.:II, III & IV	675
146. LALITHA RAJGOPALAN, SMT. G.	R.S.: 1965–70	673

147. LAXMI BAI, SMT. SANGAM	L.S.: II, III & IV	676
148. LILA DEVI, SMT.	R.S.: 1956–62	678
149. MAHAJAN, SMT. SUMITRA	L.S.: IX & X	679
150. MAHENDRA KUMARI, SMT.	L.S.: X	681
151. MAHESHWARI, SMT. SARALA	R.S.: 1990-TILL DATE	682
152. MAHISHI, DR.(MS.) SAROJINI	L.S.: III, IV, V & VI R.S.: 1983-90	684
153. MAITI, MS. ABHA	L.S.:VI R.S.: 1960-62	687
154. MALHOTRA, SMT. USHA	R.S.: 1980-86	689
155. MANJARI, SMT. SHASHANK	L.S.: III	692
156. MANJULA DEVI, RANI.	L.S.: II	693
157. MASCARENE, MS. ANNIE	CA; L.S.: I	695
158. MAVALANKAR, SMT. SUSHILA GANESH	L.S.:I	697
159. MAYAWATI, MS.	L.S.: IX	698
160. MAYDEO, SMT. INDIRA ANANT	L.S.: I	699
161. MEHTA, SMT. HANSA	CA	700
162. MEHTA, SMT. JAYAWANTI. N.	L.S.:IX	702
163. MEHTA, SMT. KRISHNA	L.S.:II	704
164. MEHTA, SMT. PUSHPABEN JANARDANRAI	R.S.: 1966–72	705
165. MENON, SMT. LAKSHMI N.	R.S.: 1952–54, 1954–60, 1960-66	707
166. MENON; SMT. LEELA DAMODARA	R.S.: 1974-80	710
167. MINIMATA AGAM DASS GURU, SMT.	L.S.:I, II, III, IV & V	712
168. MISTRY, SMT. RODA	R.S.: 1980-86	714
169. MOHINDER KAUR, SMT.	L.S.: IV; R.S.: 1964–67, 1978-84	716
170. MUKHERJEE, SMT. GEETA	L.S.: VII, VIII, IX & X	721
171. MUKHERJEE, SMT. KANAK	R.S.: 1978-84 & 1984-90	723

172. MUKERJEE, SMT. SHARDA	L.S.: III & IV	719
173. MUKHOPADHYAY, SMT. PURABI	R.S. 1970-76, 1976-82	726
174. MUNSHI, SMT. LILAVATI	R.S.: 1952-58	728
175. MUTHU, DR. (SMT.) SATHIAVANI	R.S.: 1978-84	732
176. NAIDU, MS. M.L. MARY	R.S.: 1964-70	735
177. NAIDU, MS. PADMAJA	P.P.	737
178. NAIDU, SMT. SAROJINI	C.A.	738
179. NATARAJAN, SMT. JAYANTHI	R.S.: 1986-92, 1992-TILL DATE	740
180. NAWALPRABHAKAR, SMT. SUNDARWATI,	L.S.VIII	742
181. NAYAR, SMT. SHAKUNTALA	L.S.: I, IV & V	744
182. NAYAR, DR. SUSHILA	L.S.: II, III, IV & VI	745
183. NEHRU, SMT. SHEORAJ VATI	L.S.: I	747
184. NEHRU, SMT. UMA	P.P.: L.S.: I & II; R.S.: 1962-63	749
185. NIGAM, SMT. SAVITRI	L.S.: III; R.S.: 1952-56, 1956-62	751
186. NIRLEP KAUR, SARDARNI	L.S.: IV	753
187. ORAON, SMT. SUMATI	L.S.: VII, VIII & IX	754
188. PADMA, DR. (SMT.)	L.S.: X	756
189. PADMAWATI DEVI SMT.	L.S.: IV	757
190. PAHADIA, SMT. SHANTI	R.S.: 1984–90	759
191. PALCHOUDHURI SMT.ILA	L.S.: I, II & IV	761
192. PANDA, SMT. ILA	R.S.: 1992-TILL DATE	763
193. PANDEY SMT. MANORAMA	R.S.: 1980-86, 1986-92	765
194. PANDIT, SMT. VIJAYA LAKSHMI	CA; L.S.:I, III & IV	767
195. PARANJPYE, SMT. SHAKUNTALA	R.S.: 1964–70	769
196. PARMANAND, DR.(SMT.) SEETA	R.S.: 1952–58, 1958–64	770

197. PARTHASARATHI, PROF. (SMT.) G.	R.S.: 1960–64	772
198. PARVATI DEVI, SMT.	L.S.:VI	775
199. PATEL, MS. MANIBEHN VALLABHBHAI	L.S.: I, II, V & VI R.S.: 1964-70	776
200. PATEL, SMT. RAMABHEN RAMJIBHAI MAVANI	L.S.:VIII	779
201. PATIL, SMT. PRATIBHA DEVISINGH	L.S.:X; R.S.: 1985-91	781
202. PATIL, SMT. SHALINI V.	L.S.: VII	783
203. PATIL, SMT. SURYAKANTA	L.S.:X; R.S.: 1986-91	785
204. PATNAIK, SMT. JAYANTI,	L.S.: VII & VIII	787
205. PRADHAN, SMT. SARASWATI	R.S.: 1972-78	789
206. RAI, SMT. SAHODRABAI,	L.S.: II, III, V & VII	790
207. RAIJI, SMT. JAYASHRI	PP: L.S.: I	792
208. RAJE, SMT. VASUNDHARA	L.S.: IX, X	794
209. RAJINDER KAUR, DR. (SMT.)	R.S.: 1978-84	796
210. RAJNI DEVI, SMT.	L.S.:IV	798
211. RAJU, SMT. UMA GAJAPATHI	L.S.:IX	799
212. RAMAMURTI, SMT. T.NALLAMUTHU	R.S.: 1956-62	801
213. RANE, SMT. SANYOGITA	L.S.:VII	804
214. RANGNEKAR, SMT. AHILYA P.	L.S.:VI	805
215. RAO, SMT. B. RADHABAI ANANDA	L.S.:IV, V, VI & VII	806
216. RAO, SMT. RATHNABAI SREENIVASA	R.S.: 1972–78	808
217. RATAN KUMARI, SMT.	R.S.: 1976-82. 1982-88, 1988-TILL DATE	810
218. RAY, SMT. MAYA	L.S.: V	812
219. RAY, SMT. RENUKA	CA; CLA; PP; L.S.: II & III	814
220. RAZACK, SMT. NOORJEHAN.	R.S.: 1977-83	816

221. REDDY, SMT. YASHODA	L.S.: III; R.S.: 1956–62, 1967–72	818
222. ROHATGI, SMT. SUSHILA	L.S.: IV & V R.S..: 1985–88	820
223. ROY, SMT. LILA	C.A.	823
224. ROY, SMT. UMA	L.S.: IV	825
225. SAHI, SMT. KRISHNA	L.S.:VII, VIII & X	826
226. SAPRE, SMT. TARA GOVIND	L.S.: IV	828
227. SARMA, SMT. BASANTI	R.S.: 1991- TILL DATE	829
228. SAROJINI KRISHNARAO BABAR, DR. (MS)	R.S.: 1968-74	830
229. SATHE, SMT. TARA RAMCHANDRA	R.S.: 1962-68,	831
230. SATPATHY, SMT. NANDINI	R.S.: 1962-68, 1968-72	834
231. SATYA BAHIN, SMT.	R.S.: 1988- TILL DATE	836
232. SATYABHAMA DEVI, SMT.	L.S.: II & III\	838
233. SAVITA BEHEN, SMT.	R.S.: 1972-78	839-841
234. SAVITRI SYAM, SMT.	L.S.: IV & V	842
235. SCINDIA, SMT. VIJAYA RAJE	L.S.: II, III, V, IX & X R.S.: 1978-84, 1984-89	844-5
236. SEETA YUDHVIR, SMT.	R.S.: 1958-64, 1964-70	846
237. SELJA, MS.	L.S. X	848
238. SEN, SMT. SUSHAMA	L.S. I	849
239. SHAH, SMT. JAYABEN	L.S.: II, III & IV	852
240. SHAH, HER HIGHNESS RAJMATA KAMLENDU MATI	L.S.I	851
241. SHAIZA, SMT. RANO M.	L.S.: VI	854
242. SHAKTAWAT, PROF. NIRMLA KUMARI	L.S.: VII & VIII	856

243. SHKUNTALA DEVI, SMT.	L.S.: II & III	858
244. SHANTI DEVI, SMT.	L.S.: VI & VIII; R.S. 1961–62	859
245. SHARMA, SMT. RUKMANIBAI	R.S.: 1956-62	861
246. SHYAMKUMARI DEVI, SMT.	L.S.: III; R.S.: 1968-74, 1974-80	863
247. SIDDHARTHA, SMT. D.K. THARA DEVI	L.S.:VIII & X; R.S.: 1990–91	865
248. SINGH, SMT. JAHANARA JAIPAL	R.S.: 1958-64, 1964-70, 1972-78	868
249. SINGH, SMT. MADHURI	L.S.: VII & VIII	870
250. SINGH, SMT. MANORAMA	L.S.:VIII	871
251. SINGH, SMT. PRATIBHA,	R.S.: 1970-76, 1976-82, 1982-88, 1988-92	872
252. SINGH, MS. PUSHPA DEVI	L.S.: VII, VIII & X	867
253. SINHA, SMT. KAMLA	R.S.: 1990- TILL DATE	874
254. SINHA, SMT. KISHORI	L.S. VII & VIII	876
255. SINHA, SMT. RAMDULARI	L.S.:III, VII & VIII	878
256. SINHA, SMT. TARKESHWARI	L.S.: I, II, III & IV	881
257. SINHA, SMT. USHA	L.S.:IX	883
258. SITA DEVI, SMT.	R.S. 1972-74	885
259. SONI, SMT. AMBIKA	R.S.: 1976-80	887
260. SOUNDARAM, DR.(SMT.) K.S.	L.S. X	889
261. SOUNDARAM RAMCHANDRAN, DR. (SMT.) T.S.	L.S.III	891
262. SUBBARAYAN, SMT. RADHABAI	C.L.A; C.O.S.	893
263. SUKHADIA, SMT. INDUBALA	L.S.:VIII	895
264. SULTAN, SMT. MAIMOONA	L.S: II & III; R.S.: 1974-80, 1980-86	896

265. SUSHMA SWARAJ, SMT.	R.S.: 1990-TILL DATE	898
266. SWAMINADHAN, SMT. AMMU	C.A.; CLA; PP; L.S.: I	899
267. TAIMUR, SMT. SYEDA ANWARA	R.S.: 1988–90	901
268. TALWAR, DR. (SMT.) MANGLADEVI	R.S.: 1966–72	902
269. THAKKER, SMT. USHA	L.S.: VIII	904
270. THANKAPPAN, SMT. BHARGAVI	L.S.:V	905
271. THIMMAREDDY, SMT. ANNAPURNA DEVI	R.S.: 1958–64, 1964–70	906
272. TIRIA, MS. SUSHILA	R.S.: 1986–92	907
273. TOMAR, SMT. USHA RANI	L.S.: VIII	909
274. TOPIWALA, SMT. DIPIKA	L.S.: X	910
275. TOPNO, MS. FRIDA	L.S.:X	911
276. TRIPATHI, SMT. CHANDRA	L.S.VIII	912
277. UMA BHARTI, MS.	L.S.: IX & X	913
278. URS, SMT. CHANDRAPRABHA	L.S.:X	915
279. VARMA, SMT. NARAYANI DEVI	R.S.: 1970–76	917
280. VASISHT, MS. SHANTA	R.S.: 1960–66, 1966–72	918
281. VEDAKUMARI, MS. MOTHEY	L.S.:II	920
282. VELAYUDHAN, SMT. DAKSHAYANI	CA; PP	921
283. VERMA, PROF. (SMT.) RITA	L.S.: X	924
284. VERMA, SMT. USHA	L.S.: VII, VIII & IX	925
285. VERMA, SMT. VEENA	R.S.: 1986-88, 1988-TILL DATE	927
286. VERMA, MS. VIMLA	L.S. X	922
287. VIJAYA RAJE, SMT.	L.S.: II, III, IV; R.S.: 1952-57	930
288. VIMLA DEVI, SMT. V.	L.S. III	932
289. VYAS, DR. GIRIJA	L.S.: X	933

ANNEXURE-IV

WOMEN MEMBERS IN CENTRAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

1. KARA, MS. MANIBEN
2. RAY, SMT. RENUKA
3. SUBBARAYAN, SMT. RADHABAI
4. SWAMINADHAN, SMT. AMMU

ANNEXURE-V

WOMEN MEMBERS IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE

SL.NO	NAME
1.	SUBBARAYAN, SMT. RADHABAI

ANNXURE-VI

WOMEN MEMBERS IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Sl. NO	NAME
1.	AIZAZ RASUL, BEGUM
2.	AMRIT KAUR, RAJKUMARI
3.	BANERJEE, SMT. PURNIMA
4.	CHAUDHRI SMT. KAMALA
5.	CHOUDHURY, SMT. MALATI
6.	DESHMUKH, SMT. G. DURGABAI
7.	IKRAMULLAH, BEGUM SHAISTA SUHRAWARDY
8.	JAHANARA SHAH NAWAZ, BEGUM
9.	KRIPALANI, SMT. SUCHETA
10.	MASCARENE MS. ANNIE
11.	MEHTA, SMT. HANSA
12.	NAIDU, SMT. SAROJINI
13.	PANDIT, SMT. VIJAYA LAKSHMI
14.	RAY, SMT. RENUKA
15.	ROY, SMT. LILA
16.	SWAMINADHAN, SMT. AMMU
17.	VELAYUDHAN, SMT. DAKSHYANI

ANNEXURE-VII

WOMEN MEMBERS IN PROVISIONAL PARLIAMENT

SL.NO	NAME
1.	AMRIT KAUR, RAJKUMARI
2.	CHAUDHRI, SMT. KAMALA
3.	DESHMUKH, SMT. G. DURGABAI
4.	DIXIT, SMT. KALAWATI
5.	KRIPALANI, SMT. SUCHETA
6.	NAIDU, MS. PADMAJA
7.	NEHRU, SMT. UMA
8.	RAIJI, SMT. JAYASHRI
9.	RAY, SMT. RENUKA
10.	SWAMINADHAN, SMT. AMMU
11.	VELAYUDHAN, SMT. DAKSHAYANI

ANNEXURE – VIII

WOMEN MEMBERS OF LOK SABHA

FIRST LOK SABHA

SL. NO.	NAME
1.	AMRIT KAUR, RAJKUMARI
2.	BORKAR, SMT. ANSUYABAI
3.	CHAKRAVARTTY, SMT. RENU
4.	CHANDRASEKHAR, SMT. MARAGATHAM
5.	GANGA DEVI, SMT.
6.	JOSHI, SMT. SUBHADRA
7.	KALE, SMT. ANASUYABAI
8.	KHONGMEN, SMT. BONILY
9.	KRIPALANI, SMT. SUCHETA
10.	MASCARENE, MS. ANNIE
11.	MAVALANKAR, SMT. SUSHILA GANESH
12.	MAYDEO, SMT. INDIRA ANANT
13.	MINIMATA AGAM DASS GURU, SMT.
14.	NAYAR, SMT. SHAKUNTALA
15.	NEHRU, SMT. SHEORAJ VATI
16.	NEHRU, SMT. UMA
17.	PALCHOUDHRI, SMT. ILA
18.	PANDIT, SMT. VIJAYA LAKSHMI
19.	PATEL, MS. MANIBEHN VALLABHBHAI
20.	RAIJI, SMT. JAYASHRI
21.	SEN, SMT. SUSHAMA
22.	SHAH, HER HIGHNESS RAJMATA KAMLENDU MATI
23.	SINHA, SMT. TARKESHWARI
24.	SWAMINADHAN SMT. AMMU

SECOND LOK SABHA

SL.NO	NAME
1.	AHMED, SMT. MOFIDA
2.	ATCHAMBA, DR. (SMT.) KOMARRAJU
3.	CHAKRAVARTTY, SMT. RENU
4.	GANGA DEVI, SMT.
5.	JOSHI, SMT. SUBHADRA
6.	KALE, SMT. ANASUYABAI
7.	KESARKUMARI DEVI, RANI
8.	KRIPALANI, SMT. SUCHETA
9.	KRISHANAN, SMT. PARVATHI
10.	LALITA RAJYA LAXMI RANI
11.	LAXMI BAI, SMT. SANGAM
12.	MANJULA DEVI, RANI
13.	MEHTA, SMT. KRISHNA
14.	MINIMATA AGAM DASS GURU, SMT.
15.	NAYAR, DR. SUSHILA
16.	NEHRU, SMT. UMA
17.	PALCHOUDHURI, SMT. ILA
18.	PATEL, MS. MANIBEHN VALLABHBHAI
19.	RAI, SMT. SAHODRABAI
20.	RAY, SMT. RENUKA
21.	SATYABHAMA DEVI, SMT.
22.	SCINDIA, SMT. VIJAYA RAJE

23. SHAH, SMT. JAYABEN

24. SHAKUNTALA DEVI, SMT.

25. SINHA, SMT. TARKESHWARI

26. SULTAN, SMT. MAIMOONA

27. VEDAKUMARI, MS. MOTHEY

28. VIJAYA RAJE, SMT.

THIRD LOK SABHA

SL.NO	NAME
1.	AKKAMMA DEVI, SMT.
2.	BARKATAKI, SMT. RENUKA DEVI
3.	CHAKRAVARTTY, SMT. RENU
4.	CHANDA, SMT. JYOTSNA
5.	CHANRASEKHAR, SMT. MARAGATHAM
6.	CHAUDHRI, SMT. KAMALA
7.	CHAVDA, SMT. ZOHRABEN AKBARBHAI
8.	DESHMUKH, SMT. VIMAL PANJAB
9.	GANGA DEVI, SMT.
10.	GAYATRI DEVI, RAJMATA OF JAIPUR
11.	JAMUNA DEVI, SMT.
12.	JOSHI, SMT. SUBHADRA
13.	KANNAMWAR SMT. TAI
14.	KESARKUMARI DEVI, RANI
15.	KUNWAR BA, SMT. BASANT
16.	LAKSHMI KANTAMMA, SMT. T
17.	LALITA RAJYA LAXMI, RANI
18.	LAXMI BAI, SMT. SANGAM
19.	MAHISHI, DR. (MS.) SAROJINI
20.	MANJARI, SMT. SHASHANK
21.	MINIMATA AGAM DASS GURU, SMT.
22.	MUKERJEE, SMT. SHARDA
23.	NAYAR, DR. SUSHILA

24. NIGAM, SMT. SAVITRI
25. PANDIT, SMT. VIJAYA LAKSHMI
26. RAI, SMT. SAHODRABAI
27. RAY, SMT. RENUKA
28. REDDY, SMT. YASHODA
29. SATYABHAMA DEVI, SMT.
30. SCINDIA, SMT. VIJAYA RAJE
31. SHAH, SMT. JAYABEN
32. SHAKUNTALA DEVI, SMT
33. SHYAMKUMARI DEVI, SMT.
34. SINHA, SMT. RAMDULARI
35. SINHA, SMT. TARKESHWARI
36. SOUNDARAM RAMCHANDRAN, DR. (SMT.) T.S.
37. SULTAN, SMT. MAIMOONA
38. VIJAYA RAJE, SMT.
39. VIMLA DEVI, SMT. V.

FOURTH LOK SABHA

SL.NO	NAMES
1.	BHONSLE, SMT. VIJAYAMALA RAJARAM CHHATRAPATI
2.	BOSE, DR. (SMT.) MAITREYEE
3.	CHANDA, SMT. JYOTSNA
4.	GANDHI, SMT. INDIRA
5.	GANGA DEVI, SMT.
6.	GAYATRI DEVI, RAJMATA OF JAIPUR
7.	GIRJA KUMARI, SMT.
8.	GOPALAN, SMT. SUSEELA
9.	KAMLA KUMARI, MS.
10.	KRIPALANI, SMT. SUCHETA
11.	LAKSHMI KANTAMMA, SMT. T.
12.	LALITA RAJYA LAXMI, RANI
13.	LAXMI BAI, SMT. SANGAM
14.	MAHISHI, DR. (MS.) SAROJINI
15.	MINIMATA AGAM DASS GURU, SMT.
16.	MOHINDER KAUR, SMT.
17.	MUK ERJEE, SMT. SHARDA
18.	NAYAR, SMT. SHAKUNTALA
19.	NAYAR, DR. SUSHILA
20.	NIRLEP KAUR, SARDARNI
21.	PADMAWATI DEVI, S MT.
22.	PALCHOUDHRI, SMT. ILA
23.	PANDIT, SMT. VIJAYA LAKSHMI

24. RAJNI DEVI, SMT.
25. ROHATGI, SMT. SUSHILA
26. ROY, SMT. UMA
27. SAPRE, SMT. TARA GOVIND
28. SAVITRI SHYAM, SMT.
29. SHAH, SMT. JAYABEN
30. SINHA, SMT. TARKESHWARI
31. VIJAYA RAJE, SMT.

FIFTH LOK SABHA

SL. NO	NAMES
1.	BANERJEE, SMT. MUKUL
2.	CHANDA, SMT. JYOTSNA
3.	CHAVAN, SMT. PREMILABAI D.
4.	GANDHI, SMT. INDIRA
5.	GANGA DEVI, SMT.
6.	GAYATRI DEVI, RAJMATA OF JAIPUR
7.	GHOSH GOSWAMI, SMT. BIBHA
8.	GODFREY, SMT. MARJORIE
9.	JEYALAKSHMI, SMT. VENKATASAMY
10.	JOSHI, SMT. SUBHADRA
11.	KAMLA KUMARI, MS.
12.	KAUL, SMT. SHEILA
13.	KRISHNA KUMARI JODHPUR, RAJMATA
14.	KRISHNAN, SMT. PARVATHI
15.	LAKSHMI KANTAMMA, SMT. T
16.	MAHISHI, DR. (MS.) SAROJINI
17.	MINIMATA AGAM DASS GURU, SMT.
18.	NAYAR, SMT. SHAKUNTALA
19.	PATEL, MS. MANIBEHN VALLABHBHAI
20.	RAI, SMT. SAHODRABAI
21.	RAO, SMT. B. RADHABAI ANANDA
22.	RAY, SMT. MAYA

23. ROHATGI, SMT. SUSHILA

24. SAVITRI SHYAM, SMT.

25. SCINDIA, SMT. VIJAYA RAJE

26. THANKAPPAN, SMT. BHARGAVI

SIXTH LOK SABHA

SL.NO	NAMES
1.	ABDULLAH, BEGUM AKBAR JAHAN
2.	BAHUGUNA, SMT. KAMALA
3.	BARKATAKI, SMT. RENUKA DEVI
4.	CHANDRAWATI, SMT.
5.	CHAVAN, SMT. PREMILABAI D.
6.	CHOUDHURY, SMT. RASHIDA HAQUE
7.	GANDHI, SMT. INDIRA
8.	GHOSH GOSWAMI, SMT. BIBHA
9.	GORE, SMT. MRINAL
10.	JEYALAKSHMI, SMT. VENKATASAMY
11.	KIDWAI, SMT. MOHSINA
12.	KRISHNAN, SMT. PARVATHI
13.	MAHISHI, DR. (MS.) SAROJINI
14.	MAITI, MS. ABHA
15.	NAYAR, DR. SUSHILA
16.	PARVATI DEVI, SMT.
17.	PATEL, MS. MANIBEHN VALLABHBHAI
18.	RANGNEKAR, SMT. AHILYA P.
19.	RAO, SMT. B. RADHABAI ANANDA
20.	SHAIZA, SMT. RANO M.
21.	SHANTI DEVI, SMT.

SEVENTH LOK SABHA

SL. NO	NAMES
1.	AHMED, BEGAM ABIDA
2.	BAJPAI, DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI
3.	BRAR, SMT. GURBRINDER KAUR
4.	CHATURVEDI, SMT. VIDYAWATI
5.	CHENNUPATI, SMT. VIDYA
6.	CHOUDHARI, SMT. USHA
7.	DANDAVATE, SMT. PRAMILA
8.	GANDHI, SMT. INDIRA
9.	GAYATRI DEVI, SMT.
10.	GOSH GOSWAMI, SMT. BIBHA
11.	GOPALAN, SMT. SUSEELA
12.	INDIRA KUMARI, SMT.
13.	KAILASHPATI, SMT.
14.	KAMLA KUMARI, MS.
15.	KAUL, SMT. SHEILA
16.	KAUR, SMT. SUKHBANS
17.	KIDWAI, SMT. MOHSINA
18.	KSHIRSAGAR, SMT. KESHARBAI
19.	MUKHERJEE, SMT. GEETA
20.	ORAON, SMT. SUMATI
21.	PATIL, SMT. SHALINI V.

22. PATNAIK, SMT. JAYANTI
23. RAI, SMT. SAHODRABAI
24. RANE, SMT. SANYOGITA
25. RAO, SMT. B. RADHABAI ANANDA
26. SAHI, SMT. KRISHNA
27. SHAKTAWAT, PROF. NIRMLA KUMARI
28. SINGH, MS. PUSHPA DEVI
29. SINGH, SMT. MADHURI
30. SINHA, SMT. KISHORI
31. SINHA, SMT. RAMDULARI
32. VERMA, SMT. USHA

EIGHTH LOK SAHBA

SL.NO.	NAMES
1.	ABDULLAH, BEGUM AKBAR JAHAN
2.	AHMED, BEGAM ABIDA
3.	ANJAIAH, SMT. TANGUTURI MANEMMA
4.	BAJPAI, DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI
5.	BALI, SMT. VYJAYANTIMALA
6.	BANERJEE, MS. MAMATA
7.	BASAVA RAJESWARI, SMT.
8.	BHANDARI, SMT. DIL KUMARI
9.	BHATTACHARYA, SMT. INDUMATI
10.	CHANDRASEKHAR, SMT. MARAGATHAM
11.	CHANDRESH KUMARI, SMT.
12.	CHATURVEDI, SMT. VIDYAWATI
13.	CHAVAN, SMT. PREMILABAI D.
14.	CHOUDHARI, SMT. USHA
15.	DEVI, SMT. CHANDRA BHANU
16.	DIKSHIT, SMT. SHEILA
17.	GHOSH GOSWAMI, SMT. BIBHA
18.	GUHA.. SMT. PHULRENU
19.	GUPTA, SMT. PRABHAWATI
20.	JHANSI LAKHSMI, SMT. N.P.
21.	KALPANA DEVI, DR. (SMT.) T.
22.	KAMLA KUMARI, MS.

23. KAUL, SMT. SHEILA
24. KAUR, SMT. SUKHBUNS
25. KIDWAI, SMT. MOHSINA
26. KSHIRSAGAR, SMT. KESHARBAI
27. KUMAR, SMT. MEIRA
28. MUKHERJEE, SMT. GEETA
29. NAWAL PRABHAKAR, SMT. SUNDARWATI
30. ORAON, SMT. SUMATI
31. PATEL, SMT. RAMABHEN RAMJIBHAI MAVANI
32. PATNAIK, SMT. JAYANTI
33. SAHI, SMT. KRISHNA
34. SHAKTAWAT, PROF. NIRMLA KUMARI
35. SHANTI DEVI, SMT.
36. SIDDHARTHA, SMT. D.K. THARA DEVI
37. SINGH, SMT. MADHURI
38. SINGH, SMT. MANORAMA
39. SINGH, MS. PUSHPA DEVI
40. SINHA, SMT. KISHORI
41. SINHA, SMT. RAMDULARI
42. SUKHADIA, SMT. INDUBALA
43. THAKKER, SMT. USHA
44. TOMAR, SMT. USHA RANI
45. TRIPATHI, SMT. CHANDRA
46. VERMA, SMT. USHA

NINTH LOK SABHA

SL. NO	NAMES
1.	ALI SMT. SUBHASHINI
2.	ANJAIAH, TANGATURI MANEMMA
3.	BAJPAI DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI
4.	BALI, SMT. VYJAYANTIMALA
5.	BASAVA RAJESWARI, SMT.
6.	BHATTACHARYA, PROF. (SMT.) MALINI
7.	BULARA, SMT. RAJINDER KAUR
8.	CHANDRASEKHAR, SMT. MARAGATHAM
9.	CHAVAN, SMT. PREMILABAI D.
10.	CHENNUPATI, SMT. VIDYA
11.	GANDHI, SMT. MANEKA
12.	JAMUNA, SMT. JULURI
13.	KARREDULA, SMT. KAMALA KUMARI
14.	KAUL, SMT. SHEILA
15.	KAUR, SMT. SUKHBUNS
16.	KHALSA, SMT. BIMAL KAUR
17.	LAKSHMANAN, PROF. (SMT.) SAVITHRI
18.	MAHAJAN, SMT. SUMITRA
19.	MAYAWATI, MS.
20.	MEHTA, SMT. JAYAWANTI N.
21.	MUKHERJEE, SMT. GEETA
22.	ORAON, SMT. SUMATI
23.	RAJE, SMT. VASUNDHARA

24. RAJU, SMT. UMA GAJAPATHI

25. SCINDIA, SMT. VIJAYA RAJE

26. SINHA, SMT. USHA

27. UMA BHARTI, MS.

28. VERMA, SMT. USHA

TENTH LOK SABHA

SL. NO	NAMES
1.	BANERJEE, MS. MAMATA
2.	BASAVA RAJESWARI, SMT.
3.	BHANDARI SMT. DIL KUMARI
4.	BHATTACHARYA, PROF. (SMT.) MALINI
5.	BIBHU KUMARI DEVI, MAHARANI
6.	CHANDRASEKHAR, SMT. MARAGATHAM
7.	CHIKHALIA, SMT. BHAVNABEN DEVARAJBHAI
8.	CHOWDHARY, SMT. SANTOSH
9.	DUBEY, SMT. SAROJ
10.	GAUTAM, SMT. SHEELA
11.	GIRIJA DEVI, DR. (PROF.)
12.	GOPALAN, SMT. SUSEELA
13.	KARREDULA, SMT. KAMALA KUMARI
14.	KAUL, SMT. SHEILA
15.	KAUR, SMT. SUKHBUNS
16.	KRISHENDRA KAUR (DEEPA), SMT.
17.	KSHIRSAGAR, SMT. KESHARBAI
18.	KUDUMULA, MS. PADMASHREE
19.	LAKSHMANAN, PROF. (SMT.) SAVITHRI
20.	MAHAJAN, SMT. SUMITRA
21.	MAHENDRA KUMARI, SMT.
22.	MUKHERJEE, SMT. GEETA

23. PADMA, DR. (SMT.)
24. PATIL, SMT. PRATIBHA DEVISINGH
25. PATIL, SMT. SURYAKANTA
26. RAJE, SMT. VASUNDHARA
27. SAHI, SMT. KRISHNA
28. SCINDIA, SMT. VIJAYA RAJE
29. SELJA, MS.
30. SIDDHARTHA, SMT. D.K. THARA DEVI
31. SINGH, MS. PUSHPA DEVI
32. SOUNDARAM, DR. (SMT.) K.S.
33. TOPIWALA, SMT. DIPIKA
34. TOPNO, MS. FRIDA
35. UMA BHARTI, MS.
36. URS, SMT. CHADRAPRABHA
37. VERMA, PROF. (SMT.) RITA
38. VERMA, MS. VIMLA
39. VYAS, DR. GIRIJA

ANNEXURE-IX

WOMEN MEMBERS OF RAJYA SABHA

Sl. No.	*Name*	*Tenure*
(1)	(2)	(3)
1.	ADIVAREKAR, SMT. SUSHILA SHANKAR	1971–72 1972–78, 1978–84
2.	AIZÁZ RASUL, BEGUM	1952–56
3.	ALIA, MS.	1989–92
4.	ALVA, SMT. MARGARET	1974–80, 1980–86, 1986–92, 1992 TILL DATE
5.	ALVA, SMT. VIOLET	1952–60,1960–66,1966–69
6.	AMARJIT KAUR, SMT.	1976–82,1982–88
7.	AMMANNA RAJA, SMT. C.	1962–68
8.	AMRIT KAUR, RAJKUMARI	1957–58,1958–64
9.	AMRITA PRITAM	1986–92
10.	ANGELINA TIGA, SMT.	1952–54
11.	ARUNDALE, SMT. RUKMINI DEVI	1952–56,1956–62
12.	BARTHAKUR, SMT. USHA	1966–72
13.	BENIWAL, SMT. VIDYA	1990-TILL DATE
14.	BHADAURIA, SMT. SARLA	1964–70
15.	BHARGAVA, SMT. SHARDA	1952–56,1956–62,1963–66
16.	BHARTHI, SMT. UDAYBHANU	1954–58,1958–64
17.	BHATT, SMT. ELA RAMESH	1986–88
18.	BHATTACHARYA, SMT. ILA	1980–86
19.	BINDUMATI DEVI, SMT.	1967–72
20.	BOSE, SMT. PRATIMA	1975–81

21.	BURAGOHAIN, SMT. BEDAVATI	1954–60, 1960–66
22.	CHAKRAVARTY, BIJOYA	1986–92
23.	CHANDRASEKHAR, SMT. MARAGATHAM	1970–76, 1976–82, 1982–84
24.	CHATTERJEE, PROF. (SMT.) ASIMA	1982–84, 1984–90
25.	CHATURVEDI, SMT. VIDYAWATI	1966–72, 1972–78
26.	CHAVAN, SMT. PREMILABAI D.	1980–84
27.	CHETTRY, SMT. MAYADEVI	1952–58, 1958–64
28.	CHOWDHURY, SMT. RENUKA	1986–92, 1992–TILL DATE
29.	CHUNDAWAT, SMT. LAKSHMI KUMARI	1972–78
30.	DANG, SMT. SATYAWATI	1968–74
31.	DAS, SMT. MIRA	1990–TILL DATE
32.	DAS, SMT. MONIKA	1980–86
33.	DAS, PUSHPA LATA	1952–56, 1956–62
34.	DAS, MS. SHOILA BALA	1952–54
35.	DEORI, SMT. OMEN MOYONG	1984–90
36.	DESHMUKH, SMT. VIMAL PANJAB	1967–72
37.	DUTT, SMT. NARGIS	1980–81
38.	GANDHI, SMT. INDIRA	1964–67
39.	GOPI DAS, SMT. DEVAKI	1962–68
40.	GUHA, SMT. PHULRENU	1964–70
41.	HABIBULLAH, SMT. HAMIDA	1976–82
42.	HENSMAN, SMT. MONA	1952–56

43.	HEPTULLA, DR. (SMT.) NAJMA AKBARALI	1980–86, 1986–92, 1992 TILL DATE.
44.	IMAM, SMT. AZIZA	1973-76;1976-82
45.	ISMAIL, SMT. FATHEMA	1978–84
46.	JAIN, SMT. CHANDRIKA ABHINANDAN	1990–TILL DATE
47.	JAMUNA DEVI, SMT.	1978–80
48.	JAYALALITHA JAYARAM, MS.	1984–89
49.	JOSHI, MS. KUMUDBEN, M.	1973–76, 1976–82, 1982–85
50.	JOSHI, SMT. SUDHA VIJAY	1984–90
51.	KAILASHPATI, SMT.	1985–88, 1988 TILL DATE
52.	KAUL, SMT. KRISHNA	1982–88
53.	KHAN, SMT. SHYAM KUMARI	1963–68
54.	KHAN, SMT. USHI	1976–82
55.	KHAPARDE, MS. SAROJ	1972–74, 1976–82, 1982–88, 1988–TILL DATE
56.	KHATUN, MS. SAYEEDA	1986–92
57.	KIDWAI, SMT. ANIS	1956–62, 1962–68
58.	KIDWAI, BEGUM SADDIQA	1956–58
59.	KRISHNA KUMARI, SMT.	1954–57
60.	KRISHNAN, SMT. PARVATHI	1954–57
61.	KULKARNI, SMT. SUMITRA G.	1972–78
62.	LAKHANPAL, SMT. CHANDRAWATI	1952–56, 1956–62
63.	LALITHA RAJGOPALAN, SMT. G.	1965–70
64.	LILA DEVI, SMT.	1956–62
65.	MAHESHWARI, SMT. SARALA	1990–TILL DATE
66.	MAHISHI, DR. (MS.) SAROJINI	1983–90

67.	MAITI, MS. ABHA	1960–62
68.	MALHOTRA, SMT. USHA	1980–86
69.	MEHTA, SMT. PUSHPABEN JANARDAN RAI	1966–72
70.	MENON, SMT. LAKSHMI N.	1952–54, 1954–60, 1960–66
71.	MENON, SMT. LEELA DAMODARA	1974–80
72.	MISTRY, SMT. RODA	1980–86
73.	MOHINDER KAUR, SMT.	1964–67, 1978–84
74.	MUKHERJEE, SMT. KANAK	1978–84, 1984–90
75.	MUKHOPADHYAYA, SMT. PURABI	1970–76, 1976–82
76.	MUNSHI, SMT. LILAVATI	1952–58
77.	MUTHU, DR. (SMT.) SATHIAVANI	1978–84
78.	NAIDU, MS. M.L. MARY	1964–70
79.	NATARAJAN, SMT. JAYANTHI	1986–92, 1992–TILL DATE
80.	NEHRU, SMT. UMA	1962–63
81.	NIGAM, SMT. SAVITRI	1952–56, 1956–62
82.	PAHADIA, SMT. SHANTI	1984–90
83.	PANDA, SMT. ILA	1992 TILL DATE
84.	PANDEY, SMT. MANORAMA	1980–86, 1986–92
85.	PARANJPYE, SMT. SHAKUNTALA	1964–70
86.	PARMANAND, DR. (SMT.) SEETA	1952–58, 1958–64
87.	PARTHASARATHI, PROF.(SMT.) G.	1960–64
88.	PATEL, MS. MANIBEHN VALLABHBHAI	1964–70

89.	PATIL, SMT. PRATIBHA DEVISINGH	1985–90
90.	PATIL, SMT. SURYAKANTA	1986–91
91.	PRADHAN, SMT. SARASWATI	1972–78
92.	RAJINDER KAUR, DR. (SMT.)	1978–84
93.	RAMAMURTI, SMT. T. NALLAMUTHU	1956–62
94.	RAO, SMT. RATHNABAI SREENIVASA	1972–78
95.	RATAN KUMARI, SMT.	1976–82, 1982–88, 1988–TILL DATE
96.	RAZACK, SMT. NOORJEHAN	1977–83
97.	REDDY, SMT. YASHODA	1956–62, 1967–72
98.	ROHATGI, SMT. SUSHILA	1985–88
99.	SARMA, SMT. BASANTI	1991–TILL DATE
100.	SAROJINI KRINSHNRAO BABAR, DR. (MS.)	1968–74
101.	SATHE, SMT, TARA RAMCHANDRA	1962–68
102.	SATPATHY, SMT. NANDINI	1962–68,1968–72
103.	SATYA BAHIN, SMT.	1988 TILL DATE
104.	SAVITA BEHAN, SMT.	1972–78
105.	SCINDIA, SMT. VIJAYA RAJE	1978–84, 1984–89
196.	SEETA YUDHVIR, SMT.	1958–64, 1964–70
107.	SHARMA, SMT. RUKMANIBAI	1956–62
108.	SHANTI DEVI, SMT.	1961–62
109.	SHYAM KUMARI DEVI, (SMT.) D.K.	1968–74, 1974–80
110.	SIDDHARTHA, SMT. D.K. THARA DEVI	1990–91

111. SINGH, SMT. JAHANARA JAIPAL	1958–64, 1964–70, 1972–78
112. SINGH, SMT. PRATIBHA	1970–76, 1976–82, 1982–88, 1988–92
113. SINHA, SMT. KAMLA	1990–TILL DATE
114. SITA DEVI, SMT	1972–74
115. SONI, SMT. AMBIKA	1976–80
116. SULTAN, SMT. MAIMOONA	1974–80, 1980–86
117. SUSHMA SWARAJ, SMT.	1990–TILL DATE
118. SWAMINADHAN, SMT. AMMU	1957–60
119. TAIMUR, SMT. SYEDA ANWARA	1988–90
120. TALWAR, DR. (SMT.) MANGLADEVI	1966–72
121. THIMMAREDDY, SMT. ANNAPURNA DEVI	1958–64, 1964–70
122. TIRIA, MS. SUSHILA	1986–92
123. VARMA, SMT. NARAYANI DEVI	1970–76
124. VASISHT, MS. SHANTA	1960–66, 1966–72
125. VERMA, SMT. VEENA	1986–88, 1988–TILL DATE
126. VIJAYA RAJE, SMT.	1952–57

ANNEXURE-X

WOMEN PRESIDING OFFICERS OF PARLIAMENT

SL.No.	*NAME*	*OFFICE WITH PERIOD*
1.	ALVA, SMT. VIOLET	Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha (From 1962 to 1966) (Again from 1966 to 1969)
2.	HEPTULLA, DR. (SMT.) NAJMA AKBARALI	Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha (From January 1985 to January, 1986) (Again from November 1988 to July 1992) (Again from 10 July 1992 to till date)
3.	PATIL, SMT. PRATIBHA DEVISINGH	Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha (From 18 November 1986 to 5 November 1988)

ANNEXURE XI

NAMES AND PORTFOLIOS OF WOMEN MEMBERS OF THE UNION COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, (FROM AUGUST, 1947 TO FEBRUARY, 1993)

SL.NO.	*NAME*	*OFFICE WITH PERIOD*
(1)	(2)	(3)
	PRIME MINISTER	
1.	GANDHI, SMT. INDIRA	Minister of Information and Broadcasting (From 2.7.1964 to 11.1.1966) (Again from 11.1.1966 to 24.1.1966) Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (From 24.1.1966 to 13.3. 1967) (Also held charge of the Ministry of Home Affairs (from 9.11.1966 to 13.11.1966) Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy from 13.1. 1967 to 18.3.1971) (Also assumed the Office of Minister of Planning from 5.9.1967 to 18.3.1971) (Also assumed the Office of Minister of External Affairs from 5.9.1967 to 14.2. 1969) (Also assumed charge of Minister of Finance From 16.7.1969 to 27.6.1970) (Also assumed temporary charge of Minister of Home Affairs from 27.6.1970 to 18.3.1971) Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (From 18. 3. 1971 to 24.3. 1977)

(Also a sumed the Office of Minister of Home . ffairs
(From 18.3.1971 to 5.2.1973

(Also assumed temporary charge of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
(From 18.3.1971 to 8.11.1973)

(Also assumed temporary charge of Minister of Planning)
(From 18.3.1971 to 24.4.1971)

(Also assumed the Office of Minister of Space from 2.6.1972 to 24.3.1977)

(Also assumed the charge as the Minister of Electronics)
(From 17.6.1971 to 5.2.1973)

(Also assumed temporary charge of Ministry of Steel and Mines)
(From 6.6.1973 to 23.7.1973)

(Also assumed temporary charge of Ministry of Planning from 2.1.1975 to 24.3. 1977)

(Also assumed the Office of Minister of Science and Technology)
(From 2.1.1975 to 24.3.1977)

(Assumed temporary charge of Ministry of Defence)
(From 1.12.1975 to 21.12. 1975)

Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy
(From 14.1.1980 to 31.10.1984)

(Also assumed the charge of the Departments of Electronics, Science and Technology and Space)
(From 19.10.1980 to 31.10.1984)

(Also held charge of Ministry of Defence)
(From 14.1.1980 to 15.1.1982)

	Held charge of Ministry of External Affairs (From 19.7.1984 to 31.10.1984)
	Held charge of Ministry of Industry (From 3.8.1984 to 14.8.1984)

CABINET MINISTERS

2. AMRIT KAUR, RAJKUMARI	Minister of Health (From 15.8.1947 to 26.1.1950) (Again from 26. 1. 1950 to 6.5.1950) (Again from 23.6.1950 to 13.5.1952) (Again from 13.5.1952 to 17.4.1957)
3. KAUL, SMT.SHEILA	Minister of State in the Ministry of Education and Culture and Social Welfare (From 17.10.1980 to 8.8.1981)
	Minister of State (Independent Charge) of the Ministry of Education and Culture and Social Welfare (From 8.8.1981 to 31.10.84) (Again from 4.11. 1984 to 31. 12. 1984)
	Minister of Urban Development (From 21.6.1991 till date)
4. KIDWAI, SMT. MOHSINA	Minister of State in the Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation (From 11.9.1982 to 29.1.1983)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (From 29.1.1983 to 2.8.1984)
	Minister of State (Independent Charge) of the Ministry of Rural Development (From 2.8.1984 to 31.10.1984)
	Minister of Rural Development (From 4.11.1984 to 31.12.1984)

	Minister of Health and Family Welfare (From 31.12.1984 to 24.6.1986) Minister of Transport (From 24.6.1986 to 22.10.1986) Minister of Urban Development (From 22.10.1986 to 2.12.1989) Also held charge of Ministry of Tourism (From 14.2.1988 to 25.6.1988)
5. MUTHU, DR. (SMT.) SATHIAVANI	Minister of Social Welfare (From 19.8.1979 to 23.12.1979)

MINISTERS OF STATE WITH INDEPENDENT CHARGE OF THEIR MINISTRIES/DEPARTMENTS

6. BAJPAI, DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI	Minister of State (Independent Charge) in the Ministry of Welfare (From 25.9.85 to 2.12.89)
7. BANERJEE, MS. MAMATA	Minister of State in the Ministry of Human Resource Development (Department of Youth Affairs and Sports & Department of Women and Child Development) (From 21.6.91 to 17.1.1993)
8. CHANDRASEKHAR, SMT. M.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Health (From 12.8.1952 to 16.4.1957) Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (From 8.5.1962 to 27.5.1964) (Again from 27.5.1964 to 9.6.1964) Deputy Minister in the Department of Social Security

	(From 15.6.1964 to 11.1.1966) (Again from 11.1.1966 to 24.1.1966
	Deputy Minister in the Department of Social Welfare (From 24.1.1966 to 12.3.1967)
	Minister of State (Independent Charge) of the Ministry of Women and Social Welfare (From 31.121984 to 25.9.1985)
9. GANDHI, SMT. MANEKA	Minister of State in the Ministry of Environment and Forests (From 5.12.1989 to 6.11.1990)
	Minister of State (Independent Charge) of the Ministry of Environment and Forests (From 21.11.1990 to 21.6.1991)

MINISTERS OF STATE ATTACHED TO THE PRIME MINISTER/CABINET MINISTERS

10. ALVA, SMT. MARGARET	Minister of State in the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs (From 31.12.1984 to 25.9.1985)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Human Resource Development–Department of Women and Child Development and Youth Affairs and Sports (From 25.9.1985 to 2.12.1989)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions with additional charge of the office of the Minister of State in the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs. (From 21.6.91 till date)
11. BARKATAKI, SMT. RENUKA DEVI	Minister of State in the Ministry of Education and Culture (From 16.8.1977 to 28.7.1979)

12. BASAVA RAJESWARI, .SMT.	Minister of State in the Ministry of Human Resource Development (Department of Women and Child Development) (From 18.1.1993 till date)
13. CHOUDHURY, SMT. RASHIDA HAQUE	Minister of State in the Ministry of Education, Culture and Social Welfare (From 30.7.1979 to 24.8.1979)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Education and Culture (From 24.8.1979 to 14.1.1980)
14. DIKSHIT, SMT. SHEILA	Minister of State in the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs (From 12.5.1986 to 2.12.89)
	Also Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office (From 25.6.1988 to 2.12.1989)
15. GUHA, SMT. PHULRENU	Minister of State in the Department of Social Welfare (From 3.3.1967 to 14.2.1969)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Law in the Department of Social Welfare (From 14.2.1969 to 26.6.1970)
16. KAUR, SMT. SUKHBUNS	Minister of State in the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism (Department of Tourism) (From 2.6.91 till date)
17. KHAPARDE, MS. SAROJ	Minister of State in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (From 12.5.1986 to 4.7.1989)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Textiles (From 4.7.1989 to 2.12.1989)
18. MAHISHI, DR.(MS.) SAROJINI	Deputy Minister attached to the Prime Minister (From 18.3.1967 to 14.2.1969)

	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation (From 14.2.1969 to 18.3.1971) (Again from 18.3.1971 to 2.5.1971)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation (From 2.5.1971 to 10.10.1974)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Law, Justice and Company Affairs (From 10.10.1974 to 3.1.1976)
19. MAITI, MS. ABHA	Minister of State in the Ministry of Industry (From 14.8.1977 to 28.7.1979)
20. MENON, SMT. LAKSMI O. N.	Deputy Minister of External Affairs (From 17.4.1957 to 10.4.1962)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (From 16.4.1962 to 27.5.1964) (Again from 27.5.1964 to 9.6.1964) (Again from 15.6.1964 to 11.1.1966) (Again from 11.1.1966 to 24.1.1966)
21. NAYAR, DR. SUSHILA	Minister of Health (As one of the Ministers of State) (From 10.4.1962 to 27.5.1964) (Again from 27.5.1964 to 9.6.1964) (Again from 9.6.1964 to 11.1.1966) (Again from 11.1.1966 to 24.1.1966)
	Minister of Health and Family Planning (As one of the Ministers of State) (From 24.1.1966 to 13.3.1967)
22. ORAON, SMT. SUMATI	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Welfare (From 14.2.1989 to 4.7.1989)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Environment and Forests (From 4.7.1989 to 2.12.1989)

23. ROHATGI, SMT. SUSHILA	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance (From 2.5.1971 to 24.3.1977)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Human Resource Development – Department of Education and Culture (From 25.9.1985 to 12.5.1986)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Energy –Department of Power (From 12.5.1986 to 9.5.1988)
	Also Minister of State in the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas (From 24.6.1986 to 22.10.1986)
24. SAHI, SMT. KRISHNA	Minister of State in the Ministry of Human Resource Development – Department of Education and Culture (From 12.5.1986 to 14.2.1988)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Water Resources (From 14.2.1988 to 4.7.1989)
	Union Minister of State, Human Resource Development, Department of Culture (From July 1989 to Dec. 1989)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Industry with additional charge of the office of the Minister of State in the Ministry of Industry (Department of Heavy industry) (From 2.7.1992 till date)
25. SATPATHY, SMT. NANDINI	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (From 29.1.1966 to 12.3.1967) (Again from 18.3.1967 to 14.2.1969)
	Deputy Minister without Portfolio (From 14.2.1969 to 26.6.1970)
	Minister of State without Portfolio (From 26.6.1970 to 18.3.1971)

	Minister of State in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (From 18.3.1971 to 14.6.1972)
26. SIDDHARTHA, SMT. D.K.THARA DEVI	Minister of State in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (From 21 1991 to 17.1.1993)
27. SINHA, SMT. USHA	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Welfare, Women and Child Development Department (From 21.4.1990 to 5.11.1990)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Tourism (From 21.11.1990 to 21.6.1991)
28. SINHA, SMT. RAMDULARI	Minister of State in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (From 8.6.1980 to 17.10.1980)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation (From 17.10.1980 to 15.1.1982)
	Minister of State in the Ministries of Industry and Steel and Mines (From 15.1.1982 to 14.2.1983)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Commerce (From 14.2.1983 to 7.2.1984)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (From 7.2.1984 to 31.10.1984) (Again from 4.11.1984 to 31.12.1984) (Again from 31.12.1984 to 25.9.1985)
	Minister of State in the Ministry of Steel and Mines–Department of Mines (From 25.9.1985 to 14.2.1988)

DEPUTY MINISTERS

29. ALVA, SMT. VIOLET	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (From 23.4.1957 to 10.4.1962)
30. SINGH, SMT. JAHANARA JAIPAL	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation (From 15.2.1966 to 13.3.1967)
	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation (From 18.3.1967 to 14.2.1969)
	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education and Youth Services (From 14.2.1969 to 27.6.1970)
31. JOSHI, MS. KUMUDBEN M.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (From 17.10.1980 to 15.1.1982)
	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Health and Welfare (From 15.1.1982 to 31.10.1984) (Again from 4.11.1984 to 31.12.1984)
32. KAMLA KUMARI, MS.	Deputy Minister in the Ministries of Agriculture and Rural Reconstruction (From 15.1.1982 to 29.1.1983)
33. RAMACHANDRAN, DR.(SMT.) T.S. SOUNDARAM	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (From 16.4.1962 to 27.5.1964) (Again from 27.5.1964 to 9.6.1964) (Again from 15.6.1964 to 11.1.1966) (Again from 11.1.1966 to 24.1.1966) (Again from 24.1.1966 to 13.3.1967)
34. SELJA, MS.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Human Resource Development (Department of Education and Department of Culture) (From 2.7.1992 till date)

35. SINHA, SMT. TARKESHWARI	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Economic Affairs(From 2.4.1958 to 10.5.1958) Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance (From 10.5.1958 to 10.4.1962) (Again from 16.4.1962 to 27.5.1964) (Again from 27.5.1964 to 9.6.1964)
36. VYAS, MS. GIRIJA	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (From 21.6.1991 to 17.1.1993)

ANNEXURE - XII

QUESTIONNAIRE

A. IDENTIFICATORY

1. Name of the Member
2. State
3. Constituency
4. Whether your constituency constitutes major portions of Rural/Urban area
5. Languages spoken at home
6. Other languages known

B. INDICATORS OF POLITICAL CAREER

7. Age at which you joined politics:
8. Who inspired you to join politics –
   (a) Individual decision
   (b) Inspired by relatives/ friends/ social leader/ religious leader/political leader
9. What was the motivation behind the decision of entering into politics:
   (a) Social evils/exploitation
   (b) Economic Backwardness
   (c) Any other reason
10. Please name the political/social/religious leaders who influenced you most in your lifetime?
11. Will you please specify your views on:
    (a) India as a Secular State
    (b) India as a Parliamentary Democracy
12. You belong to .....Party
    (a) When did you join the party?
    (b) Reasons for joining it –

(i) Philosophy of the party;

(ii) Dynamic Leadership;

(iii) Family faith in the party;

(iv) Any other personal reason.

13. Please specify three major problems of your constituency
(Priority-wise)

14. Do you have any specific plan to solve these problems?

15. As you know, the country is facing a number of problems at national level viz. Terrorism, Unity and Integrity, Communal Violence, Population explosion, Price-rise, etc. Please specify any five such problems? (Priority-wise)

C. CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS WOMEN'S PROBLEMS

16. As a woman member, how do you rate the following problems faced by women and children in our society?
(Please tick five such problems)

(i) Violence against women

(ii) Harassment of tribal/SC/ST women

(iii) Discrimination in family between male child and female child both in upbringing and education

(iv) Infanticide, particularly female infanticide/ foeticide

(v) Dowry and Bride-burning

(vi) Divorce and related issues

(vii) Better conditions for orphaned children and separated women

(viii) Inheritance of property

(ix) Illiteracy of women

(x) Recognition of Household jobs of housewives as 'productive work'

(xi) Malnutrition of Children and Nursing Mothers

(xii) Plight of women in unorganised sector

(xiii) Inequality of wages between men and women

(xiv) Child labour

(xv) Child Education/Marriage

(xvi) Any other problem

17. Do you suggest any constitutional amendment for providing specific opportunities to women and children?

18. What is your personal contribution for the amelioration of the lot of SC/ST and other backward classes?

D. AS PARLIAMENTARIANS

19. Do you agree women in India have very limited awareness of social legislation passed for their welfare. If so, what steps do you suggest to create such awareness?

20. Will National Commission for Women be effective enough for the successful implementation of legislation for women?

21. Do you favour educational qualifications for membership to Parliament to promote efficiency promptness?

22. Do you favour reservation of seats for women in Parliament and other State Assemblies?

23. Do you favour constitution of a Parliamentary Committee for welfare of women and children?

24. Would you please comment on the working of various Parliamentary Committees?

25. As a woman member, what obstacles do you face within Parliament and outside it:

Within Parliament

(a) Complexity of Parliamentary Procedure;

(b) Unable to raise the matter many times in the House, due to paucity of time;

(c) Soft Voice;

(d) Shouting by other members/Pandemonium

(e) Seniority of other members

(f) Lengthy speeches by other members

(g) Any other problem/obstacle

Outside Parliament

(a) Social circumstances

(b) Political interference

(c) Religious imbalance

(d) Personal physique

(e) Family circumstances

E. INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

26. Please specify the role of women members in promoting international cooperation in tackling global problems, particularly those affecting women and children.

Ministers

ERRATA

Page	Line	For	Read
8	6	Mother-sister	Mother s sister
8	7	Rajulwats	Rajulwati
	4-5	extended early	extended to relationships among men and women. An early...
	20-21	Nambudi women accepted the life of saint women	Numberless women accepted the life of renunciation.
10	4	Sew	new
12	14 from below	valued	valid
16	8	1933-94	1993-94
23	2 from below	---1989 to ---	---1989 was to ---
28	10	Government of India	Government of India Bill
30	20	Chittagoy	Chittagong
30	20	1933	1930
32	8	(b)	(d)
35	6 from below	Vice-Chairmen	Chairmen
38	16 from below	changed	charged
44	10	acceptability	accountability
48	10	places ups	takes up
49	4 from below	proceed	proved
58	11	Hamari Gosht	*Hamari Goshti*
60	3	reporting	reposing
66	8-9 from below	national	nations
68	4 from below	article 31	article 13
75	1	report	rapport
81	8 from below	linkes	likes
84	—	'Annexure' (wherever it appears)	Appendix
84	24	36	39
89 (Table)	Col. 2 item 9	528	529
91	Appendix IV. Col.2	Total voting percentage men voters	Total voting percentage
91	Appendix IV. Col.3	Percentage Turnout of women voters	Percentage turnout of men voters
95	6	for	of
99	6	8.9	8.1
99 (Table)	Col.4 item 8	8.9	8.1
99	Col.2 item 9	528	529
99	Col.4 item 9	5.3	5.29
99	Col.2 item 10	514	531
99	Col.4 item 10	7.5	7.34
106	13 from below	discussions are.	...discussions are implemented.
153 (In table for Lok Sabha)	Col.5 item 2	8.9	8.1
153	Col.4 item 3	514	531
153	Col.5 item 3	7.6	7.34
156	Last 3 lines	may not be read	
186	17	are-look	re-look
203	12 from below	as	was
217	13 from below	who	were
269	Col.6	'N'	'W'
269	Col.7	'N'	%
269	Col.10	70	%
270	Table	'General' is shifted over Col. No. 3 and '*Scheduled Tribe*' over Col. No.4	
292	Last	who	his
293	2	life is	life he is
293	6	cilled	instilled
304	8	hanged	changed
320	Last line	In her opinion, religion.	In her opinion, religion being the faith of the people in general, is a guiding factor for them. It is wrong to misguide...
323	8-9	all the 13 states	all the States
323	12	in most of the States	by Government of India
330	Footnote	p. 565	p. 566
331	12 from below	satisfaction in	satisfaction that in
331	7 from below	maintaining	mentioning
332	4 from below	causes the	comes the

Page	Line	For	Read
338	11 from below	Bill is	Bill as
347	20	action the	action on the
355	15	the Huird	the third
364	Footnote	p. 676	pp. 679-80
370	Last line	Pre-Natal Select Committee	Select Committee on pre-natal sex determination
383	8-9	no punishment is given to them	no punishment meted out to them
383	16-17	they are atleast more not	are atleast not
391	15 from below	political	apolitical
391	13 from below	case	cause
404	4	Sub Chief Editor	Chief Editor
410	3 from below	Niligiris Welfare	Niligiris, (Il) Welfare
423	14	1975	1985
423	7 from below	Read Cross Guards	Red Cross, Home Guards
437	Footnote	25 November	16 November
445	1 and 2	PCC (I), West Bengal	CPP (I)
445	Between 1988 and 1990		1989 : Member, Executive Committee, PCC (I), West Bengal
447	16	weaver	weaker
449	4	1923	1932
449	Last line	16 Aug., 1977 to 20 July, 1979	16 Aug., 1977— 28 July, 1979
492	2	(Ex-Member, LS)	(Ex-Member, R.S. & Member L.S.)
493	11	(Cong.)	(Cong.I)
516	5 from below	30 July 1979-24	30 July 1979 — 24 August 1979
516	5 from below	Union Ministry	Union Minister
516	3 from below		Aug., 1979 may not be read
572	Footnote	on July, 1973	on 23 July, 1973
606	4	21 October,	20 October,
636	9-10 (April, 1976)	(Cong. (U), Rajasthan)	Elected to Rajya Sahba (Cong. (U), Rajasthan)
747	2	(Ex-Minister, L.S.)	(Ex-Member, L.S.)
763	2	(Ex. Member, L.S)	(Member, R.S.)
796	2	(Ex-Member)	(Ex-Member, R.S.)
810	2	(Ex-Member, L.S.)	(Member, R.S.)
851	2 from below	"Visitor Patna, for over	two decades" — may not be read
852	4	October, 1922	1 October, 1922
852	11	1950-56	1952-56
859	13	Legislative Assembly	Legislative Council
859	Between 1962-68 and 1977-79		1974-77: Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly
861	5	Shri Ram Gapasharma	Shri Ram Gopal Sharma
889	2	(Ex-Member, L.S.)	(Member, L.S.)
916	4 from below	April 1060	April 1960
923	-	23 April, 1982- 15 May, 1988 Member, Business Advisory Committee. 10 March, 1985 25 April, 1986 ...	23 April, 1982 - 10 March, 1985 Member, Business Advisory Committee... 25 April, 1986 15 May, 1988 27 Feb., 1989 3 March, 1990
923	-	10 May, 1987 - 15 May, 1989 Member, General Purposes Committee...	10 May, 1987 - 15 May, 1988 Member, General Purposes Committee...
937	Col.2. Item 10	514	531
937	Col. 4 Item 10	7.07	7.34
938 (Graph I)	10th L.S.	7.07	7.34
941	Sl. No. 7 Col.3	R.S.: IX	L.S. IX
946	Sl.No. 130 Col.4	647	649
948	Sl.131 Col.4	649	647
965	-	Add the name of RAO SMT. RADHABAI ANANDA'. after Sl. No. 24.	
979	Sl.No. 59 Col. No. 3	1954-57	1954-60
981	Sl.No. 109 Col. 2	SHYAM KUMARI DEVI (SMT.) D.K.	SHYAM KUMARI DEVI, (SMT.)
990	Sl. No. 20 Col. 2	MENON, SMT. LAKSMI, O.N.	MENON, SMT. LAKSMI N.

Other Publications of

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT

Constitution of India in Precept and Practice*
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Rajiv Gandhi and Parliament*
(Ed. C.K.Jain)

R. Venkataraman—*President in Parliament**

Parliament of India: The Ninth Lok Sabha*

Who's Who Ninth Lok Sabha*

Who's Who Tenth Lok Sabha*

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Seminar on Constitution of India in Precept and Practice, 25-26 April 1992- Proceedings and Theme papers

The 37th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, New Delhi, 1991
(Monograph by C.K. Jain)

All India Conference of Presiding Officers, Leaders of Parties and Whips on 'Discipline and Decorum in the Parliament and State Legislatures'
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